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Bengal Legislative Assembly
Second Session, 1946

**The 12th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th,
21st, 23rd, 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th
September, 1946**



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GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

His Excellency Sir FREDERICK JOHN BURROWS, G.C.I.E.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. HUSEYN SHAHEED SCHRAWARDY, Minister in charge of the Chief Minister's Department and of the Home Department.
- (2) The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI, Minister in charge of the Finance Department and of the Department of Health and Local Self-Government.
- (3) The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUHAMMADUDDIN HOSAIN, Minister in charge of the Education Department and of the Department of Land and Land Revenue.
- (4) The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN, Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries.
- (5) The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL, Minister in charge of the Judicial and Legislative Departments and of the Department of Works and Buildings.
- (6) The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL GOFAR, Minister in charge of the Department of Civil Supplies.
- (7) The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MOHAMMED ABDUR RAHMAN, Minister in charge of the Department of Co-operation, Credit and Relief and of the Department of Irrigation and Waterways.
- (8) The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED, Minister in charge of the Department of Commerce, Labour and Industries.

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SPEAKER.

The Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN.

DEPUTY SPEAKER.

TAFAZZAL ALI, Esq., Advocate.

SECRETARY.

K. ALI AFZAL, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

FIRST ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

SA. RAHMAN MUKHERJEE, Esq., M.Sc., B.L.

THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

Official Report of the Second Session.

Volume LXXI—No. 3.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 7th September, 1946, at 4-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 223 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Functions and finances of the Asansol Mine's Board of Health.

*20. Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Health and Local Self-Government be pleased to state the amount of money collected, year by year, since 1942, for financing the Asansol Mine's Board of Health—

- (i) from the cess levied on the coal mine-owners; and
- (ii) from the cess levied on the Royalty receivers?
- (b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—
 - (i) what are the functions of the Asansol Mine's Board of Health;
 - (ii) whether there is any provision in the Act creating the Asansol Mine's Board of Health for the appointment of a representative of the miners in the said Board;
 - (iii) whether there is any such representative in the present Board; if not, why not; and
 - (iv) what is the percentage of official and nominated members as compared with non-official members in the said Board?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali): (a)

Years.	Amount of cess levied on the coal mine-owners.	Amount of cess levied on the Royalty receivers.
	Rs.	Rs.
1941-42	99,435	15,600
1942-43	1,01,007	14,925
1943-44	1,40,731	20,963
1944-45	1,62,653	26,068
1945-46	1,77,647	30,809

(*) (i) The function of the Asansol Mine's Board of Health is to provide for the better control and sanitation of the mining settlements within its jurisdiction. In particular the Board has to provide for the

filtered, boiled or other water, for sanitation and conservancy, for housing of residents and has to exercise, consistent with the objects of the Bengal Mining Settlements Act, 1912, such other functions as are calculated to prevent the outbreak or spread of dangerous epidemic disease as the Local Government may by general or special order direct.

(ii) No.

(iii) No; because there is no provision for the purpose in the Bengal Mining Settlements Act, 1912, or in the rules thereunder.

(iv) 33½ per cent.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps have actually been taken by the Asansol Mines' Board of Health for providing filtered, boiled or other water for sanitation and conservancy and for the housing of residents in this Mining Settlement?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: All possible steps have been taken by the Asansol Mines' Board of Health regarding these matters, namely, sanitation, conservancy, etc.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state since when is this Board functioning?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Since the passing of the Act in 1912.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it was formed then or subsequently?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Subsequently.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: In which year?

Mr. SPEAKER: Please put your question in proper form.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when was this Board formed, and after its formation what amount of money has been spent for the betterment of the housing accommodation of the people coming within this Mining Settlement?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: I want notice.

Yield of paddy per acre in certain subdivisions of Jalpaiguri district.

***21. Mr. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state—

(a) what is the actual average yield of paddy per acre in the Sadar and Alipur subdivisions respectively of Jalpaiguri district;

(b) what is the average yield of paddy per acre in the Western Duars (Alipur Duar subdivision and about half of Sadar subdivision) as calculated in the Mukherjee Settlement Report, 1932-34; and

(c) what is the yield per acre fixed by the—

(i) Agricultural Income-tax Department for Jalpaiguri district for assessment purpose,

(ii) on what data this has been calculated or fixed, and

(iii) at what rate agricultural income-tax is being realised from the agriculturists of Jalpaiguri district?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: (a) The average yield per acre for common paddy is 21 maunds for the district of Jalpaiguri as a whole during the year 1860 B.S. No separate figures of such yield for the Sadar or the Alipur subdivision are readily available.

(b) Average yield per acre of *aman* paddy—

Area.	Dahla		Sahari.	
	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.
(i) Ambari Falakata ...	22	30	...	...
(ii) Mainaguri Tahsil ...	24	24	17	12
(iii) Falakata Tahsil ...	21	18	14	16
(iv) Alipur Duar Tahsil ...	20	15	13	22
(v) Bhalka Tahsil ...	19	32	11	32

(c) (i) 21 maunds of *aman* paddy.

(ii) On the basis of the normal yield adopted in the Report of the Land Revenue Commission and subject to the final forecast of the Director of Agriculture for 1943-44.

(iii) As specified in the schedule to the Bengal Agricultural Income-tax Act, 1944 (*vide* section 3 of the Act).

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the minimum yield in the areas mentioned in answer (b) (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (v)?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid I cannot give you the minimum or the maximum figures offhand. These are the average figures of the whole year.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the fact that the agricultural income-tax is expected to be assessed on the actual income of the agriculturists, does he think it desirable to issue directions to the Agricultural Income Tax Officers not to depend on the average yield, but to find out the actual yield in the areas where assessment is made?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir. Not only do I consider it desirable, but I may state for your information that a circular to that effect has already been issued by the Commissioner of Agricultural Income-Tax, to all Agricultural Income-Tax Officers saying that they should not depend on the average yield as reported by the Agricultural authorities as basis, or as found in the statistical report, but to go on the basis of the actual yield. I think this circular was issued on the 27th June this year.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if this circular will have a retrospective effect in regard to the income-tax already assessed for the Bengali year 1350?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid I cannot reply off-hand, as the implication of the circular, whether it will have a retrospective effect or not, is a matter of opinion, but I can say that the circular was issued on the 27th June this year, and all assessment pending on that date will be governed by that circular.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the decision of Government to direct the Agricultural Income-Tax Officers to assess on the actual yield, will also be for the benefit of all the assesseees who have already been assessed before that circular was issued?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question has already been answered.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: No, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your previous question was whether the circular will have a retrospective effect and whether it will be to the benefit of all the assesseees for the year 1350. That question has been answered. You cannot put the same question over again.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: This is a separate question. I have asked the Hon'ble Minister this time to consider whether, in view of the decision taken by Government, namely, that actual yield will be the basis of assessment, they are going to extend the benefit of this decision to those assesseees who have already been assessed before this circular was issued.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question has now been modified. It may be answered.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid, I cannot reply off-hand, because its implication has an effect on the revenue which Government have already collected. So, I am sorry, I cannot give an offhand reply.

Allotment of spindles to existing mills for their expansion.

***22. Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Commerce, Labour and Industries be pleased to state what is the quantity of new spindleage allocated by the Government of India to Bengal?

(b) If the quantity is not adequate for the needs of Bengal, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action Government have taken to secure the necessary quota of spindleage for Bengal?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

- (i) Government's estimate of the requirement of cloth for Bengal stating the basis of calculation;
- (ii) how many new textile mills have the Government recommended for establishment in Bengal;
- (iii) what are the names of these new mills and what quantity of spindleage has been allotted to each of them;
- (iv) which are the existing textile mills to which new spindleage has been allotted;
- (v) what is the quantity allotted to each of them;
- (vi) what is the basis of this allotment; and
- (vii) whether licenses for the importation of textile machinery have been issued to those new mills which Government have recommended for allotment of new spindleage: if not, why not?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT of COMMERCE, LABOUR and INDUSTRIES (the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed): (a) 325,000 spindles: both for the expansion of the existing cotton mills and the establishment of new mills.

(b) The matter has already been taken up with the Central Government through ordinary channel of correspondence and by personal contact with the officers of that Government.

(c)(i) 1,235 million yards annually for the Bengal (including Assam) Deficit Zone as calculated by the Post-War Planning Committee (Textiles) set up by the Central Government on the basis of *per capita* requirement of 16·5 yards. Separate figures for Bengal are not available.

(ii) to (v) A statement is placed on the Library Table.

(vi) Recommendation was made with due regard to the immediate requirements of the eligible parties, allowing scope for future expansion on the return of normal times when the price-level of machinery expected to come down, preference being given to existing mills to reach economic units.

(vii) Licenses are being issued by the Central Government.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many of these spindles have been given to the Hindus and how many to the Muslims—both Bengali and non-Bengali?

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: The statement, Sir, is said to have been placed on the Library table. I have searched for it and it is not on the Library table.

Mr. SPEAKER: It must be there. However, I will make an enquiry and let you know.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Is it then held over, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, you may put your question. But may I know in the meantime whether any member has seen such a statement on the Library table?

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I was in the Library, and I could not find any.

Mr. SPEAKER: In that case the question is held over.

Lawyer-Magistrates.

***23. Mr. FAZLUL QADIR:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(i) whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to page 91, paragraph 314 of the Rowland Committee's Report on the workings of the Lawyer-Magistrates;

(ii) whether it is a fact that Lawyer-Magistrates are employed exclusively for the trial of criminal cases; and

(iii) whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the editorial comments of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* appearing in its issue dated the 10th June, 1946, regarding the Lawyer-Magistrates?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the position and prospect in service of the Lawyer-Magistrates recruited so far?

(c) Does the Government intend to give effect to the provisions relating to promotion of Lawyer-Magistrates as indicated by the Rowland Committee in its recommendations in paragraph 315 appearing at page 92 of the Report?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy):

(a) Yes.

(b) and (c) The matter is under consideration.

Improvement of bustee areas in Calcutta and its suburbs.

***24. Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(i) that the present condition of *bustees* in Calcutta and its suburbs is horrible;

(ii) that the *bustees* are overcongested;

(iii) that the roads therein are very narrow, insufficient in number and very badly built;

(iv) that the lighting arrangement is quite inadequate;

(v) that, compared to the population, the number of latrines is very few and even those that are there are not properly cleansed; and

(vi) that the poor people in the *bustees* even do not get sufficient water to drink?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take in the near future with a view to improve their condition and make them fit for human beings to dwell?

(c) Has the attention of the Hon'ble Minister been drawn to a speech delivered by Mr. I. Khan, Engineer, Calcutta Improvement Trust, on July 11, 1946, at the Baker Laboratory, Presidency College, in which he referred to the scheme of the Calcutta Improvement Trust for a long-term solution of the *bustee* problem?

(d) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) what is this scheme;

(ii) when actual work as per scheme is likely to be started; and

(iii) when it is likely to be finished?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: (a)(i) I think every member of this House is well aware of the conditions under which people live in *bustees* and in most cases the condition of the *bustees* is bad.

(ii) Generally the density of population is very high.

(iii) In some cases means of access into a *bustee* is bad and in some cases non-existent.

(iv) In most cases the lighting arrangement is inadequate.

(v) In some cases there are insufficient latrines and in some cases the existing latrines are dirty and require repair.

(vi) In some cases there is an inadequate water supply.

(b) Steps are being taken under the Bengal Slum Improvement Act, 1946, to improve the worst *bustees* in the city.

(c) Yes.

(d)(i) The Calcutta Improvement Trust were requested by His Excellency Mr. Casey to submit long-term proposals for the elimination of the *bustees* from Calcutta and the plans submitted by the Trust generally consisted of the making of satellite towns in the vicinity of the city for rehousing persons displaced by *bustees* which will be demolished.

(ii) Government are considering this and other schemes and may be in a position shortly to give a definite answer.

(iii) It is not possible to make a forecast at this stage. The magnitude of the task can be gauged by the fact that nearly 10 lakhs people live in *bustees* in this city.

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the Calcutta Improvement Trust submitted its proposals for the elimination of the *bustees* from Calcutta to His Excellency Mr. Casey?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I am afraid I do not know and I do not know as well whether it was ever submitted or not.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Pending any decision on the *bustee* improvement scheme, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps the Government are taking for the immediate improvement of the condition of the *bustees*?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: We are taking immediate steps and I outlined our policy in this regard some time ago. It is this. We

have allotted under our Post-War Reconstruction Scheme a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs for the improvement of the condition of the people living in bustees; not only for the improvement of existing bustees but also for buildings, tenements and flats for the purpose of bustee dwellers. We have taken up the matter in right earnest and we have proposals for acquiring certain lands so that some time towards the end of this year or beginning of next year we may take up the building scheme. For the present we shall take up two schemes and we shall have these two schemes working simultaneously. Members are also aware that we propose setting up a Housing Board. As soon as it is constituted, all matters relating to the housing of bustee dwellers and housing of middle class families will be made over to the Housing Board. It will be a non-official body. It will have representatives of experts and it will have Government officials. As soon as that Board is constituted, the matter will be made over to it. But in order not to allow grass to grow over our feet, we are not waiting for the constitution of the Board. We have taken up the matter in hand and before the financial year closes, our scheme will be ready for operation.

Mr. MUHAMMAD RAFIQUE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that nothing can be done unless the Calcutta Municipal Act, especially those portions which deal with the improvement of bustees, is amended?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: So far as the Bengal Slum Improvement Act is concerned I know that the Act is defective and there is a lacuna in the Act. Under the provisions of that Act we can ask the owners of bustees to make improvement in bustees, but there is no provision in the Act to ensure that the benefits of such improvement will go to the dwellers of bustees. If the bustees are improved, it is quite open to the owners to dehouse or evict the present tenants and give the benefit of the improvement to others. We are thinking whether it would be advisable to amend or revise the existing Bengal Slum Improvement Act or to have a different legislation in order to set up a Housing Board. It is under the examination of Government. It may be that instead of an amending Act we shall come up with a proposal for housing legislation which may be of a comprehensive nature.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that during the Calcutta riots the bustee people suffered most and that in many cases the entire bustees were burnt down? What steps are being taken to house the refugee bustee people?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am aware of the condition of the bustee people described by the honourable member. The matter has also been taken up. There are certain places which were completely gutted and they are now vacant plots of land. We have proposals to acquire some of them so that we can build on them. We have proposals to put up temporary structures on the vacant lands so that we can house people who have become homeless.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that the landlords took the advantage of the recent riots to oust the bustee people by a wholesale murder of those people?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Does the Hon'ble Minister consider the estimate of Rs. 15 lakhs as quite meagre and inadequate?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I admit that a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is inadequate for this purpose but this is given only as an initial

measure. We have provided fifteen lakhs for this year and we hope to provide something more and a still more substantial amount in the next year's budget.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the estimate of cost of the long-term proposals submitted by the Calcutta Improvement Trust?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: There are lots of proposals which have been submitted. Some of them relate to the improvement of existing bustees. There is a scheme for the improvement of the Singhibagan bustees costing ten lakhs of rupees. The Trust has asked for a subsidy and we have sanctioned six lakhs, or, to be more precise, Rs. 5,90,000 to the Calcutta Improvement Trust for the improvement of that bustee. They have submitted from time to time several schemes and one of the schemes is a satellite town near the city that runs into crores. I do not know to which particular scheme the honourable member has referred.

Mr. ANANDILAL PODDAR: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, the then Governor of Bengal, gave an assurance to the people of Calcutta that everything was going to be set right within six months, and if that was not done, they would have the right to enquire from the Government as to what had been done? Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to say as to what has happened to that assurance?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I do not know whether His Excellency Mr. Casey gave any such assurance, viz., that things will be put right within a period of six months, but I may tell the honourable member that after Mr. Casey's attention was drawn to the horrible condition of the bustees, he did take particular interest in the matter and as a result of that, we have the Bengal Slum Improvement Act which was passed, I think, during the section 93 regime. A Bill was prepared in advance when the last Ministry was in office, but it could not be put through the Legislature. So, the Governor under special powers enacted this legislation and Mr. Casey left certain notes and efforts are being made to implement the assurance which was given by Mr. Casey.

Mr. ANANDILAL PODDAR: Has any other improvement been made with the exception of the Slum Clearance Bill according to the assurance of the then Governor?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: What other assurance does the honourable member refer to?

Mr. ANANDILAL PODDAR: Has any other effort been made to improve the bustees with the exception that you have prepared a Bill?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I do not know whether the honourable member was paying any attention to what I said earlier. I have outlined our policy and outlined some of our schemes which we have taken up and these will certainly go towards the improvement of the condition of the bustees.

Mr. ANANDILAL PODDAR: What I wanted particularly to know from the Hon'ble Minister is whether with the exception of publishing a Bill, the bustees have at all been actually improved, though after looking at the bustees the Governor of Bengal was horrified. I want to know whether the horriification still exists or what actual improvements have been made in the bustees. That is what I would like to know.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I may tell the honourable member at the outset that I am not very much concerned with whether the previous

Governor gave an assurance or not. We ourselves feel that there is necessity for the improvement of bustees and we have taken the matter up in right earnest. We have got our scheme. We not only want to take it up ourselves but we propose to constitute a Board which will take up the responsibility for improving the existing bustees and for provision of better facilities for housing of the poor and middle class families.

Mr. DEBI PROSAD KHAITAN: Have Government been pleased to publish the report of the Calcutta Improvement Trust? If they have not yet done it, are they considering the desirability of publishing this scheme to enable the public to express their opinion about the efficiency or other merits and demerits of the scheme prepared by the Calcutta Improvement Trust?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Mr. Khaitan is a big capitalist and industrialist. He knows that it is not possible to give details or other particulars of the schemes which are under examination by Government. It will appear too obvious why I cannot divulge our scheme or state particulars. We propose to start our building operations. We do not want speculation in land prices or value of land in certain areas to go up. These reasons will be apparent to Mr. Khaitan and we cannot publish them in advance.

Mr. DEBI PROSAD KHAITAN: We did not expect that the Hon'ble Minister would suddenly rush into speculation. What I want to know is whether a general idea of the scheme of the Calcutta Improvement Trust has been published or not, otherwise how is it possible for the public to express an opinion as to what should be done and what should not be done. It is not a question of speculation in land or land values.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think that question has already been answered because the Hon'ble Minister has said that a Board is going to be set up and the Board will consider these matters and if the Board think of publishing the scheme, I think they will do that.

Mr. DEBI PROSAD KHAITAN: What you have been pleased to state has not been stated by the Hon'ble Minister that the Housing Board will have these matters under consideration.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I said that all matters will come up before the Housing Board.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: With reference to answer (d)(ii), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the "other schemes" that he refers therein have been prepared by the department concerned only or in consultation with experts called in from outside?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Other experts have not yet been called in. We have received help from the Calcutta Improvement Trust and also from the Calcutta Corporation and we have not yet called in any experts. We may perhaps invite experts from outside the province or outside this country, if necessary.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: In view of the answer given, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he will consider the desirability of consulting the Legislature before putting this scheme into actual operation?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir. We cannot place all our administrative proposals before the Legislature. The Legislature is not an administrative body. The Ministry enjoys the confidence of the Legislature. At least as long as it is in office, it enjoys the confidence of the Legislature. Therefore any action of the Ministry is to be assumed to have the approval of the House. In matters of administrative details, we cannot come up to the Legislature for approval and that will be apparent to the honourable member.

The Bengal Fire Service at Feni.

***25. Maulvi MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOUDHURY:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department aware—

- (a) that Feni was the most heavily bombed town in Bengal, and the personnel of Feni Fire Service served the Government for more than three years during emergencies of utmost gravity fighting fire at times of severe bombing and occasional accidents;
 - (ii) that Feni Fire Service is now going to be disbanded though Fire Services of Noakhali, Brahmanbaria, Akhaura and other places are going to be retained; and
 - (iii) that Feni is a junction station, there is a college at Feni, and it has greater strategic importance than many towns with fire stations?
- (b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, does the Hon'ble Minister propose to reconsider the order of disbandment of Feni Fire Service and make Feni fire station a permanent one?
- (c) If it is not possible to make the Feni fire station a permanent one is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of absorbing the Feni Fire Service personnel in some other fire station?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali):

(a)(i) Yes; in proportion to its size. The good services of Feni Fire Brigade are fully recognised by Government.

(ii) Yes, but no fire station is being retained at Akhaura.

(iii) Feni is a railway junction and there is a college there. Its strategic importance is a matter of opinion.

(b) Feni not being a municipality is not included in the scheme for a permanent Provincial Fire Service.

(c) Orders to this effect have already been issued.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many of the Feni Fire Brigade personnel have been absorbed in other fire-serving stations?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: I want notice.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any proposal to transfer any fire brigade station to Chaumohani?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: No such proposal is at present with the Government.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many fire brigade stations of the Chittagong Division are going to be retained?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: I want notice.

Representation by employees of Government Ration Stores for increase of pay.

***26. (SHORT NOTICE.) Mr. NISHITHANATH KUNDU:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Civil Supplies be pleased to state whether the coolies, the darwans and the clerks of the Government Ration Stores have written to the Government demanding *inter alia* for increment in their pay and leave provisions?

(b) If the reply to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) what answer has been given to them; and

(ii) if no answer has been given, the reasons thereof?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps the Government propose to take for averting the serious consequences of the workers of the Government Ration Stores taking recourse to strike?

Mr. ESKANDER ALI KHAN (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Gofran): (a) Yes. A letter, dated 22nd June, 1946, addressed to the Controller of Rationing by the Secretary, Government Stores Workers' Union, was received on the 24th June, 1946.

(b)(i) No reply was given.

(ii) The reason for not replying to the letter was that the union has not been recognised by the Government yet. The letter was not, however, ignored.

(c) On careful consideration Government have sanctioned an increase of Rs.4 in the monthly pay of coolies and Rs.2 in the monthly pay of darwans of Government Stores.

There are no clerks attached to Government Stores; there are managers and salesmen of two grades. The question of the improvement of their pay and prospects is under the examination of the Directorate of Rationing.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that during the riots many ration stores have been looted and the darwans did not function effectively?

Mr. ESKANDAR ALI KHAN: Yes, I am aware of the fact that some of the darwans were actually murdered and they are being replaced by fresh appointments.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: In view of the answer just given, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he will consider the desirability of getting really strong men and loyal men who stand by their posts in times of danger by giving them sufficient pay?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Is the question of the honourable member relevant?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Sinha does not press it.

Mr. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government have also considered the question of leave provisions, as demanded by the workers?

Mr. ESKANDAR ALI KHAN: That question is receiving the consideration of Government.

Regarding Subdivisional Controller of Civil Supplies at Darjeeling.

*27. **Mr. D. S. GURUNG:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Civil Supplies be pleased to state—

(a) how long the present Subdivisional Controller of Civil Supplies has been at Darjeeling Sadar holding the post of Subdivisional Controller of Civil Supplies;

(b) who was his predecessor;

(c) whether it is a fact that some months back he was transferred to some other district;

(d) whether the transfer order was subsequently cancelled;

(e) the reason for cancellation of the transfer order; and

(f) whether the Hon'ble Minister is considering the desirability of his immediate transfer from the district?

Mr. ESKANDER ALI KHAN (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Gofran): (a) One year and four months.

(b) There was no Subdivisional Controller of Civil Supplies at Darjeeling before the present officer was appointed to that post.

(c) Yes in 1945.

(d) Yes.

(e) Because the district to which he was posted was his home district.

(f) Yes, it is receiving my attention.

Recruitment of Lawyer-Magistrates from different communities.

***28. Mr. AULAD HOSSAIN KHAN:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Chief Minister's (Establishment) Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the number of Lawyer-Magistrates appointed up to the 31st May, 1946, showing separately the list of—

(i) Hindus,

(ii) Muslims; and

(iii) Scheduled Caste incumbents?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Communal Ratio Rules have been strictly adhered to in the matter of recruitment of these Magistrates?

(c) If not, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

(d) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government propose to absorb them in the permanent cadre as recommended by the Rowlands Committee?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy):

(a) The number of Lawyer-Magistrates in service on the 31st May, 1946, was 102: made up as under—

(i) Hindus—47.

(ii) Muslims—44.

(iii) Scheduled Castes 11.

(b) and (c) The Communal Ratio Rules have apparently not been observed on the ground that the required number of Muslim and Scheduled Caste candidates were not available. Steps have been taken to rectify the deficiency and the Public Service Commission have been asked to select the requisite number of Muslim and Scheduled Caste candidates for the purpose.

(d) The Rowlands Committee do not appear to have made any such recommendation.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that there was a circular from Government that Government admitted that the reply received from the Secretariat sometime ago to the effect that Muslim officers are not available is not true?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: No; I am not aware of that.

Mr. AULAD HOSSAIN KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the required number of candidates appeared before the Public Service Commission? What is the criterion for judging whether the candidates are qualified?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: The requisite number of candidates were not available.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the number of candidates who appeared at the interview?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I want notice.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether requisite number of candidates from the Muslim community with requisite qualifications appeared before the Public Service Commission?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I have nothing to add.

Alleged Government direction for consultation by District Officials with local Muslim League Secretaries.

***29. Mr. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister in charge of the Chief Minister's (General Administration) Department be pleased to state—

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to the report which appeared in a section of the press some time ago to the effect that a directive had been issued to the District and Subdivisional Officers to consult the local Muslim League Secretaries or other office-bearers of the Muslim League on all important questions;
- (b) whether the information is correct; and
- (c) whether any circular or instructions written or verbal, confidential or open, emanated from any quarter connected with the Government to this or the similar effect?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy):

- (a) Yes.
- (b) and (c) No.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why in view of the seriousness of the allegations contained in those reports Government did not issue any press-note denying the correctness of the report at that time?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: No.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Why? What are the reasons?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Government cannot take notice of any unfounded canards that are published in newspapers.

Communal ratio in posts of Superintendents of Collectorate.

***30. Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Land and Land Revenue be pleased to state—

- (i) how many Superintendents of different Collectorate are in office at the present moment;
 - (ii) how many of them are Muslim; and
 - (iii) whether the communal ratio has been maintained in these appointments?
- (b) If the reply to (a)(iii) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—
- (i) what immediate step the Government propose to take to remove the disparity and to maintain the ratio; and
 - (ii) whether it is desirable to appoint Muslims only in all future vacancies till the ratio has been attained?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: (a) (i) Twenty-seven.

(ii) Three.

(iii) and (b) No. Communal Ratio Rules do not apply as these posts are filled by promotion from the upper division.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any general principle or policy is enunciated in matters of promotion or it is a matter of whim of any particular officer?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: It is the superior officers who select after carefully considering the competency of the officers concerned.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is the whim or biased consideration which has reduced the requisite number of Muslims, so that out of 27 districts there have been only three Muslim Superintendents of Collectorates?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: No bias can be attributed to any higher officer like that.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the strong disparity in the communal ratio as between 27 Hindus and 3 Muslims Government consider it desirable that some attempts should be made to fill up the posts by direct promotion just to make up the leeway that exists in the service?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Government will consider the suggestion.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what in his opinion are the reasons of this disparity?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: It is a question of opinion, but I think these Communal Ratio Rules were promulgated only in 1939 and before that there were no Communal Ratio Rules and the number of Muslim officers were very few. Those who were promoted to the grade of Superintendent were very senior officers. The number of Muslim officers being few, very few of them could come up for promotion to the superior grade.

Abolition of Burdwan Local Boards.

***31. Mr. JADABENDRA NATH PANJA:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Local Self-Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the District Board of Burdwan recommended in a resolution, dated the 28th July, 1945, that the Local Boards of Burdwan be abolished?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

- (i) whether the Government have given effect to the resolution; and
- (ii) if not, the reasons thereof?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali): (a) Yes.

(b) (i) No.

(ii) Consideration of the question of abolition of Local Boards of Burdwan has been postponed, as representations have been received that the interests of the Asansol subdivision will suffer if the Asansol Local Board is abolished.

Mr. JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there is any reason why the local boards were not abolished in spite of the District Board's resolution to the contrary?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: As a matter of fact the Chairman of the District Board recommended that the Asansol Local Board cannot be abolished as there are special circumstances requiring the retention of the Asansol Local Board.

Mr. JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how the Asansol subdivision will suffer if the Asansol Local Board is abolished?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Asansol Local Board should not be abolished because the Asansol subdivision contributes a major portion of the cess income of the District Board. Asansol Local Board is a semi-independent body getting the whole of the road cess of the subdivision and it is charged with the maintenance and upkeep of roads and institutions of the local Asansol areas. It is entrusted with the work of water-supply including sinking of wells and its maintenance within the subdivision.

Incidence of malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy and smallpox in Asansol Mining area.

***32. Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Health and Local Self-Government be pleased to state—

(i) whether any survey has been carried on, on behalf of the Asansol Mines Board of Health, to ascertain the incidence of malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy and smallpox among the colliery population; and

(ii) if so, what are the results of that survey?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table the comparative figures for the last five years ending in 1945-46 of the incidence of malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy and smallpox among the colliery population with mortality figures therefrom?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps the Government propose to take to combat the increasing prevalence of the above-mentioned diseases among the colliery population?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: (a)(i) Survey has been carried out on behalf of the Asansol Mines Board of Health to ascertain the incidence of malaria, tuberculosis and leprosy. But the survey is not associated with smallpox. It is obligatory on the part of the Colliery authorities to notify cases of smallpox, when they occur.

(ii) 1.—*Malaria Survey in Collieries (1944).*

	SPLEEN INDEX.	Per cent.
Maximum	...	97
Minimum	...	13.8
	ENDEMIC INDEX.	
Maximum	...	88.8
Minimum	...	32.0
	GAMETOCYTE RATE.	
Maximum	...	78.6
Minimum	...	25

N.B.—The maximum and the minimum represent the extremes of variation in the collieries surveyed.

II.—*Tuberculosis Survey (Sample Survey carried out in 1938).*

			Positive.	
			1 in 1,000	1 in 100
(i) Montaux Test—			per cent.	per cent.
Retired Miners	..	..	64.7	72.9
Miners	..	..	39.6	76
Underground workers	..	..	40.0	..
Surface workers	..	..	35.3	..

			Positive.	
			Per cent.	
(ii) Clinical Examination—				
Miners (883)	24.9
Retired Miners (289)	38.0

III.—*Leprosy Survey (1945).*

Number of collieries surveyed	...	138
Population examined	...	65,752
Number of leprosy cases	...	526
Infectious	..	86
Non-infectious	...	440
Percentage of infection	...	0.79

(b) A statement is laid on the Table.

(c) Government propose to introduce a drive for vaccination as an anti-smallpox measure and take such anti-malaria measures as may be necessary in consultation with the Asansol Mines Board of Health. With regard to tuberculosis and leprosy no special measures are called for in this area beyond what are being taken by the Mines Board of Health.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (b) of starred question No. 32.

INCIDENCE OF AND MORTALITY FROM MALARIA, TUBERCULOSIS, LEPROSY AND SMALLPOX AMONG THE COLLIERY POPULATION (1941-45).

Year.	Malaria.		Tuberculosis.		Leprosy.		Smallpox.	
	Cases.	Deaths.	Cases.	Deaths.	Cases.	Deaths.	Cases.	Deaths.
1941	23,732	104	36	10	8	1	43	3
1942	28,169	97	29	8	8	..	116	7
1943	37,468	227	58	19	3	1	29	..
1944	49,562	206	43	11	3	..	14	1
1945	39,290	96	30	17	2	1	262	15

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what portion of the money collected by the Asansol Mines Board of Health is spent actually for combating these diseases?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid I have to ask for notice. I have not got the budget estimate before me.

Pay of compounder-cum-clerks of Baldhara, Tilli and Mahadebpur A. G. Hospitals in Dacca district.

***33. Mr. DHANANJOY ROY:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Health (Medical) be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

- (i) that the compounder-cum-clerks of Baldhara, Tilli and Mahadebpur A. G. Hospitals under Manikganj subdivision in Dacca district were appointed by Subdivisional Officer, Manikganj, which were duly approved by the Civil Surgeon, Dacca, on a monthly pay of Rs.35 plus usual dearness allowance on March, 1944, on the strength of Government Order No. 5859A.R.P., dated the 13th November, 1943, and that they were getting the said pay of Rs.35 with the usual dearness allowance till April, 1946; and
- (ii) that the Civil Surgeon of Dacca by his Memo. No. 2566(1)A.G.H., dated the 15th June, 1946, recommended that being unqualified compounder-cum-clerks they are entitled to a monthly pay of Rs.25 with effect from the date of their appointment and that all the amount drawn in excess (which is about Rs.300) must be refunded in one instalment on or before 31st March, 1947?
- (b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of—
 - (i) allowing them the original pay with their usual dearness allowance; and
 - (ii) of cancelling the order of refund of the money drawn in excess?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali):

(a) A representation from certain compounders making the allegations has been received by Government.

(b) The matter is under consideration of Government.

Mr. DHANANJOY ROY: With reference to answer (b), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how long it will take to come to a decision?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Government decision will be communicated very shortly.

Condition of embankments on Mourakkhi and Hingla rivers in Birbhum district.

***34. Mr. NISHAPATI MAJHI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Irrigation be pleased to state—

- (i) as to the present state of repair or disrepair of the embankments on the Mourakkhi (Dwarka, U. B.) and Hingla rivers in the Birbhum district;
- (ii) whether any villages have been affected by recurring floods so far; and
- (iii) what steps, if any, have the Government taken or contemplate to take in regard to villages along these embankments if they have already been affected by floods?

MINISTER in charge of the IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Abul Fazal Muhammad Abdur Rahman): (i) These are private embankments maintained by the interested persons, and the Department of Irrigation and Waterways have nothing to do with them.

(ii) During very high floods villages near the embankments are affected.

(iii) The construction of an embankment along the river Hingla between the villages Junidpur and Vararo will be taken up soon after the rains.

Investigation has also been taken up for the construction of a dam on the River Mor at Messanjore for flood control and other purposes.

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that due to recent floods in the rivers in the district of Birbhum, people suffered enormously both in life and property?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Yes, I am aware of it.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Activities of police officers of Betiaghata police-station, Khulna.

8. Mr. RUP NARAYAN ROY: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state if it is a fact that the police officers of Betiaghata police-station, district Khulna, are threatening the kisans with repressive measures if the kisans would support the Krishak Samitis there?

(b) If so, does he propose to instruct the District Magistrate of Khulna to investigate into the matter and submit a report to the Minister in charge of the Home Department?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

Grievances of the All-Bengal Muslim Contractors' Association.

9. Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Buildings and Works be pleased to state whether the Government have received any memorandum of grievances from the All-Bengal Muslim Contractors' Association?

(b) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

- (i) what are the main grievances set forth therein;
- (ii) on what date the memorandum at (a) was submitted; and
- (iii) what action Government have since taken to remedy the grievances?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT OF WORKS and BUILDINGS (the Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal): (a) Yes.

(b) (i) The memorandum asked for the following:—

- (1) Observance of communal parity in the enlistment of contractors.
- (2) Observance of communal parity in the distribution of works in respect of value.
- (3) Abolition of earnest money.
- (4) Reduction of security deposits.

(ii) 9th March, 1946.

(iii) The officers have been directed to observe carefully the principle of communal parity in the enlistment of contractors of all classes. The cases of Muslim contractors are being treated sympathetically for the purpose of enlistment. The same principle has been enjoined in the distribution of works which are given out to contractors without calling for tenders. As regards earnest money and security deposits, the orders have been revised to reduce their amounts. Earnest money can also be deposited now in G.P. notes or Bank securities.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the amount of the earnest money now fixed?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: The amount required for the project has been fixed at 5 per cent. of the rough estimate of the project.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the percentage of Muslim, caste Hindu and scheduled Caste contractors in this department?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: No percentage was fixed or has been fixed yet for the Scheduled Caste contractors but a percentage, i.e., 50 per cent. of the total number, was fixed from Muslim contractors.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the direction that has been given to officers for the maintenance of communal ratio will have any retrospective effect?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Communal ratio has got to be observed in the matter of enlistment of contractors and distribution of works. In the enlistment of contractors no retrospective effect can be given. So far as distribution of work is concerned there also no retrospective effect can be given because the communal ratio was fixed long ago and subsequent fixation of the communal ratio should be observed. Therefore, no question of retrospective effect in giving contracts can arise.

Mr. AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there is any machinery to ascertain whether the rules are observed by the officers concerned and if so, what is that machinery and how information come to them?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Directions were given to the Superintending Engineers of all circles and in the matter of distribution of works which are executed not on calling of tender basis communal ratio could be observed. In some circles, say the Eastern Circle so far as my information goes Muslims got their requisite quota but in Western and Central Circles Muslims have not got their quota. It is very difficult to give any definite directions to the Superintending Engineers of all Circles to observe this communal quota because in Eastern Circle the number of Muslim contractors is large and many of the works are executed by the Muslim contractors, but in the Western Bengal the number of Muslim contractors is very small and much of the works is executed by Hindu contractors but what Government is anxious to see is that on average 50 per cent. of the total works is given to the Muslim contractors.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that Muslim contractors from Eastern Bengal are agreeable to come to Western Bengal and work there?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: The number of such willing contractors is very small and I think there are very few who are prepared to come. If, however, anybody desires to undertake any work in Western Bengal, surely Government is prepared to enlist them in Western Circle as well.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the policy and object behind the system of taking earnest and security money?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: In order to avoid tenders from unwilling or incompetent contractors who are not in earnest to execute work. Only those contractors who are earnest to execute the

work are allowed to submit tenders. Therefore, the main principle behind it is to stop those persons who are not really bona fide contractors and who are not really in a position to execute works.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether by revision of the order for reduction of the earnest money and security deposit the policy will in any way be affected?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: I do not think so. It is a question of percentage only. Formerly the earnest money was fixed at 10 per cent., and the security deposit at 15 per cent. Now the earnest money is fixed at 5 per cent. and the security deposit at 10 per cent. The principle is there and by the reduction of the percentage the principle will not be affected in any way.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the system of earnest money was introduced only recently?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: It was introduced in the year 1944.

Mr. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is supported by departmental rules that no contracts are given without calling for tenders?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Of course, in emergent or urgent matters, the engineers are permitted to distribute works or execute works without calling for tenders.

Mr. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether tenders are not called in order to maintain the communal ratio?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: No it is not a fact, rather when a tender is not called much favouritism is shown to Hindu contractors.

No-confidence motions.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have given notice of a motion of no-confidence, and I beg leave of the House to move it.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: I gave another notice of a motion of no-confidence and I also seek your permission to beg leave of the House to move it.

Mr. SPEAKER: There are two motions of no-confidence before the House. I shall deal with Mr. Datta's motion first. It says that this Assembly expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers. I shall now request those members who are in favour of it to please rise in their places.

(Members in favour of the motion rose in their seats and their number was counted by Secretary and reported to Mr. Speaker.)

As the requisite number of members is in favour of the motion, leave is granted.

The next motion of Mr. Bimal Comar Chose says that this Assembly expresses its want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister and Minister in charge of Law and Order. Those who are in favour of it will please rise in their seats.

(Members in favour of the motion rose in their seats and their number was counted by Secretary and reported to Mr. Speaker.)

The requisite number having been obtained, leave is granted in this case also.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am glad that the House has given this opportunity to the members of the House to discuss the cataclysm which overtook Calcutta and which we all deplore. I am glad, Sir, because his gives me an opportunity to place before this House as well as before the country the events which have taken place so that the House may be able to judge for itself whether the remarks made in the papers against me and the Ministry are justified or not. I am indeed glad, Sir, to be able to fix two days for the discussion of these motions subject to your approval—

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I shall fix the dates.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes, Sir, and so I say, subject to your approval.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it not better that the matter should be decided by agreement?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: The position is this that we had come to an agreement regarding the dates being 18th and 19th. If the honourable the Leader of the Opposition decides to adhere to those dates, I shall be most happy or if he desires that it be later, I shall suggest 19th and 20th. These are my suggestions subject to your approval, and to what the honourable the Leader of the Opposition may wish to say.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: May I suggest 20th and 21st.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: The 21st happens to be a Saturday, and you all know that Saturdays are not good days—not from the point of view of auspiciousness or otherwise but for transacting business. That is the reason why I have suggested Thursday and Friday.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: I would appeal to the Hon'ble the Leader of the House and to the Chief Minister to agree to the 20th and 21st in spite of the fact that 21st is a Saturday.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I do not know what the leaders of other parties have to say regarding this date because I am aware that there are some parties that may find Saturday an inconvenient date. If they have no objection I have none. But, I think, taking all factors into consideration perhaps Thursday and Friday appear to me to be the most suitable.

Mr. D. CLADDING: My party would prefer, if possible, if it took place on Thursday and Friday.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have heard the suggestions of leaders and I think that the best course will be to make a compromise; the Hon'ble the Leader of the House has suggested 18th and 19th, and the honourable the Leader of the Opposition has suggested 20th and 21st; I fix 19th and 20th for discussion of both the motions, the voting being taken on both on the second day.

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

8—Provincial Excise.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I move that a sum of Rs. 36,83,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise."

Sir, in reply to the debate that will ensue I shall announce Government policy and discuss generally the administration of the department.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Mr. Speaker, with your permission I would like to state very briefly the attitude of our party with regard to the discussion on the budget. We have tabled motions of no-confidence on the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers. Until these motions are discussed and decided we do not propose to move the cut motions which stand in the names of our members, nor shall we participate in the discussion. We shall oppose the total grants.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I appreciate the standpoint taken by the honourable Leader of the Opposition. When we have such an important discussion as no-confidence motion against us, I think that any discussion on the various matters regarding the Budget will be hardly practical, and we shall be more or less talking artificially. I think that it would also—of course I further appreciate it—cut our work short considerably and we shall be able to concentrate on the work of administration.

Mr. SPEAKER: Am I to understand from the statement of the honourable Leader of the Opposition that all the motions standing in the name of the members of the Opposition should be treated as withdrawn.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: With regard to all the demands?

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: No; I said until the discussion and decision on the no-confidence motion are finished.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Are we to understand from the statement of the Leader of the Opposition that they are also not going to participate in the discussion or the debate on the main motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think he made it clear that they will participate in the general discussion of the Budget demand but not on cut motions.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: We will not participate in the discussion. We will not move the cut motions and we will not participate in the discussion but we shall oppose the grant.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: If the Leader of the Opposition would agree, can we not compress our programme for the voting on demands. It would be very easy. A lot of time of the House has been saved because they are not going to participate in the debate. So we could utilise the time in other ways and curtail the time on demands and go through legislation. What I suggested was that as the Leader of the Opposition has stated the members of the Opposition are not going to participate in the debate, therefore we can allot a lesser number of days for the demands which have already been allotted for 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th. We could pass those demands within two or three days and take up some impending and important legislation that has to be passed before the session is prorogued. If the Leader of the Opposition will agree to that, we can bring up legislation.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: I am sorry I cannot agree.

Mr. SPEAKER: Nobody wants to discuss this demand. I put the main demand to vote.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali that a sum of Rs. 36,83,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise" was then put and agreed to.

42—Co-operation.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 27,49,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "42—Co-operation."

Mr. SPEAKER: Nobody wants to discuss: I put the demand to vote.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Abul Fazal Muhammad Abdur Rahman that a sum of Rs. 27,49,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "42—Co-operation" was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 5-37 p.m. till 2-30 p.m. on Friday, the 13th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled
under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 13th September, 1946, at 2-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 5 Hon'ble Ministers and 202 members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Further Supplementaries to Starred Question No. 22 on the subject of
Allotment of Spindles to existing Mills for their expansion.**

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: With reference to answer (b) on the presumption that there is a deficit in Bengal will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the amount of the deficit?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: As regards deficit I want to explain the matter. In Bengal the allotment that was made for Bengal by the Government of India was very small. The fact is that the allocation of spindles was finished during 93 regime on the 15th of April. When we took over charge of the administration and when this department was made over to me, I found that the whole thing was a completed fact. I could not agree with that because Bengal was given only 325,000 spindles whereas we found that Bombay was overfed. In spite of the fact that Bombay had already 5,941,000 spindles, she was given again 144,000 spindles. Madras had already 1,440,000 spindles. Over and above that Madras was given 450,000 spindles. In spite of the fact that Bengal had a deficit, we had only 480,000 spindles working in Bengal. I think the number of spindles allotted to Bengal was very short and insufficient. I took that matter up to His Excellency and His Excellency very kindly gave me the permission to reopen the whole question. I went all the way to Delhi and reopened the whole thing and reallocated certain portion and tried to extract more from the Government of India. I had discussed this matter with Sir Akbar Hydari who pleaded difficulty about increasing the quota. I said that Bengal should have at least 8 lakhs of spindles more but in place of 8 lakhs we have been given only 325,000 spindles. I said that we want 5 lakhs of spindles more for Bengal, but he could not agree. He said that a month or two after he might be in a position to call a Conference of Ministers of Industries of different provinces where the target figure which we are demanding to be raised can be discussed and decided. You will be glad to learn that Sir Akbar Hydari has promised that the Conference of the Ministers for Industries will be held at Delhi and there the demand that I have made that Bengal should be given an additional quota of 5 lakhs of spindles to cover the deficit through which Bengal is passing now will be discussed and decided. This is the position and I hope this will satisfy the honourable member.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Out of this 325,000 spindles sanctioned for Bengal will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many were distributed to Bengalis and how many to non-Bengalis—how many to Hindus and how many to Muslims?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: The spindles were distributed among 9 parties out of which there were two Muslims. Ispahania were given 50,000 spindles and Calcutta Engineering was given 20,000, the total being 70,000. When I took this matter up I distributed them later on

to other mills—four Muslims and four Hindus. That has raised the quota to one lakh and odd thousand for Muslims and 2 lakhs and 24 thousand for Hindus. All the 8 new mills to which I have distributed the spindles are Bengali-owned. I cut out Model Knitting, because that happened to belong to Birlas. I learnt that Birlas got other allocations from other Provinces, so I cut out Birlas. Possibly one non-Bengali firm got some spindles but that was done by the Government of India, but the 8 new mills that I have given spindles to are all Bengali-owned,—four Hindus and four Muslims.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to give us the names of the mills and the parties to whom the spindles were distributed?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: That is in the list on the table.

Mr. FAZLUL QUADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many new applications were received from new mills in Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I am sorry I cannot give you the figure now. There was a large number of applications.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: With reference to answer (c)(i), namely, *per capita* requirement is 16·5 yards and in view of the fact that the population of Bengal is also known, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why separate figures for Bengal were not available?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I will look into it and I will tell you afterwards.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that the Post-War Planning Committee said that 18 yards were the *per capita* requirement taking an all-India average?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Yes; that is so.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why then this figure of 16·5 yards was accepted by the Government of Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I am sorry I cannot give you the whole detail. I would look into the matter and if my friend will see me afterwards I will be able to give you every detail which he wants.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: With reference to the allocation of spindles to various mills will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to whether the recommendation of the Post-War Planning Committee was not that it should be 25 thousand spindles and 600 looms for an economic unit?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Before I took up the matter the economic unit was supposed to be 25,000 and the allocation that was made during 93 regime was 25,000 and 20,000, but after I took over charge Mr. Barat, Joint Textile Commissioner, came from Bombay and saw me here. He told me that in view of the price of machinery the quota of spindles should now be fixed and allocation made of a lesser number of spindles, so that money would be saved in Bengal. Thereafter you will be able to feed the mills after they have begun to function, because if the orders are placed today, you cannot get those machineries within two or three years by which time the price of machinery will come down and Bengal will be in a position to demand for bigger quotas of spindles and will have to pay less for them.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: With reference to answer just now given, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to whether, apart from the question of prices, it is the opinion of the experts that a lower spindleage will be able to run on economic basis?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Opinion differs. People think that if spindleage is more, the running cost will be less, but at the present moment the difficulty is—you will be astonished to hear—that the prices have almost doubled or trebled. Previously where we had to spend four lakhs of rupees for machinery we have now to spend eight to ten lakhs of rupees. In the first place, it is very difficult to get them, and in the second place, the prices at the United Kingdom are very high.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what principle is followed in distributing the spindles?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I have already stated that economic unit is the basis, and also the position and experience of the applicants. Some of the spindles were given to old and existing mills who wanted additional spindles.

As regards new mills, the capacity and experience of the men who will run those organisations are taken into consideration. The honourable members will realise that it is not very easy to do it. I have stated the whole thing and have also stated very frankly what I have done.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any spindle has been granted to the Vidyasagar Cotton Mill in Sodepore?

Mr. SPEAKER: You ask whether a certain mill was granted spindle. That is to be found in the list.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is of opinion that 8,000 spindles can work on an economic basis?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Yes. It can start functioning and before three years' time it cannot get spindles. After that self-government and independent India may either produce here the necessary materials or get them at a cheaper rate.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: In view of the fact that the Hon'ble Minister by implication suggests that 8,000 spindleage was the economic unit, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to why spindles that were available were not distributed in terms of economic unit instead of distributing them to various parties which made it uneconomic.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: "Uneconomic" is a matter of opinion.

Mr. AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that 90 per cent. of the shareholders of the Vidyasagar Cotton Mill are Muslims?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: That might be. I am sorry I cannot tell you. I shall look into the matter.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why 40,000 spindles were allotted to one particular mill, while not more than 25,000 or generally speaking 30,000 spindles were given to other mills?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Ispahanis were given 25,000 spindles for two mills each during section 93 regime, that is, 50,000 spindles for two. I cut it down to 40,000.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: If one party applied for two mills, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for allotting spindleage for two mills when other parties applied for one mill only?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: As I said during the section 93 regime, the Ispahanis were the only Muslim firm who applied for 85,000 spindles. There was another firm called the Calcutta Engineering Firm which was given 25,000. The Ispahanis were given 50,000, thus making a total of 75,000 spindles.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: In view of the fact that the whole question was re-opened and re-examined, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why such a large number of spindles were given to Ispahanis instead of giving it to other Muslim firms?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: It was done after due consideration.

Mr. AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the statement I have made that 90 per cent. of the shareholders of the Vidyasagar Cotton Mill are Muslims, and also in view of the fact that Muslims are very backward in this industry, does he consider that special concessions should be given to this mill?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I have already told you that there were only two Muslim mills. After resuming office I re-examined the whole question, and I gave spindles to four more parties. I am sorry, the honourable member still says that Muslims have not been given. I have given spindles to four Hindu and 4 Muslim mills.

Mr. FAZLUL QUADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government propose to start any new mill?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: We propose to start a mill, but the Cabinet has not come to any final decision. After a decision is arrived at, we shall strive to get more quota for Bengal.

Mr. J. C. GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that for want of yarn many weavers, of whom a majority are Muslims, are losing their trade, and are being ruined?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I am fully aware, and all the mills that have been allotted spindles have been asked to spin and produce yarn and to supply to weavers. More than this is very difficult to do.

Mr. J. C. GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state which mills and what quota of yarn have been reserved for the handloom weavers?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I want notice.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: In view of his answer will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the monthly requirements of the weavers for one loom?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I want notice.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the monthly requirement of each loom is 24 lbs. of yarn, but only 8 lbs. is being given for each loom?

Mr. SPEAKER: You are not asking for information but you are giving the information yourself.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: The honourable member has given the information. I do not know. However, I will look into the matter.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the significance of the observations on the list laid on the table to the effect that allotment to a particular mill was made on the recommendation of the Textile Commissioner?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: One non-Bengalee firm was allotted spindles by the Textile Commissioner. When I was about to allot spindles finally an official came all the way from Bombay and told us that they have already allotted to that firm. I do not think it was fair on the part of the Textile Commissioner to do so without letting the Government of Bengal know. I, however, did not like to pick up a quarrel and I accepted the position.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Allegations of excesses by local police in a village under police-station Maheshtala, 24-Parganas.

***35. (SHORT NOTICE.) Mr. ILIAS ALI MOLLA:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware—

- (i) that on the 22nd May, 1946, the police acted in a very highhanded manner in village Jogtola, police-station Maheshtala, 24-Parganas, in making certain arrests; and
 - (ii) that great atrocities were perpetrated on the poor and innocent Muslims of the village?
- (b) Did the Hon'ble Minister receive any complaints on this matter on behalf of the inhabitants of the village?
- (c) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—
- (i) whether any steps have been taken to enquire into the allegations of police excess; and
 - (ii) if any enquiry was made, by whom it was made and when it was made and what is the result of the enquiry?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (a) Allegations of excesses by the local police were received by Government.

(b) and (c)(i) Yes.

(ii) Enquiry was made jointly by the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police some time in the middle of June last and allegations against the police found not to be true.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why these arrests were made and how many of them were arrested?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: I cannot give the exact number. I want notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Reasons why they were arrested—you cannot give me the number, probably you can give me the reasons of their arrest.

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: There was a criminal case pending against one of the Muslim gentlemen over there and the police went over with a search warrant. He could not be found and they tried to catch hold of the man who, though not absconding, could not be found over there. When the police were attempting to catch hold of the man, some people came over there and the police thought that they were obstructing their investigation. Hence the arrests were made.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there was any charge or any cases started against them?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: No.

Mr. MUHAMMAD KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the enquiry conducted was prayed for?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Yes.

Mr. MUHAMMAD KHUDA BUKHSH: Why is not the Ministry pursuing the matter any further?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Government was satisfied that the enquiry held by the Collector along with the District Superintendent of Police was sufficient.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the District Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police and the arrested persons?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: I cannot give the names offhand. I want notice.

Mr. TAFAZZAL ALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the enquiry mentioned in answer (b)(i) was a confidential enquiry or an open enquiry asking the complainants to substantiate their allegations?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: It was an enquiry made at the instance of the Government.

Development scheme in respect of Damodar Valley.

*36. **Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Irrigation be pleased to state—

- (a) whether any development scheme in respect of the Damodar Valley has been taken up;
- (b) whether provisions have been made in the scheme for (i) generation of electrical power, (ii) irrigation, and (iii) prevention of soil erosion;
- (c) whether the scheme is being pushed by the Government of India, Government of Bihar, Government of Bengal, or whether an Inter-Provincial Authority has been set up for the purpose;
- (d) what is the estimated total capital outlay in respect of the scheme; and
- (e) whether any portions of the same have been agreed to be borne by the Government of India, the Railway Board, or the sister Province of Bihar?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT of IRRIGATION (the Hon'ble Mr. Abul Fazal Muhammad Abdur Rahman): (a) The preparation of the Damodar Valley Project is in progress.

(b) The project provides for generation of power, irrigation, navigation and flood control. Prevention of soil erosion is also contemplated.

(c) The scheme is being pushed by the Government of India and the Governments of Bihar and Bengal. No Inter-Provincial Authority has been appointed yet.

(d) About Rs. 55 crores.

(e) No decision has yet been arrived at in the matter.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, with reference to answer (a), at what stage of preparation is the project at present?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: I ask for notice.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the preliminary investigation which was started by the Army Engineers of the Central Government in November, 1945, has been completed?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: It is on the way to completion.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Arising out of (e), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the decision will be arrived at?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: By the next cold weather, presumably.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how much money has been spent by the Bengal Government up till now, how much by the Bihar Government and how much by the Central Government?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: About 2 lakhs has been spent by the Bengal Government. No information is available as to how much has been spent by the Bihar Government or the Central Government.

Advertisement for appointment of labour supervisors.

*37. **Mr. D. S. GURUNG:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Labour and Industries be pleased to lay on the Table a copy of the advertisement published by the Public Service Commission, Bengal, some time in the last week of December, 1944, or January, 1945, regarding the appointment of labour supervisors to enquire into the grievances of the Tea garden labourers of the district of Darjeeling?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many Hillmen or "Hill language knowing" supervisors were appointed?

(c) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that the labour officer (who does not know a single word of the Hill language) deputed to enquire into the condition of the Tea garden coolies went direct to the Manager's bungalow and reported that the coolies were quite happy and got more than they need?

(d) If the answer to clause (c) is in the negative will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a copy of the report submitted by that labour officer?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed): (a) I am not aware of any such advertisement.

(b) to (d) Do not arise.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many labour supervisors have been appointed since January, 1945, in the district of Darjeeling and how many of them are hillmen or men knowing hill language?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: I want notice.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Is there any hillman properly qualified to occupy this position?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: The question has not yet arisen.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Has the Hon'ble Minister received any report of the labour supervisor of Darjeeling concerning the conditions of employment and service of the tea garden labourers there?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this question does not arise because the question was in connection with the appointment of labour supervisors. My friend's question relates to whether any report has been received from the supervisor.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: My question was whether the Minister has received any report submitted by any labour supervisor of the district of Darjeeling concerning the conditions of service and employment of tea garden labourers there. My question arises in view of the fact that the original question in (c) relates to whether a labour welfare officer was deputed and whether he has submitted any report. With regard to that question the answer is—it does not arise. I cannot follow how it does not arise—whether any labour supervisor was deputed to make any enquiries and whether he has submitted any report to Government.

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first question relates to the advertisement by the Public Service Commission.

Mr. SPEAKER: His question is whether any labour supervisor has submitted any report in regard to that.

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: My submission is that this question does not arise. The question was with regard to the advertisement for appointment of supervisor and necessarily a question relating to whether any report has been submitted does not at all arise. It is with regard to the appointment only and nothing more.

Mr. SPEAKER: The condition of service of tea garden labourers is the question. There is also the general question there. So I have allowed that question. It is up to you to answer in any way you like.

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: I have nothing further to add.

Operation of Shops and Establishments Act, 1940, in respect of laundries.

*38. **Mr. ASHUTOSH MALLICK:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Commerce and Labour be pleased to state whether the laundries in the city of Calcutta fall under the category of shops as defined in the Shops and Establishments Act, 1940?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that the shop assistants attached to the laundries in the city of Calcutta are denied the amenities provided for them in the said Act?

(c) Do the Government consider the desirability of taking steps to issue directives on the owners of the laundries in the city of Calcutta to the effect of allowing their employees the privileges provided for them in the said Act?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed): (a) No, but clerical departments of laundries are "commercial establishments" within the meaning of the Act.

(b) Clerical employees of laundries are entitled to get weekly holidays with pay for 1½ days, payment of wages by the 10th of the following month at the latest and annual leave as provided in the Act. I am not aware of any of these privileges having been denied to these employees.

(c) Does not arise.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: In view of the reply given to question (a) that the laundries are not considered as shops within the meaning of the Act, will the Hon'ble Minister take steps to so amend the Act that the laundries do come under the meaning of the Act?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: The suggestion of the honourable member will be taken into consideration by the Government.

Mr. J. C. GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that notice of a non official Bill regarding the commercial and mercantile firms assistants has been given and does the Hon'ble Minister think it desirable to sponsor such a Bill from the Treasury benches?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: It will be considered by Government.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: With reference to answer (b) wherein it is stated that the Hon'ble Minister is not aware of any of these privileges having been denied to these employees, will the Hon'ble Minister please make enquiries and ascertain whether actually these employees are deprived of the privileges or not?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: If these employees are deprived of any privilege it is open to them to bring it to the notice of Government.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Operation of Shops and Establishments Act, 1940, in respect of laundries.

10. Mr. BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Commerce, Labour and Industries be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

- (i) that the laundry shops are not included among the list exempted from the operation of the Shops and Establishments Act, 1940; and
 - (ii) that the shops not so included are to observe one and a half days' holiday during a week under the provision of the same Act?
- (b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware—
- (i) that the owners of the laundry shops do not abide by the provision made in the Shops and Establishments Act, 1940, in respect of holiday and working hours;
 - (ii) that the employees of the laundry shops have to work till late at night; and
 - (iii) that they get no holiday at all?
- (c) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—
- (i) the reason therefor; and
 - (ii) the steps, if any, he proposes to take in the matter of granting relief to the employees of the laundry shops?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT of COMMERCE, LABOUR and INDUSTRIES (the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed): (a) Yes.

(b)(i) and (ii) Laundries are not "shops" but their clerical departments are "commercial establishments" within the meaning of the Act, and as such, the clerical employees are entitled to weekly holidays with pay for 1½ days. Provisions of the Act relating to hours of work do not apply in the case of commercial establishments.

(iii) No.

(c) Does not arise.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: With reference to answer (b)(iii) regarding the question whether employees do get any holiday, will the Hon'ble Minister please make enquiries whether they actually get holidays or not?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Government think that clerks are enjoying the privilege. If anybody cannot get this privilege and if he is obstructed he can bring it to the notice of Government and Government will rely take steps.

Message.

Secretary then read the following messages received from the Bengal Legislative Council:—

- (1) "That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Bengal Dentists (Amendment) Bill, 1946, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 14th August, 1946."
- (2) "That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Cattle-Trespass (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1946, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 14th August, 1946."

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

40—Agriculture and 71—Capital Outlay on Schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research.

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 3,71,13,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital Outlay on Schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research."

Dr. ABDUL AHAD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, allow me to congratulate our Hon'ble Finance Minister for his well imagined resourceful Budget for the year 1946-47 which he had to prepare in such a short time, but he has given very little attention about the tillers of the soil who represent 90 per cent. of the population of Bengal. Ours is an agricultural country and the Hon'ble Minister should have put his best thought and consideration for the improvement of the agriculturist and their livestock, even half the Budget money put on this account could not have been excess at all. Our vitality is in the hands of these people and their existence is in your hands. Their economic life is on their livestock and the granary they possess. If we want this country to prosper, we must make our labourers and agriculturists healthy and prosperous first by protecting their health and animals from the ravages of the Nature. We must have stronger men, better cattle and poultry, more fighting implements to bleed the mother earth; the present Budget has done very little for it. The little money we have got this year for the Agricultural Department, out of which Rs. 89 lakhs will be spent on showy building and contractors and Rs. 40 lakhs left for some kind of agricultural works best known to our Ministers. There should have been more money for the rural uplift. Give the cultivators health and strength to grow more food, stronger cattle and poultry, encourage agriculture and animal shows by suitable rewards. It is a mockery to have a couple of hundred veterinary surgeons to protect millions of cattle and poultry. More veterinary colleges are essential and our indigenous crude drugs in many cases can be utilised instead of all in western method. We should have proper research on indigenous medicines. Great Britain has five colleges with well over 2,000 students and one veterinary surgeon in every 15 square miles. We have one college with 250 students of whom 50 are foreigners. The pay of a veterinary surgeon is in no way better than a lower grade clerk or a postal peon. If we want our valuable animals treated and saved from epidemics we must have thousands of veterinary surgeons everywhere like our human doctors and they should receive better remuneration for their maintenance.

As regards the Haringhatta Scheme that money could have been distributed in ten districts and a general competition would have been set up amidst these experimental breeders with different climate and soil with expert advice. Ultimately really beneficial and effective formula would have been found for the future uplift of the cattle and poultry in this country. Several hundreds of people would have been provided in these ten different centres. Fruit and vegetable gardens could have been profitably reared in these places according to the multi-purposes scheme. There should be more bulls everywhere in the country to protect our cattle from these indiscriminate breeding pasteur land and special vegetations also necessary for them. Unless we have enough to eat and more milk to drink we will never be strong and will always remain victims to diseases due to malnutrition. It is high time we should do something to our constituent people whom we have given such a lot of high hopes. For bringing about this to practice smoothly, it is imperative that there should not only be close co-operation between the Agriculture Directorate and the Veterinary Directorate but that both these directorates may be amalgamated into one, having several deputies, each in immediate charge of various sub-sections of the broad field of Agriculture.

Regarding veterinary colleges I have seen in England five veterinary colleges with over 2,000 students having a less area of land than Bengal. Those students come out here and teach us here all the western methods of treatment. But for many of these diseases which occur here western drugs are not suitable for them. Our indigenous drugs are well worth trying as their substitutes. If we have more colleges and more students over here we can surely save our cattle from epidemics and untimely death. There are many diseases over here which our people are more competent to cure with indigenous drugs. I have tried to give training on indigenous drugs in many places, but our students never get these instructions in our colleges.

I wish that there should be some teachers giving instructions on indigenous drugs, so that veterinary surgeons in our country can carry on treatment with cheaper medicines locally procured to save our cattle. I hope the Hon'ble Minister will take special care and see that indigenous drugs take the place of foreign drugs as early as possible. There should be a complete overhauling of the present arrangements of the Veterinary Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: Sir, this much I can say that all the constructive suggestions of the honourable member will receive the attention of Government.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain that a sum of Rs. 3,71,13,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital Outlay on Schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" was then put and agreed to.

41—Veterinary.

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 14,09,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "41—Veterinary".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

10—Forest.

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 49,42,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "10—Forest".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 3-20 p.m. till 10 a.m. on Saturday, the 4th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Saturday, the 14th September, 1946, at 10-5 a.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 204 members.

Obituary.

MR. SPEAKER: Ladies and gentlemen, before we proceed with the business of the House it is my melancholy duty to refer to the death of Mr. Kishori Mohan Chowdhury, a member of the now defunct Bengal Legislative Council. Mr. Kishori Mohan Chowdhury represented the old Bengal Legislative Council from the Rajshahi Non-Muhammadan Constituency. His selfless services to the cause of the motherland won him love, respect and admiration from all. He was the President of the Rajshahi Bar Association.

Ladies and gentlemen, our sympathy goes with his family, and I am sure it is the desire of the House to convey our message of condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

I now request you, ladies and gentlemen, to signify your assent by rising in your seats.

(The members rose in their seats.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Secretary will do the needful.

Select Committee's Report.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Sir, before you proceed with the normal business of the House, I beg leave to submit that the time for submission of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy Bill be extended to 31st December, 1946.

Sir, on account of the unusual circumstances and abnormal conditions prevailing in Calcutta the Select Committee could not be convened, and therefore I request for the leave of the House to extend the time to 31st December, 1946.

MR. SPEAKER: Is there any objection? (There was no objection.) The leave of the House is granted.

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

37—Education—General.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 3,40,20,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "37—Education—General".

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in moving for grant of the demand I may at the outset tell the House that the demand represents practically the estimate of expenditure calculated by the Permanent Officials of Government before the inauguration of the Ministry and it does not reflect the policy which the Ministry have in view. The Ministry did not get sufficient time to study the various problems and formulate definite schemes before the budget being sent to the Press. But since then more than two months have elapsed and the Ministry is now in a better position to give some idea of the decisions they are likely to take on the urgent problems which confront the country

in connection with educational needs and requirements. I should like, Sir, to state here very briefly the main problems of the Education Department and the way we propose to deal with them. The first and the foremost problem is the inauguration of free and compulsory education in the province with the least possible delay. The ultimate cost of making primary education free and compulsory throughout the province has been calculated to be in the region of 19 crores per annum and this huge amount is considered as wholly beyond the resources of the province. But whether it is within or beyond the resources, the country is not prepared to wait any longer. Free and compulsory primary education is one of the most essential needs of the country and it does not brook any delay. If all the advanced countries of the world could introduce it successfully without being bankrupt, we should certainly be able to fall in line with them. Experience of other countries has shown us that once primary education is made free and compulsory and it is imparted efficiently, the country grows in wealth and the question of finance does not stand in the way. In this view of the problem I am personally extremely anxious to take the bold step of introducing free primary education on compulsory basis from next year at least in the few districts of Bengal where the Primary School Boards have been working satisfactorily. No final decision has been taken on this point but we are busy collecting facts and figures for enabling us to take quick decision. I am hoping to be able to introduce free and compulsory education in a few districts at least by January next.

The question of increasing the pay of the primary school teachers does not brook a moment's delay. The increase is already overdue. Their pay must be substantially raised in order to make the teachers contented. The provision made in the budget will not be sufficient for the purpose and I am afraid I will have to approach the House for supplementary provision.

Mere increase in the pay of teachers will not ensure better quality of primary education and so elaborate arrangements have been made for efficient training of teachers of primary schools by sending a batch of qualified young men abroad and also by giving intensive training to another batch by sending them to reputed centres of learning in India. Arrangements are also being made for increasing the number of inspecting staff and giving them a reasonable number of schools to inspect in order to make sure that the huge amount we will be spending on primary education is usefully spent and we get our money's worth in return. At present, Sir, a Sub-Inspector of Schools is in charge of 160 schools on an average which it is impossible for him to inspect in addition to his duties of attending to clerical work of his office.

Arrangements will also have to be made for maintenance of an atmosphere of education in the rural areas by establishing libraries and adult education centres in every union, as otherwise, it is apprehended that the ordinary cultivators and labourers' children after coming out of primary school will relapse into illiteracy within five or six years.

As to secondary education we must improve the quality of education by establishing one substantially aided Government high school for boys in every thana gradually and one substantially aided girls' high school in every subdivision, if possible. ✓

In order to prepare the country for industrialisation we should have one technical high school in every subdivision to start with and eventually one in every thana.

For college education it will be the policy of Government to encourage establishment of colleges in rural areas, specially science colleges, so that the benefits of higher education may be enjoyed by the poorer class of people and the influx of students to unhealthy surroundings in the cities is checked to a certain extent.

This being the age of science and the industrialisation of the country being our object, all kinds of facilities will have to be provided in science

alleges for pursuit of scientific experiments and research. With this object in view liberal grants are contemplated to be made for equipment of laboratories of science colleges, both Government and private.

For advancement of higher technical education, the Shibpore Engineering College is going to be expanded and developed at a cost of about 33 lakhs of rupees annually. The college will be manned by technical men of European and American reputation. A first grade Engineering College on the same lines with an additional department for textile engineering is going to be established at Dacca. Pilot factories will have to be attached to the Engineering Colleges for teaching the production of finished products. A large number of highly educated young men are being sent to England and America for higher scientific and technical education so that on return home they may help the country in starting factories and thereby pave the way to industrialisation.

We have also to pay more attention to the physical training and discipline of the young men of the country and with that object in view qualified young men and women are being sent abroad for special training and a Youth Welfare Officer is going to be appointed very shortly to guide the youth movement on right lines and to see that the young men of the country grow up as well disciplined and able-bodied men who could take their stand against any nation of the world for the honour and independence of their motherland.

Special attention has to be paid to the making up of the leeway in the education of the backward communities, like the Scheduled Caste Hindus and the poverty-stricken Muslims. Special facilities must be provided in the shape of hostel accommodation, stipends and special grants to the students of such backward communities and we have taken these up in right earnest.

Special provisions have to be made for sections of population requiring education of special type suited to them and this necessitates money being provided liberally for madrasahs and tols and also for European and Anglo-Indian education and increased allotments for these are also contemplated.

Large amounts of money had to be provided for dearness allowance of teachers of all classes. It is true the allowance provided for aided college and school teachers is very low, but I wish I could increase it substantially without prejudicing the claims of other urgent demands on our limited resources. The increase in the pay of primary school teachers and the increase contemplated in the aided school grants will, I hope, relieve the distress of the poorly paid teachers to a certain extent.

Sir, I have given an outline of the educational policy of Government and I hope it will be seen that nothing requiring attention has been lost sight of. I am extremely anxious that the country should advance in all the different spheres of education according to a well-thought-out programme and speediest methods should be adopted to make up the leeway so that within a reasonable time we may prove to the world that our beloved country is not behind any advanced country. May God help us in achieving our cherished goal.

MR. SPEAKER: Does any member want to speak on this?

DR. A. M. MALIK: I want to speak.

MR. KAMAL KRISHNA RAY: On a point of order, Sir. May I know whether any cut motion has been moved or not?

MR. SPEAKER: No cut motion has been moved.

MR. KAMAL KRISHNA RAY: On what is he speaking?

MR. SPEAKER: On the main demand. Everyone is entitled to speak on the main demand.

Dr. A. M. MALIK:—বানরী *Speaker* মহোদয়, বানরী *শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী* মহোদয়ের কাছে *speech* পড়ে একটা জিনিষ এখনও বুঝতে পারলাম না। উনি পূর্বে বলেছেন যে, আমরা যখন বহির্ প্রাণ করি তখন এই যে বাজেট পরিকল্পনার যে ব্যাক সেটা ঐরা permanent officials ছিলেন তাঁরাই করে দিয়েছিলেন; সে সময় আমাদের policy এতে ঢোকাতে পারিনি। পরে বহির্প্রাণীর যে চিন্তাধারা এবং পরিকল্পনা সেটা তাঁরা আমাদের সামনে আন বোটাটুকিভাবে পেশ করলেন। তার ভিতর কতকগুলি আশার সন্ধান করিয়ে দিয়েছেন। কতদিনে সেগুলি পূর্ণ হবে আমরা জানি না, তবে তাঁরা এটা চিত্রা করেছেন এবং করার চেষ্টা করেছেন। একটা জিনিষ সব থেকে সুখের বিষয় যে, অতি সঘরই, আগামী January মাস থেকে কয়েকটি জেলাতে compulsory free primary education শুরু হবে; এবং আমরা আশা করতে পারি যে, ভবিষ্যতে দাখা বাংলার সেটা ক্রমেই বিস্তারিত হবে। কিন্তু কোন্ কোন্ জেলার সেটা, সেই পরীক্ষাটা আরম্ভ হবে তা এখন তিনি জানাননি। হাই স্কুল, আমি যে বিষয়ে বহির্প্রাণীর, এবং শুধু বহির্প্রাণীর নয় সারা হাইস্কুল এবং বিশেষ করে University র দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই সেটা তোলা। এই: আমাদের এই বাংলা দেশে এক কাল ছিল যখন বাংলা থেকে বড় বড় মনীষি, পদার্থ বিজ্ঞানে বসুন, দর্শনে বসুন, ইংরাজীতে বসুন, অধ্যাপক বসুন, বেরিয়েছে। গত কিছুকাল থেকে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে, বাংলার ছেলেরা নিম্নলিখিত ভারতীয় যে সমস্ত competition হয় তাতে ঠাঁড়তে পারে না। তার একমাত্র কারণ আমার মনে হয় নীচের দিক থেকে উপরের দিকে যখন ছেলেরা যাচ্ছে তখন তারা ভাল কল করতে পারে না। বাড়াবাড়ি শিক্ষা--এটা সঙ্কল দেখেই একটা নিয়ম। বাংলার যখন প্রাথমিক এই আলোচন শুরু হয় তখন কিছু কিছু মুসলমান স্কুলেই তাতে যোগ দিয়েছিলেন এবং তাঁরা আশা করেছিলেন যে যদি University র শিক্ষার গোড়া থেকে শুরু করে শেষ পর্যন্ত বাড়াবাড়ি হয় তাহলে ছেলেরা উপরের দিকে যেবে, বিজ্ঞানে বসুন, পণ্ডিত শাস্ত্রে বসুন আর ডাক্তারী শাস্ত্রেই বসুন, যে দিকেই হোক তাঁরা বিশেষ পারদর্শিতা দেখাতে পারবেন। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় সেই বাড়াবাড়ি medium নীচের দিকেই পড়ে তার ফলে ঠাঁড়িয়েছে এই যে, নীচের দিকে minor school বা high school পর্যন্ত ছেলে বেরেরা বাংলার যা শিক্ষালভ করে তারপর থেকে যেখানে এসে যখনই তারা কলেজে উচ্চ শিক্ষার শিক্ষিত হতে যার তখনই সম্পূর্ণ ইংরাজী medium তাদের পড়তে হয়। কলে ঠাঁড়িয়েছে এই যে, তাদের যে চিন্তাপঞ্জি সেটা ক্রমেই নেমে আসছে। এবং তাঁরা শুধু বাংলার নয়, হাইয়ের দেশের সঙ্গে এবং অন্যান্য Province এর ছেলের সঙ্গে ও আত্মকাল competition ঠাঁড়তে পারছেন না। দেশের যদি স্বাধীনতা কোন দিন ফিরে আসে এবং পাকিস্তানই হউক বা বেভাবেই হউক এই বাংলা যদি স্বাধীন বসবাসের স্থান করতে হয়, স্বাধীনকে যদি বেঁচে থাকতে হয় অগতঃ তাব কৃতিত্ব বজায় রাখে এবং যদি তার কৃতিত্বকে বাড়াতে হয় তাহলে আমার মনে হয় শুধু Matriculation বা বাড়াবাড়ি সীমাবদ্ধ না রেখে Matriculation থেকে আরম্ভ করে I. sc. B. sc. প্রত্যেক জারগারই বাড়াবাড়ি দিয়ে শিক্ষালভ করা এবং শিক্ষা বেগুনার ব্যবস্থা বতকণ না হলে ততকণ আমার মনে হয় নীচের দিকেও ইংরাজীতে ফিরে যাওয়ার প্রয়োজন হয়ে পড়বে। ঐরা নিজেদের ছেলে-পিলেদের পড়ার দিকে দৃষ্টি দেন তাঁরা দেখতে পাবেন যে, Algebra, জ্যামিতি এবং অন্যান্য হাই ও বা আমরা ইংরাজীতে পড়েছি সেগুলির, এমনভাবে বাংলায় এক একটা বিকৃত নাম দৃষ্টি করা হয়েছে বা পরে আবার তুলে বেতে হয়, না হয় চিত্রা করে নিজের অন্তরে সেটা গেঁথে নেবার জন্য অনেক বেশ পেতে হয়। কাজেই আমার অনুরোধ যে, শিক্ষা বিভাগ থেকে এমন একটা ব্যবস্থা করবেন, একটা committee বসিয়ে এখন থেকেই এ বিষয়ে চিত্রা করা শুরু করুন এবং এর একটা ব্যবস্থা করা শুরু করুন যাতে বাড়াবাড়ি শিক্ষালভ শুধু Matriculation সীমাবদ্ধ থাকবে না তারপরও আমরা সেটা বাড়িয়ে দিয়ে যাবো। ঐরা অগতঃ ভারতের আলোচন করেন তাঁদেরকেও আমরা অনুরোধ করি যে, Politics এর দিক দিয়ে হতেই হোক না কেন তাঁরা নিজেরাই স্বীকার করতে বাধ্য হন যে বাংলার কৃষ্টি, বাংলার শিক্ষা, বাংলার চিন্তা-ধারা, বাংলার ভাষার, অন্য প্রদেশের ভাষা এবং কৃষ্টি এবং শিক্ষার সঙ্গে অনেক পার্থক্য আছে। কাজেই আমার বিশ্রাম যে, স্বাধীনভাবে যদিও আমাদের সঙ্গে তাঁরা একভাবে দেখেন না এবং পৃথক দলে রয়েছেন, কিন্তু এ সময়ে জীবনের সহানুভূতি আমরা পেতে পারি। অতএব শিক্ষা বিভাগের মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে আমার অনুরোধ যে এ সময়ে অতি সময় একটা পরিকল্পনা বেন তিনি বিব্রত করেন।

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOWDHURY: মি: স্পীকার, মায়, ১৬ই আগস্ট থেকে বৃষ্টি নামুচোড়াতীড়ী সঘর, আমাদের বড় পূর্ণের, বড় পৌরবের এই কলিকাতার যে হস্তাকাতের অনুষ্ঠান হয়ে গেল, তাতে মানা দিক দিয়ে বাংলা দেশের কৃতি পরিবার এতখানি যে তার সম্পূর্ণ হিসাব কেউ আন সম্ভব নয়। কিন্তু প্রতিবাদের নয় করেও বলা চলে যে বাংলার শিক্ষা, বাংলার কৃষ্টি সংস্কৃতি মোড়ার এতকি আলাদা লোকদি ইংরাজ রাজত্বের ইতিহাসে। বাংলার মানস, বাংলার মনন আন শুধু। দেশের মূল মননর দিকে দৃষ্টি পেতারা অন্যর সেই আন বাকর।

পরিভ্রমণের বিষয়, বিভিন্ন দল তাঁদের ইচ্ছাই প্রত্যক্ষভাবে সম্পর্কে আজ আলোচনা করছেন না। আজকের এই পরিবর্তিত দেশের শিক্ষা সম্পর্কীয় সমস্যাগুলো নিয়ে আরও বহির্ আলোচনা না করি, তবে কর্তব্যের অবহেলা করা হবে শেষের দায়।

দেশের শিক্ষা-সমন্বয় আলোচনা করতে গিয়ে সকলের আগে যেন গড়ে দিত্তিকার কথা। সত্যি জগতে দিত্তিকার সম্পর্কে আজ নিত্য নুতন গবেষণা চলছে। বিলাতে দিত্তিকার জন্য কোলেজ, হস্টেলরী ও অন্যান্য প্রতিষ্ঠান স্থাপন আছে। নুতন বিজ্ঞানসম্মত উপায়ে দিত্তিকার গড়ে তুলবার জন্য নার্সারী স্কুলের প্রয়োজনীয়তার কথা বেশেও কেউ কেউ হয়তো অনুভব করছেন। দুঃখের বিষয় বাঙালী ছেলে-মেয়েদের উপযোগী নার্সারী স্কুল নিকাডা সহরে খুব কমই রয়েছে। আমাদের দিত্তিকার জন্য উপযুক্ত নার্সারী স্কুল গড়বার দিকে শিক্ষা বিভাগ ও জনসেবাদের দৃষ্টি এখনও আকৃষ্ট হয়নি।

দিত্তিকার কথা বলতে গেলে সবে সবে এদেশের প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার পোচনীসহকারী কথা এসে পড়ে। বাংলায় যেন প্রায়ের সংখ্যা ১ লক্ষ ৯ হাজার ৫ শত ৯৪--ইউনিয়নের সংখ্যা প্রায় পাঁচ হাজারের মত। এত বড় দেশে ১৯৪২ সনে ছেলেদের জন্য প্রাথমিক স্কুল ছিল মাত্র ৩৯ হাজার ও মেয়েদের জন্য নয় হাজার। দুখের বিষয় ব্রিটিশ শাসনের পরে আজ বাংলার লিঙ্গ পঠনকার ব্যক্তির সংখ্যা শতকরা মাত্র এগার জন। এম তেই পাঠানীর অবস্থা আর কি হতে পারে? অনেকের ধারণা ইংরাজ আমলে এদেশে শিক্ষার প্রসার হয়েছে। এ ধারণা কিন্তু সত্য নয়। টমাস রো ১৮১৩ সনে বলেছেন এদেশের প্রত্যেক গ্রামে স্কুল ছিল। উইলিয়াম বেন্টিঙ্কের আমলে ১৮৩৮ সনে মিঃ উইলিয়াম এডার হিসাব করে বলেছেন যে বাংলার ও বিহারে এক লক্ষ প্রাথমিক স্কুল ছিল এবং এদেশে শতকরা ২০ জন লোক লিখিতে পড়িতে জানতো। স্বতরাং একথা স্বীকার্য যে ইংরাজ রাজত্বে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার আমরা পিছিয়ে পড়েছি। শিক্ষার গতি যেভাবে চলেছে তাতে নিরক্ষরতা সম্পূর্ণভাবে ঘূর করতে আরও কম পরাক্রম লাগবে, কে জানে?

প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার অপচয়ের কথা আমরা বহুদিন ধারণা তুলে আসছি। বাংলার চার থেকে এগার বছর বয়সের ৭০ লক্ষ ছাত্রছাত্রীর মধ্যে, চতুর্থ শ্রেণীর পড়া পার হয় মাত্র ২ লক্ষ ৩৯ হাজার জন। সরকারী রিপোর্টে 'ই স্বীকার করা হয়েছে যে বার প্রাইমারী স্কুলে পড়তে আসে তাদের মধ্যে শতকরা মনজন মাত্র (মেয়ে শতকরা আড়াই জন) শ্রেণীর স্কুলের পাঠ শেষ করে। Tenth Quinquennial report-এ বলা হয়েছে যে "four fifth of the money and effort is at present wasted" এই অপচয় ঘূর হতে পারে যদি প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার সেরা চার থেকে বাড়িয়ে সাত, আট বছর করা হয় এবং অন্যান্য আর্থন্যিক শিক্ষার প্রচলন হয়। কিন্তু অবৈ-তনিক আর্থন্যিক শিক্ষার আয়োজন হচ্ছে কোথায়? প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা সম্পর্কীয় আইন পাশ হয়েছে আজ ১৬ বছর। এই স্বার্থীক সময়ে ২৮টি জেলার মধ্যে মাত্র ১৭টি জেলার স্কুল বোর্ড গঠিত হয়েছে। শিক্ষা আর্থন্যিকভাবে চলছে কেবল মাত্র চট্টগ্রাম ও টাঙ্গুর নিউনিউনিউনিউতে, কলিকাতার একটি ওয়ার্ডে এবং বরননিংয়ের একটি থানায়। প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার উন্নতির জন্য আমাদের আগ্রহ কতখানি তা প্রমাণ হবে শিক্ষকদের বেতনের হারের প্রতি দৃষ্টিপাত করলে। ১৯৩৭ সনে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকদের বেতন ছিল ১ টাকা ৩ আনা, ১৯৪২ সনে ছিল পড়ে ছয় টাকা আট আনা, বর্তমানে এই বেতনের হার বাড়িয়ে চৌক টাকা মাত্র করা হয়েছে। চাপরাশী, পেয়ালাদের বেতনের অর্ধেক বেতন যে দেশের শিক্ষকেরা আশা করতে পারে না, সে দেশের সভ্যতার দাবী করবার অধিকার আছে কিনা, কে জানে? শিক্ষারীক বনাবাদ দিতে হয় এবারকার বাজেটে তিনি ২০ লক্ষ টাকা ব্যয় করেছেন এক লক্ষ প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকদের আর্থন্যিক উন্নতির জন্য। প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার পরিদর্শনের জন্য ১৯৪২ সনে লাব-ইন্সপেক্টর ছিলেন মাত্র ২৬৯ জন। বৎসরের ৩৬৫ দিনের মধ্যে ১৭৯টি করে স্কুল পরিদর্শনের দায়িত্ব এদেশে প্রত্যেকের। অথচ এরা উপেক্ষাই পাচ্ছেন কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছ থেকে। ইংলণ্ডে যেখানে রাধাপিত্ত সাড়ে সাত টাকা বরচ হয় প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার দরপ সেখানে আমরা বরচ করি মাত্র চার পরলা করে। বিদেশের কথা তেড়েই দি--মাঝে যেখানে রাজত্বের শতকরা ৯ টাকা বরচ করে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার জন্য, পাঠ্যবই বাজর থেকে যেখানে ব্যয় হয় শতকরা ৮ টাকা করে তার প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার জন্য, বাংলা সেখানে ব্যয় করে শতকরা তিন টাকা মাত্র।

প্রাথমিক শিক্ষাকে আর্থন্যিক রূপ দিতে হলে বাংলা বানান ও বর্ণমালা সংখ্যার কথা প্রয়োজন। বাংলা মাধ্যম সংখ্যার সম্বন্ধে কিছু কিছু আলোচনা অনেক জায়গায় হয়েছে। বিশুবিন্যাসের এ বিষয় আর্থন্যিক অপগ্রসর হয়েছিল, কিন্তু সাহসের অভাবে তারাও এই ব্যাপারে বিশেষ সাহায্য লাভ করতে পারে নাই। বাংলার বর্তমান, স্বাধীনতার নেতৃত্বও দেশ গুরুণ করে নাই এই ব্যাপারে। এ সম্পর্কে দায়িত্ব গুরুণ করতে হবে রাষ্ট্রকেই। বানান সংখ্যার জন্য ভাষাতত্ত্ববিদ, সাহিত্যিক, পুস্তক প্রকাশক, বিশুবিন্যাসের প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বি, টেকটিক কলি ও জগদ্বান্য প্রতিনিধিদের নিয়ে কমিটি গঠনের প্রয়োজনীয়তা অনুভব করছি। সংকুত ব্যাকরণের

অসাক্ষ্যক আবিপত্যের দরপ, বাংলা ব্যাকরণ আৰু বিকাশের সুযোগ পাচ্ছে না। বাংলা ভাষা ও সাহিত্য ছাড়িয়ে পিছিয়ে ব্যাকরণকে। সংজ্ঞা ব্যাকরণের সাগ্রাহ্যবাদ থেকে মুক্ত করে আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণের সুযোগ দিতে হবে বাংলা ব্যাকরণকে।

ভূমিক, বুদ্ধ, মুক্তাশীতি ইত্যাদির জন্য বা অবস্থা পীড়িতেরে জাতি বনে হর বাংলার শিক্ষকের বেঁচে থাকাই আজ কঠিন ব্যাপার। কলে বাংলার প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার ইমারত হুঁসিৎ হ'তে বসেছে বললেও অত্যাতি হবে না। ভারত সরকারের সার্জেণ্ট পরিকল্পনা এদেশের শিক্ষাবিদদের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছে। এই ক্ষীর অনুসারে শিক্ষকদের বেতন হবে ৩০—৩৫ টাকা, এবং এদেশের প্রত্যেকটি ছেলেমেয়েকে শিক্ষিত করতে সবার লাগবে ৪০ বছর।

ছয় থেকে এগার বছরের ছেলেমেয়েদের শিক্ষা দিতে বছরে খরচ লাগবে $১৪\frac{১}{২}$ কোটি টাকা। অথচ এবারকার বাজেটে শিক্ষার জন্য বরাদ্দ হচ্ছে মোট ৩ কোটি ৪০ লক্ষ ২০ হাজার টাকা। প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার জন্য এত টাকা আসবে কোথা থেকে? এক কথায় বলা যেতে পারে—অবিস্মরণীয় পুণ্য উচ্ছেদ না হ'লে, প্রধান প্রধান শিল্পগুলিকে জাতীয় সম্পত্তিতে পরিণত না করতে পারলে, এদেশের শিক্ষা-সমস্যার সমাধান সম্ভব নয়।

বাংলার মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাকে সম্প্রসারিত করার জন্যে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বোর্ড গঠনের প্রস্তাব হয়েছে বহুদিন। এ সম্পর্কে সুচিন্তিত পরিকল্পনা ও মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা আইন প্রবর্তনের দাবী জাতিধর্মনিগ্রিণে বাংলার জনসাধারণের দাবী। এ দাবী মিটাবার আয়োজন এবারও হ'ল না। বাংলার ছাত্র বাবা সাত্বিক পাপ করে, তাদের বহু শতকরা লম্ব পনের পনের বেশী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে পড়তে যায় না। অথচ বাংলার ১,৪৫১টি হাইস্কুল ও ২,২৭৩টি এম-ই স্কুলে ছয় লক্ষ ছাত্রকে ডাকাতে হয় বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের দিকে। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের কিছু যোগাবার জন্যেই যেন ডানের জন্যে।

বর্তমানে অবিকাপ হাইস্কুলই গড়ে উঠেছে বিভিন্ন সহরে। এর ফল হয়েছে এই যে হাইস্কুলের শিক্ষা সীমা-বদ্ধ হয়ে যাচ্ছে সহরের শ্রেণী বিশেষের মধ্যে। সর্বজনীন দেশের অভিমুখে এর প্রোত প্রবাহিত করতে হবে।

বাংলা কৃষিশ্রমণ দেশ। এই জন্যে দেখতে হবে বাংলার স্কুলগুলোর প্রবণতা যেন থাকে কৃষি সম্পর্কে আলোচনার দিকে। বেশকিছু শিল্পায়িত করার সাধনা হবে ভবিষ্যৎ বাংলার সাধনা। পৃথিবীর অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্রের মত স্বাধীন বাংলার রাষ্ট্রেও মানুষের জীবনের অনেকখানি জুড়ে থাকবে বিজ্ঞান। এই জন্যে হাইস্কুলগুলোতে নতুন আবহাওয়া সৃষ্টি করতে হবে। দুঃখের বিষয় এ সম্পর্কে আয়োজন দেখা যাচ্ছে না কর্তৃপক্ষের তরফ থেকে।

আমাদের বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়গুলোতে শিক্ষা সম্পর্কে planning-এর বলাই নেই। এক কথায় বলা যেতে পারে এগুলো হচ্ছে পরীক্ষার কাবানা, ব্যক্তি বা পরিবার বিশেষের বাস ভানুক। বাংলার অবিস্মরণীয় পুণ্য উচ্ছেদের আয়োজন হচ্ছে। কিন্তু গোলকীর চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের উচ্ছেদের আয়োজন কোথায়?

আমাদের কলেজে বা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে ছাত্র-শিক্ষকের যোগ অভ্যস্ত সীমাবদ্ধ। বেডিও বস্ত্রের মত শিক্ষকেরা বক্তৃতা দিয়া যান আর ছাত্রেরা করে তা গলাধঃকরণ। পরীক্ষার আবিপত্য লুপ্ত করে, ছাত্র-শিক্ষকের সম্পর্ক যত্ন ও জীবন্ত করে তুলতে হবে এবং টিউটোরিয়াল সিস্টেম প্রবর্তন করে ডিত পত্তন করতে হবে পুঙ্ক্ত জ্ঞানের। কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে সাগ্রাহ্যবাদের অবসান করতে হবে বত শীঘ্র সম্ভব। Affiliating University-র চেয়ে Unitary University-র উপযোগিতা স্যাডলার কমিশনও স্বীকার করেছেন। বাংলার মত বৈচিত্র্যপূর্ণ দেশে বিশিষ্ট উদ্দেশ্য নিয়ে কয়েকটি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় সহজেই চালানো যায়। কৃষি-বিজ্ঞান, শিক্ষা-বিজ্ঞান, নৌ-শিক্ষা, মুনসির সংজ্ঞাতি, অর্থনীতি প্রজ্ঞাতি এক একটা বিষয়ে বিশেষ শিক্ষা সেওয়ার দারিত্ব বিভিন্ন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় নিতে পারে।

বরভ্রমের শিক্ষার কিছু কিছু আয়োজন বাংলার হয়েছে। ১৯৪১-৪২ সনের রিপোর্টে দেখা যায় বরভ্রমের ২,২৫৭টি স্কুলে ৫ লক্ষ ৩০ হাজার ছাত্র শিক্ষালাভ করেছে। গণভ্রমকে সনক করতে হলে দেখে কোটি বোকাকে শিক্ষিত করার দারিত্ব গ্রহণ করতে হবে।

১৯৩৫ সনে সাম্প্র কবিতী উচ্চ শিক্ষিত বেকার সম্পর্কে যে বক্তব্য করেছেন তা সাত্বিকই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। বিশ্ব-বিদ্যালয়ের প্রাক্কটদেশের মধ্যে শতকরা ২০ জন একেবারে বেকার, পল্লব জন চাকরী পার মটে, কিন্তু সে চাকরীর মতো ডার বোঝাতার সামগ্রণ্য থাকে না। উপযুক্ত চাকরী পার যায় ৩০ জন। শিক্ষা-পদ্ধতিক্রম এমনভাবে হলে সমাধাতে হবে বাড়ে বেকার সমস্যার সমাধান হয়। একত্ব দাবারণ শিক্ষা সম্পর্কেই আলোচনা করা হ'ল। একত্ব মুদবদান শিক্ষা সম্পর্কে কয়েকটি কথা বদে বক্তব্যের শেষ করি।

কর্তৃমানে বাজীসা শিক্ষার ব্যয়ে যে শিক্ষা চলেছে এ বেশে তা মোটেই যুগোপযোগী নয়। সমর বেত্তারী লক্ষ্য ও নেতৃত্ব আদালতের মাঝে ভৈরীর জন্যে ওয়ারেন হেস্টিংস কমিক্যুজা বাজীসার গোড়া পত্তন করেন। লালকে আধুনিক শিক্ষার পদ্ধতিতে টেনে আনা এখনও সম্ভব হ'ল না। শমসুল হুদা কমিটি, বঙ্গলাবজ কমিটি, ই কমিটি প্রভৃতি কমিটির পর কমিটি বসেছে, কিন্তু বাজীসা শিক্ষার সংস্কার এখনও সম্ভব হ'ল না। প্রাচীন পন্থা ও আধুনিকতাকে হাবানবিত্তার কুটে ভৈরী হয়েছিল 'নিউ জী'। ওল্ড জী ও উদ্যাকবিত্ত নিউ জীনের সাক্ষ্য সম্পর্কে লোম নিকাপ করবার আজ সমর এসেছে। বিসর ও অন্যান্য উন্নত দেশের পাঠ্যভাসিকার সঙ্গে বিলিয়ে খাংবার বাজীসার ট্রাডাসিকা ভৈরী করতে হবে। বাজীসা শিক্ষার বাহন বাংলা হতে পারে কিনা এ প্রশ্নেরও উত্তর দিতে হবে উজ বাজালীকে। এজন্য দরকার এক সুচিন্তিত পরিকল্পনা, এবং এই পরিকল্পনাকে কার্যকরী করবার সং-জিসের।

বাষ্ট বিশুবের কলে বাংলার মুসলমান আজ সর্গুহারা শ্রেণীতে পরিণত। তারা আজ বহিত শিক্ষার সুযোগ হুকেও। মুসলমান শিক্ষার বিভিন্ন সমস্যার সমাধানের নির্দেশ দিয়েছে যোমেন কমিটির রিপোর্ট। এই রিপোর্ট এখনও রাইটার্স বিস্তিঃসংব কৃত্তরের খোপে আবদ্ধ। এর recommendation ওলোকে কার্যকরী করবার বিশেষ আরোজন দেখা যাচ্ছে না এখনও পর্যন্ত।

বহু দরিদ্র ছাত্রের প্রতিভা নষ্ট হচ্ছে লারিয়ের চাপে। মুহসিন কাওের টাকাওলোরও উচিত মত সমবায়হার হচ্ছে না। এখনও বড় লোকের ছেলেরা এর অংশ নিচ্ছেন। মুহসিন কাওের টাকা কর্তে হাসানা হিসাবে সেওয়ার প্রস্তাব করা হয়েছে বহমিন আগে। মুহসিন কাওের টাকার পুনরুদ্ধার হলে এবং দেশের ওয়াকুদ সম্পত্তিওলোর মুনাফার সমবায়হার হলে দরিদ্র ছাত্রদের জন্যে বৃত্তি সেওয়া সহজ হয়ে পড়ে। প্রতিভাবান দরিদ্র ছাত্রদের শুধু অঙ্গপলপ সাহায্য সেওয়া নয়, তাদের সম্পূর্ণ লায়ির রাইকে নিতে হবে। দরিদ্র ছাত্রদের জন্যে যে সাহায্য বরাদ্দ আছে তার জন্যেও নিতে হবে সুচিন্তিত পরিকল্পনা। ব্যাটিক পরিষ্কার কল সেবে প্রতি বৎসর কয়েক শো করে ছাত্র বেছে নিয়ে তাদের জ্ঞান বিজ্ঞানের বিভিন্ন বিভাগে শিক্ষা দিতে হবে। বিভিন্ন জেলার প্রতিভাবান ছাত্রদের সঙ্গে মুসলমান শিক্ষার এডি-পি-আই ও অন্যান্য শেপাল অফিসাররা যোগদান স্থাপন করবেন। জ্ঞানের কোন বিভাগে কার কি সম্ভাবনা আছে সে সম্পর্কে তথ্য সমবায় করবেন তাঁরা। সুচিন্তিত পরিকল্পনা না থাকার আজ পর্যন্ত বাংলার মুসলমান একটয়ারী টাটিটিশিরান, চার্চার্ড একাউন্টেন্ট, ফিসারী ও এগ্রিকালচার এক্সপার্ট এবং এটাপি ইত্যাদির সংখ্যা এত কম।

মুসলমান ছাত্রদের পোটেল-সমস্যা বহমিন থেকে প্রবল আকার ধারণ করেছে। এ সম্পর্কে ইতিবোধেই যথেষ্ট নিক্ষেপ দেখা গিয়েছে। ইসলামিয়া কলেজে বিজ্ঞান শিক্ষার আরোজন সম্পর্কে মুসলমানদের অভিযোগ বহমিনকার। applied chemistry শিক্ষার কোন সুযোগই নেই মুসলমানদের কলকাতায়। বিদেশে বিজ্ঞান চর্চার জন্যে যে সব বৃত্তি সেওয়া হচ্ছে তাতেও মুসলমান উপযুক্ত অংশ পাচ্ছে না বলেই তাদের ধারণা। এসব অভিযোগের প্রতি-কায় দাবী করে বাংলার মুসলমান ছাত্র সমাজ।

বাংলার বহিতের অগচরের কথা বলা হয়েছে; এবং দেখা যায় যে সাধারণ বাজালীর চেয়েও বাজালী মুসলিম বহিতের বেশী অগচর হচ্ছে। শতকরা ৭৫ জনের মত মুসলমান ছাত্রছাত্রী প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয় থেকে বিলার গ্রহণ করে। ১৯৪০-৪১ সনে মুসলমান ছাত্র ছিল প্রাথমিক স্তরে শতকরা ৫৪.৯ জন, মাধ্যমিক স্তরে ৩০.১ জন, হাইস্কুলে ২৫.৩ জন, কলেজে ২০.৭ এবং বৃত্তিবলক কলেজে ১২.২ জন। সংখ্যা বাড়িরে কোন লাভ নেই। শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে বোম্ব, মাদ্রাজ, এমন কি উড়িষ্যা ও মধ্যপ্রদেশের মুসলমানের চেয়েও বাংলার মুসলমানের অবস্থা অত্যন্ত পোচনীয়। বৃত্তিবলক শিক্ষা ও বিজ্ঞান শিক্ষার দিকে মুসলমানদের টেনে আনতে হবে এবং বহু করতে হবে তাদের অগচর। শিক্ষার মান বাড়ুক আর নাই বাড়ুক, শিক্ষার বরচ বেড়েই চলেছে দিন দিন। স্কুলের বেতন বাড়ছে, পাঠ্য পুস্তকের দাম বাড়ছে। বিনা কারণে পাঠ্য পুস্তক পরিবর্তন আর এক মারাত্মক ব্যাধি। মাধ্যমিক ও উচ্চ শিক্ষার বরচ আজ এত বেড়ে গিয়েছে যে দরিদ্র বহাবিত্তের পক্ষে পড়ার বরচ চালানোই আজ কঠিন ব্যাপার হয়ে ধাঁড়িয়েছে। মাধ্যমিক ও উচ্চ শিক্ষাকে সম্পূর্ণরূপে করতে হলে শিক্ষার বরচ কমাতেই হবে। এই জন্যে দরকার হবে সরকারী সাহায্যের। পরিষ্কার ছাত্রের ভবিষ্যৎ জন্যে প্রত্যেক স্কুলে পাঠ্য পুস্তকের লাইব্রেরীর ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে যাতে পরীক্ষা ছাত্রেরা বই না কিনেই কাজ চালিয়ে দিতে পারে।

পুলিশ ও শাসন সম্পর্কীয় বরাকের তুলনায় বাংলার শিক্ষার বরচ খুবই কম। এই কম বরাকের ওপর মোট। বরক জাপ বনান উচ্চ পদের ভাপাযান কর্তব্যচারীরা। যেখানে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকের বেতন মাত্র ১২৭ টাকা সেখানে খুই ভিন হাজার টাকা মাইনা শেপাল অফিসারকে সেওয়া অমার্জনীয়। নিভিল সাপ্লাই ও অন্যান্য কোন কোন বিভাগের সমবায় কর্তব্যচারীদের বেতন-শিক্ষকদের তুলনায় অসম্ভব বরক বেশী। এই অমান্যজন্য বহু না করতে পারলে দেশের সর্গুকারী উন্নতি সম্ভব নয়।

শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রে বাংলার আজ যে অবস্থা কিছুদিন আগে সোভিয়েট রুশিয়ার অবস্থাও ছিল অনেকটা ঐ রকম। বিশ্বের পর এই কয়েক বৎসরে তারা শিক্ষার ব্যাপারে যুগান্তর নিয়ে এসেছে। রুশিয়ার তিন বছর বয়সের বাইরে শিশুর দায়িত্ব নিতেছে। নার্সারী স্কুল, কিণ্ডারগার্টেন, শিশু হোম, প্লে-সেন্টার এ সবের আয়োজন সেখানে অল্পতভাবে লক্ষ্যসাধন করেছে। সোভিয়েট 'পলিটেকনিকাইজেশান' দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছে সভ্যজগতে। Technicum-এর ভিতর দিয়ে এরা বেকার সমস্যার করেছে সমাধান। পায়োনিয়ার আন্দোলনের ভিতর দিয়ে ছাত্রদের বনে আগানো হয়েছে দায়িত্ববোধ। সোভিয়েট ইউনিয়নে কোথাও লিখন পঠনকর্ম লোকের সংখ্যা শতকরা ৯০, কোথাও ৮৫ আরও বেশী। পনের বছরে সামস্ত যুগ থেকে, বিজ্ঞানের যুগে এসে পেঁচেছে এরা বৈশ্বিক শিক্ষা-নীতির ভিতর দিয়ে। বাংলায়ও আজ আর জোড়াতালি দেওয়া সংস্কার চলবে না, এখানেও প্রয়োজন বৈশ্বিক পরিবর্তনের।

MAULANA HAJI MUHAMMAD QUASEM : মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমি বলতে চাই যে মাদ্রাসা সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ কোন ব্যবস্থা এ পর্যন্ত হয় নাই। গত কয়েক বছর থেকে যে ৮৬ হাজার টাকা বাজেট করে দেওয়া হয়েছে সেটা স্থির করার পর অনেক নতুন নতুন মাদ্রাসা বাংলার হয়েছে। তখন বাংলায় মাত্র ৬৪টা মাদ্রাসা ছিল। সুতরাং ৬৪টা মাদ্রাসায় যা সাহায্য করা হতো, আজকে প্রায় তিনশো মাদ্রাসা আছে, তাতেও সেই টাকা বরাদ্দ হয়েছে। মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের এদিকে আমি দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই যে তিনি যেন মাদ্রাসা সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ বিবেচনা করেন এবং Old scheme মাদ্রাসার জন্য আদালত একটা টাকা বরাদ্দ করে দেন। এবং New Scheme-এও যে High মাদ্রাসার সাহায্য দেওয়া হতেছে তাও যথেষ্ট নয়। বর্তমানে প্রায় জেলায় দেখা যায় ২৪৮৫ Girls' High এবং Junior মাদ্রাসা হয়েছে; তার জন্য কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই। সুতরাং আমি আশা করি যে Girls' High এবং Junior মাদ্রাসার জন্য যাতে যথোপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা হতে পারে তার ব্যবস্থা করবেন। আমার অনেক বন্ধুই মনে করেন যে ইসলামী শিক্ষার বর্তমানে তেমন প্রয়োজন নাই; তাতে খালি মোহা তৈরী হয়, অকর্ষণ। এ আমি ২১১ জন ভক্তলোকের মুখে শুনেছি। কিন্তু আপনারা চিন্তা করুন যে আলোর দরকার জন্ম হ'তে যুক্তি পর্য্যন্ত; আলোর ছাড়া কোন উপায় নাই। জানাজা থেকে কেয়ারত পর্য্যন্ত আলোরদের প্রয়োজন। এমনকি অবস্থার যদি ভাল আলোর তৈরী না হয় মাদ্রাসা থেকে তাহলে ভাল আলোর এসেলে আর তৈরী হবে না। ইসলামী Culture সাধারণের ভিতর আসবে না, দিন দিন তা লোপ পেয়ে যাবে। অতএব আমি মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করতে চাই যে তিনি মাদ্রাসার প্রতি যেন বিশেষ ভাবে দৃষ্টি দেন এবং মাদ্রাসাগুলি যাতে বাংলায় জীবিত হতে পারে তার জন্য তিনি অশেষ যত্নবান হবেন। বিশেষ করে আমি স্মরণ করিয়ে দিতে চাই বাংলায় আমার সহকর্মী বন্ধুদের, এই বিগত All India জামিয়া উলুমা Conference-এ আপনারা দেখেছেন যে একথা বললে বোধ হয় অত্যাচারি হবে না যে Muslim League-এর ভয়ভুক্ততার একটা প্রধান কারণ আলোর সমাজ। সমস্ত পীর সাহেবান এবং উলুমা সনানুভূতি দিয়েছেন আশ্রয়; এবং যতবার যত কাজেই আপনারা হস্তক্ষেপ করেছেন উলুমা আপনারদের পিছনে আপনারদের সহযোগিতা করেছে। আপনারদের সঙ্গে সনানুভূতি থেকে তারা কখনও পৃষ্ঠাপণ হন নাই। সেটাও আপনারদের কৃতকার্যতার একটা বিশেষ অঙ্গ বললেও অত্যাচারি হবে না। অতএব সেইভাবে যদি আপনারা এসবের শিক্ষাকে neglect করেন তাহলে অঙ্গ ভবিষ্যতে মুসলমান সমাজের অবস্থা কি হবে সেটা আপনারা একটু চিন্তা করতে পারেন। এবং মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে সেই বিষয়ে আমি অনুরোধ করি যে মুসলমান, যাদের Arabic দিক্‌তি লোকদের শিক্ষার প্রতি যেন কখনও অবহেলা না করা হয়। এটার প্রতি দৃষ্টি দিয়ে এবং প্রচুর পরিমাণে সাহায্য দিয়ে মাদ্রাসাগুলি Old Scheme, New Scheme এবং Girls' Junior এবং High মাদ্রাসা, যাতে স্বতন্ত্ররূপে পরিচালিত হতে পারে তার ব্যবস্থা করবেন। বিভিন্ন Boarding-এর জন্য অন্যান্য দিকে অনেক টাকা ব্যয় হতেছে কিন্তু আরো মাদ্রাসার জন্য ২৪৮৫ Boarding বেসানে রয়েছে সেখানে অতি সামান্য সাহায্য পাওয়া যায়। District Board-এর কাছে আবেদন করেও বিশেষ ফল হয় না। এইজন্য আমি মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের এদিকে দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি যে অনেক মাদ্রাসাতেই Boarding-এর ব্যবস্থা আছে; তাদের জন্য তিনি আদালত একটা ব্যয় ব্যয় করে ব্যবস্থা করুন। অবশ্য আমার এমন সম্বন্ধে অনেক কিছু বলবার ছিল। Primary শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধেও আমার ভাই বাহার সাহেব বলেছেন। সে সম্বন্ধে আমি কিছু বলতে চাই না। আমি মাদ্রাসা সম্বন্ধেই কয়েকটি কথা বললাম। আশা করি এ সম্বন্ধে একটু বিবেচনা করবেন।

KHAN BANADUR NURAZZAMAN : মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমার বন্ধু অনেক কথা বলেছেন আমি খুই একটা কথা বলবো। আমরা শিক্ষা বলতে সাধারণতঃ দু'বি আদায়ের মধ্যে বাংলা শিক্ষা করা, কি ইংল্যান্ড

করা, কি আরবী শিক্ষা করা। কিন্তু শিক্ষা দলের অর্থ তা নয়। যদি শিক্ষা কখনো এই বলেই আরবী শীরাবহু জাহ'মে শিক্ষার বাসবা এবেবারেই হবে না। এখন শিক্ষা কিসে হওয়া দরকার এ সম্বন্ধে গভ করেক মন্তব্য উক্ত Universityতে অনেক আলোচনা হয়ে গিয়েছে। কিন্তু আমার মতে আমি মাস্তার কথা বলতে চাই যে—শেখী জাহার শিক্ষা হওয়া দরকার। আমি এই কথা বলি যে যে পর্যন্ত তা না হচ্ছে সে পর্যন্ত শিক্ষার চাহা হবে না, শিক্ষা সাধারণ হবে না। কাজেই শেখী জাহা শিক্ষার বাহন হওয়া দরকার। আমাদের দেশে শিক্ষা বলি আরবী স্বাধীনতা চাচ্ছি, আরবী স্বাধীনতা পেয়েছি, আরবী শিক্ষার স্বাধীন বলি, কিন্তু আমাদের জাহার সঙ্গে স্বাধীনতার সন্দর্ভ রয়েছে। যে পর্যন্ত না বাংলা জাহার কথা বলতে চেষ্টা করবে, বাংলা জাহাকে জানিত করবে, সে পর্যন্ত আরবী দেশের স্বাধীনতা লাভ করেছি, এবং স্বাধীনতা আরবী মর্মে মর্মে অনুভব করি—এই কথা বলতে পারি না। জাহার সঙ্গে স্বাধীনতার সন্দর্ভ রয়েছে। আরবী এখন ইংরাজীতে কথা বলতে জানিত বোধ করি। যে পর্যন্ত না বাকালী পুড়োকেব মনে বাংলা জাহা স্মরণ করে বলা, স্বাধিত করে বলা এবং বাংলা জাহার লিখতে পারা সৌরভের বিষয় হবে সে পর্যন্ত স্বাভাবিক আরবী দেশের স্বাধীনতা চাই বলা বেড়ে পারে না। আজকাল বাংলা জাহার অনেক শ্রুকারের পাঠ্য পুস্তক হয়েছে কিন্তু আরো বেশী হওয়া দরকার। আমাদের মস্তানসে যে শিক্ষা আছে সকলেই বলে এটা Defective শিক্ষা। এটা একটা Admitted fact আমাদের দেশে শিক্ষা জটিলপূর্ণ, কিন্তু কোথায় সেই জটিল, কোন দিকে জটিল, কি করলে তা দূর হতে পারে তার দেশ স্বাধীনতা হয়নি। কাজেই আমার মনে হয় শিক্ষার শেষ কোথাও, কি করলে সেই শেষ সংশোধিত হতে পারে সে বিষয়ে একটা Committee করে Report হওয়া দরকার এবং সেই Report অনুসারে ডিমান্ড শিক্ষার চাহবা হওয়া দরকার।

এখন আরবী বলি যে আমাদের দেশে কৃষি প্রধান দেশ, আমাদের কৃষির উন্নতি নাই, কৃষকের উন্নতি নাই, তাদের স্বত্বপাতির উন্নতি নাই, সেজন্যই আরবী খেতে পাই না, চাহাকাল করি। গভ মৃত্তিকের আপনামা সকলেই জানেন কেউ বলে মিশ, কেউ বলে পঞ্চাশ লক্ষ লোক মাথা গিয়েছে। কিন্তু এই যে মাথা গিয়েছে, কোন মাথা গিয়েছে? আমাদের দেশে মাথা নাই বলে। কেউ কেউ বলছেন যে এখানে যে মৃত্তিক হবে, যে গভ বারের মৃত্তিকের চেয়ে সহস্র ৩০ বেশী। তবুও আমাদের দেশে কৃষির উন্নতির জন্য টাকা ব্যয়িত হচ্ছে না। কৃষকের জন্য কিছু টাকা দেওয়া হয়েছে বটে, কিন্তু আমি বলি কৃষকের আরও সম্বলিয়ে বেশী টাকা দেওয়া দরকার। কৃষক এবং কৃষি যে পর্যন্ত আমাদের দেশে উন্নত ধরণের না হবে, আমি নিশ্চয় করে বলতে পারি যে পর্যন্ত আমাদের দেশের উন্নতি হবে না। আমরা পেয়ে বীচাতে পারবো না, আমাদের দেশের লোক মাথা হবে; এবং তাদের মাথা মাওয়ার হাত হতে স্বাধীনতা এবং দেশের যত লোক সকলে যে ডানেই চেষ্টা করুক না কেন, যত বিষয় বুদ্ধিমানই তাঁরা হোন না কেন, দেশের লোককে রক্ষা করতে পারবেন না। আমাদের দেশের প্রথা কি? কৃষকেরা বলে যে কার কতখানি জমি আছে, কত উৎপন্ন হয় সে কথা ভাবে না, যদিও অন্যায় দেশে যেখানে চাষের যথেষ্ট উন্নতি হয়েছে সেখানে সেই দিকে তারা লক্ষ্য করে। অন্যায় দেশ থেকে বাংলা দেশের জমির পরিমাণ যথেষ্ট বেশী, কিন্তু তবুও বাংলায় লোক পেতে পার না, অন্যায়ের মনে, একবার হয়েছে আরবী মরায় সন্তান। এবং আমাদের দেশকে অন্য দেশের উপর লক্ষ লক্ষ টন চাউনের জন্য নির্ভর করতে হচ্ছে। তবু এখান মৃত্তিক হয়েছে বলে তা নয়। বাংলার জমী বেশী হওয়া সত্ত্বেও বাংলা দেশে ফসল কম হয়। কৃষকেরা অনিশ্চিত। কি ভাবে চাষ করে বেশী ফসল হবে তা তারা জানে না। এটাই সব চেয়ে বড় কথা, সব চেয়ে বেশী জাহার কথা; কারণ বাংলা দেশে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ জমী রয়েছে। তাদের শেখাতে হবে কি করে আমাদের দেশে জমিতে ফসল বেশী জন্মানো যায়। অন্য দেশে দেখা যায় যে কতটা ধান হলো, ফসল তোলা, সেটাই তারা বিশেষভাবে করে; কিন্তু আমাদের দেশে কৃষকেরা মনে করে কার কতখানি জমি আছে, কত acre বা কত বর্গ চাষ হয়েছে। যদিও সেটা সেখানার বিষয় নয়; আগল বেধতে হবে, কম বরডে, অল্প বরডে বেশী ফসল কি করে উৎপন্ন করা যায়। সেটাই সবচেয়ে বড় কথা। কাজেই আমাদের দেশে Schools বাগি ইংরাজী, বাংলা পড়ানো হয় বটে কিন্তু আমি বলি যে প্রত্যেক Schoolএ নিম্ন শিক্ষা হতে অন্ততঃ Matriculation পর্যন্ত কৃষি Reader, কৃষি বিভাগের কোন বই পাঠ্য হওয়া দরকার এবং সেটা আমাদের ছেলেদের বেশী Markএতে পান করতে হবে। বেলিন এই বন্দোবস্ত হবে শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে Matriculation পর্যন্ত কৃষি সম্বন্ধে বই থাকবে এবং ছেলেরা ভাল করে পান করবে, সেদিন থেকে কৃষির উন্নতি হবে।

আর আমাদের যদি কৃষির উন্নতি করতে হয় তা হ'লে গো জাহির উন্নতি করতে হবে। যদি গরুর উন্নতি না হয় কৃষির উন্নতি হতে পারে না। আমাদের দেশে লক্ষ লক্ষ গরু মারা যায়। বড় দুগ্ধের বিষয় যে গরুর কোন Census নাই। আরবী মনে হয় বন্দন Census হবে কৃষকের মাঝে গরুর Census হবে, কারণ

মানুষ আর পুরুষ মধ্যে পুরুষ হান বিত্তীয়। লক্ষ লক্ষ পুরুষ যে যারা বায় ডাতে কত কোটি কোটি টাকা বাংলা দেশের যে ধুংস হয় সে সম্বন্ধে কোন হিসাব নাই, কোন Account নাই, কোন পরিকল্পনা নাই। পুরুষকে রক্ষা করবার কোন বন্দোবস্ত নাই; হাস রাখে না, স্বয়ং করে না, গো-শালা নাই। পুরুষ যখন যারা বায় লক্ষ লক্ষ ভরণ পুরুষকে রক্ষা করবার ডাক্তারী বন্দোবস্ত নাই। আমাদের দেশে মানুষকে রক্ষা করবার জন্য শত শত ছুল, শত শত কলেজ, শত শত কারখানা, শত শত ডাক্তার আছে ব্যাধি চিকিৎসার করার জন্য। কিন্তু বড়ই দুঃখের বিষয় বাংলা দেশে, যদিও এটা কৃষি প্রধান দেশ, এখানে পুরুষকে রক্ষা করবার জন্য, কৃষির উন্নতির জন্য, কিছু করা হয়নি। কাজেই আমার মনে হয় মানুষের রক্ষার জন্য যেমন School, College করতে হয়, যেমন ডাক্তার করতে হয়, পুরুষকে রক্ষা করবার জন্যও তেমন দরকার। যাতে গো বড়ক না আসে সে সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ সতর্কতার আবশ্যিক। আমি বাখরগঞ্জের খবর রাখি। আমি বাড়ী গিয়েছিলাম, সেখানে বহু লোক আমাকে বলেছে যে এবার এত পুরুষ মারা গিয়েছে, যে আবার কি করে বেয়ে বাঁচবে জানিনা। তাতে আমার মনে হয় যে মানুষের চিকিৎসার ব্যাধি নিবারণের যেমন বন্দোবস্ত দরকার পুরুষ জন্যও ঠিক সম্যকভাবে বন্দোবস্ত দরকার।

আর আমি ২১টা কথা ইংরাজি শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে বলতে চাই। আমরা বড় গৌরব করি যে আমরা শিক্ষিত,—
(Here the member reached the time limit.)

Mr. Speaker : You have reached your time-limit; please sit down.

HUSAN ARA BEGUM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the House to the condition of girls' education in Bengal, especially in Calcutta. There is a dearth of girls' education especially Muslim girls' education, in Bengal. Lucknow in the United Provinces is quite a small town compared to Calcutta, but, there they have facilities for many colleges and educational institutions for girls. The girls' schools and colleges in Calcutta are inadequate, for during the past few years the Muslim girls are progressively coming forward for education. At present we have only two schools, the Sakawat Memorial High School and the Suhrawardy Memorial School which is a middle English school. The M. A. O. Girls' School, of which my humble self is the founder, has been transferred during the war emergency period out of Calcutta. It will be coming back to Calcutta by the beginning of next year. Now in these two schools there are many girls who cannot get admission at the present moment. So I would request the Hon'ble Minister to give special attention to the cause of muslim girls' education. The Calcutta Corporation to which I am thankful have given facilities for the education of girls. But that too is not sufficient, although they are doing their best. It is the Government whom I ask to come forward and solve this problem. It will not be out of place to mention that we have at the present moment one training school for Muslim women students in Calcutta, and even that Muslim Primary Training School which had been working in Calcutta has been transferred since 1942 to Suri. I do not know when it will come back to Calcutta. It is a great drawback to the training of Muslim girls. I would request the Hon'ble Minister to appoint a women educationists' committee which will be able to solve the problem of girls' education in Bengal, and I hope special attention should be paid by them to the selection of text books. So without wasting the time of the House I would request the Hon'ble Minister to have a women educationists' committee as soon as possible. I would like to mention that Miss Gupta, Inspectress of Schools, had done very great propaganda about six years ago in forming an Education Week in Bengal. Then there was an Education Week—Western Bengal Education Week—in which much work had been done in bringing educationists from other parts of Bengal to Calcutta. I have spoken to Miss Gupta about it and I have been promised every help in this matter so that we could have another propaganda week like that in Calcutta. At the present moment, everything is at a standstill. I, therefore, presume that the Hon'ble Minister would pay special attention to form a Women's Committee of Education.

Mr. EBRAHIM KHAN: Sir, I am afraid I shall be failing in my duty if I do not support every word which has fallen from the lips of the honourable speakers who have just discussed before me about the insufficient

provision in almost every branch of education in our country. Sir, I shall not take much of your time by speaking on a number of subjects. I shall mostly invite your attention to the sad lot of the primary teachers. Conferences have been held in subdivisions, conferences have been held in districts, conferences have been held in provincial headquarters. Deputations have been sent up, resolutions have been drafted and forwarded, and all these possibly have been relegated to the waste paper basket because we find the effect that the worse than beggarly allotments that have been made for the increase of the salary of the teachers are practically an insult to the jury on the primary teachers. It is a standing reflection on the intellectual leaders of the country that they have permitted these primary teachers to rot in the condition in which they have been for years together. I think unless a definite assurance is given by the Hon'ble Minister in charge that something more will be done than what has been provided for in the budget for bettering the lot of these primary teachers there would be a definite revolt in the rank and file of the primary teachers.

I would next invite your attention, Sir, to the very insufficient provision for the supervision of these primary schools. Most of these Sub-Inspectors, so far as I know, are engaged in doing more clerical work than inspection work and it is a universal complaint, at least in my part of the country, that no education worth the name is being imparted in most of the primary schools in mofussil. It is, therefore, extremely important that just as the prospects and the salary of the teachers should be improved at the earliest possible opportunity so also much more efficient arrangement must be made for the efficient teaching in the schools that are already existing in the country.

Next I would invite the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge to the primary education among the girls in mofussil side. Some years back a scheme of co-education in the primary schools was formulated and enforced. Rightly or wrongly mofussil parents have practically declined to send in their girls to primary schools for boys and it has been seen for years together that the scheme has not proved a success so far as co-education is concerned. The result has been that where formerly some independent primary girls schools existed, at present though general schools have multiplied in number, those for girls must have multiplied in the negative side, and it is difficult to find a free primary school for girls in hundred villages. I feel that that scheme of co-education should be abolished and separate institutions for the girls should be provided without any further delay.

Next I would invite the attention, just as a learned and honourable friend has done before, of the Hon'ble Education Minister to madrasah education. That education is being sadly neglected. I know that in answer to this complaint the old tale would be told and retold that there is a shortage of money. I have never been able to appreciate the worth of this kind of contention. When there is a war in the country money is found from possible and impossible sources and in our country ours is a condition of war—war against ignorance—and as our noble Prophet said centuries ago, of all crusades the crusade against ignorance is the noblest, we should take up the question of education in that spirit of crusade and should be prepared to find money from possible and impossible sources. We cannot rest satisfied like "progressive realisation of self-Government" of Mr. Lloyd George, with the hope of progressive realisation of educational ideals. We cannot go to the grave with the holy consolation that our great-great-grandsons will find primary education universal and compulsory in the country when grasses will grow on our graves. We want to see the thing before we go to our grave; we want to see that our country has already made rapid progress in the field of education and in the field of progress. I therefore once again invite the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to the imperative necessity of making immediate arrangement in all these directions.

With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

Dr. MOZAMMEL HOSSAIN : মানবীর Speaker মহোদয়, আমি আমার পূর্ব বক্তী বক্তা honourable বাহার সাহেব বা বন্দোবস্ত তা সম্পূর্ণ সমর্থন করি। কেননা সত্যিকারের শিক্ষা দেশে বিস্তে গেলে শিক্ষা পদ্ধতির আদল পরিবর্তন হওয়া দরকার এবং সেই আদল পরিবর্তন না হলে সত্যিকারের শিক্ষা এদেশে চালিত হবে না। এর সঙ্গে আমি মানবীর বক্তী মহোদয়ের দৃষ্টি দৃষ্টো বিষয়ে আকর্ষণ করি। প্রথমেই হলো এই যে constituency হিসাবে বা জেলা হিসাবে যদি ছেলের technical বিষয়ে শিক্ষা দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা করা না হয় তাহলে অনেক জেলাই পিছনে পড়ে যাবে। ভাঙ্গারী বা engineering এই দৃষ্টো সম্বন্ধে আমি বলতে চাইছি। জেলা হিসাবে constituency হিসাবে সুতোয় জেলা বা constituency থেকে ছেলের বৃত্তি দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা করা দরকার, যাতে তারা এই ভাঙ্গারী বা Engineering সম্বন্ধে শিক্ষা প্রাপ্ত হতে পারে। এদিকে দৃষ্টি দেওয়া উচিত। আর একটা জিনিষ হচ্ছে যে গ্রামাঞ্চলে যে সব স্কুল আছে তাদের অবস্থা অত্যন্ত খারাপ। বাস্তবিক সেশের representative যে স্বয়ং তাদের ভিতর থেকে আধুনিক অনেকগুলি H. E. School গড়ে উঠেছে। সে school গুলি ৮১০০ বৎসর চালু হয়েছে তারা এখনও কোনরূপ সাহায্য অর্থায়ন সরকারী সাহায্য পায় না। এমন কি ৮১০০ বৎসরের অধিককাল যে সব school affiliation পেরেছে সেই সব school ৩ grants-in-aid বা কোস সাহায্য পায় নাই। বঙ্গদেশের মধ্যে শিক্ষা চালু করতে গেলে যাতে বঙ্গদেশের school গুলি উপযুক্ত সাহায্য পায় তার দিকে যাতে একটু দৃষ্টি থাকে সেজন্য আমি মানবীর শিক্ষা বক্তী মহোদয়ের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করি, কেননা সত্যিকারের দেশের representative স্বয়ং। আমার পূর্ব বক্তী বক্তা বা বন্দোবস্ত তা আমি সমর্থন করি, যে primary শিক্ষকদের বেতনও বৃদ্ধি করা আবশ্যিক। যাতে free primary শিক্ষা অধিরে চালু হয় তার জন্য আমি আমার বক্তা জানাচ্ছি।

Mr. TAFAZZAL ALI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this morning I will confine myself solely to the problem of primary education in this Province. I will deliberately refrain from speaking on secondary education, because I understand that legislation for improving the secondary education of the Province is under the contemplation of the Government. I will present, Sir, only three aspects of primary education in Bengal before the House. Broadly all the honourable members will agree with me that the sponsors of the Primary Education Act had certainly in their view free primary education in this Province, but as a matter of practice I have found that the primary education that is being imparted to the province of Bengal now is not really free. In spite of the fact that tenants have got to pay tax at the rate of 3½ pice a rupee they are not allowed a free primary school in their area until they construct the building at their own cost, provide for the furniture and all other instruments necessary for running a primary school as well as the land. After they have incurred all the expenditure they are given the privilege of having only three lowly-paid teachers, generally half-educated teachers, to teach the boys of that particular institution. I am speaking from the experience of my district among about two thousand free primary schools opened in my district—it has not been possible in any one case to open a free primary school solely at the cost of the District School Board of Tippera.

Another aspect of primary education in Bengal is that supervision that is exercised on primary education is hopelessly inadequate: In one particular police station there is only one officer to supervise the primary education of 70 to 100 free primary schools in that area. Since one Sub-Inspector of Schools has got to supervise so many schools, it is physically impossible for him to keep an effective check either on the attendance of teachers or on the attendance of boys. As a member of the District School Board of Tippera I have found that in many cases unfortunately neither the boys nor the teachers do their duties as efficiently and as faithfully as are expected of both of them. It is bound to be so due to the scant supervision that is exercised on these free primary schools. I do not know whether Government have yet thought of any scheme for exercising more effective supervision over the running of these free primary schools in the rural areas.

The third aspect that I want to place before the House has been referred to by two honourable speakers, namely, the low wages that are being offered to the teachers of free primary schools. I would not call it “pay”; I would

and it wages. The result has been this. During the pre-war period we, particularly in our district, had been able to attract a good number of matriculates to work as teachers of free primary schools, but because of the war these matriculates have been attracted to posts of better remuneration due to the opening up of various departments both temporary and permanent by the Government of the Province as well as by the Central Government. The result has been that it is very difficult to find out at the present moment one matriculate even in five schools. I happen to be connected with one free primary school directly, because it is under the Committee of Management of a High English School of which I have the privilege of being the President. I can say that it has been impossible for me to find out a matriculate to serve in this free primary school section of the high school, because of this low pay. Government have got to take up these three things immediately. First of all, Government must make it really free and not saddle the poor men with another burden of finding out the land, the house, the furniture and all other instruments of the institution. Secondly, Government should find out a more effective method of supervising the running of the schools. And last but not the least Government should also find out money to pay better wages to the teachers of the schools in order to get the best of them and in order to attract good workers to work in these free primary schools.

Mr. SHARFUDDIN AHMAD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would only say a few words about primary education. Of course many aspects of this problem have been discussed here, but I would only say that like the Holy Roman Empire, the free primary education that is now in existence in some form in this province is neither free, nor compulsory, nor is it any education at all. Like the Holy Roman Empire there are only three words and three mistakes. It is neither holy, nor is it Roman, nor is it an empire. It is, exactly like that. When this matter was taken up by the sponsors of the Act as just now suggested by a colleague of mine there was certainly the idea that primary education in Bengal should be overhauled thoroughly. That was the idea so far as I remember when Mr. Azizul Haque went on tour in the districts of Bengal and spoke about the subject and that was probably at the time of Mr. Nazimuddin when he was an Executive Councillor. That was the idea which was expressed and given to the rural areas of Bengal. People fondly hoped that they were going to have a new system of primary education. With that idea they took it up. And everyone of my colleagues sitting over there will, I hope, remember that primary education was allotted to the district boards of Bengal, and the educationists of Bengal, particularly the experts, used to describe it as a fifth wheel of the district board machinery and the main idea was to remove that fifth wheel from the system of education. With that idea a new body, a separate body, was to be set up to look after primary education, because the district boards having done their other duties and having given their attention to public works, medical, health, communications and other things had practically no inclination to devote themselves to the spread of primary education. From my personal experience of one of the premier district boards of Bengal, I can say that when this Primary Education Act was passed, one of the educational experts, namely, Dr. Jenkins personally approached me and he placed before me the very same idea, namely, that they were going to relieve the district boards of Bengal of their burden and they were going to give better and more efficient education.

With that idea probably I was the first District Board Chairman in Bengal to agree and on a careful calculation a sum of Rs. 76,000 was set apart for the district of Mymensingh for facilitating that scheme. Mymensingh was the first district which came forward to accept the scheme. So far as I remember I also as Chairman of the district board supported the idea and promised to the district that primary education was going to be free, compulsory, more efficient and more beneficent, but nothing of the sort has yet been done. For more than ten years schemes and schemes are going

on but nothing is being produced. Of course, we hear that something is going to be produced in the shape of experimental compulsion and it is yet to be seen. So far as the system of working of the Primary Education Act is concerned, from practical experience, it has been seen that School Boards have been set up in most of the districts, but the executive of those School Boards are fettered by official, I mean the District Inspector of Schools, who is the Secretary of the District School Board. Now the Secretary and the District School Board Executives are always at loggerheads. The Secretary seldom agrees with the non-officials and their quarrel is going on. Again the Sub-Inspectors of Schools are under the control of the Secretary of the District School Board. They are permanent officials of Government, and they hardly listen to the President or the Vice-President of the School Board. The result is that bills are not drawn up in proper time. The Chairman passes orders but they won't make out the bills for six months. The poor primary school teachers are not paid more than Rs. 16 for six months together. It is really a very unfortunate position. To get pay so late is equivalent to no pay. So things must be improved. This Secretary business should be finished. Non-officials should be made completely independent. At present they have nothing to do with the control of the Sub-Inspectors of Schools. If they have got to work under the District School Board, they must be placed under the control of the School Board Executives. So in order to achieve it the whole Act has got to be amended with a view to making it workable.

I would, therefore, request the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education to go deep into the matter and come up with a suitable amending Bill so that all the anomalies may be removed and the object for which the Primary Education Act was passed may be fulfilled to the satisfaction of the rate-payers of the province.

MOULANA ABDUL HAI : জনাব সভাপতি সাহেব : শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে অনেক আলোচনা হয়েছে এবং বাঙ্গালা education সম্বন্ধেও আমাদের কয়েকজন মেম্বর আজ আলোচনা করেছেন। তবে আমি সেই সব শিক্ষার কথা কিছু বলতে চাই না। আমি বলতে চাই যে আমরা মুসলমান হিসাবে, বাংলা দেশের মুসলমান হিসাবে আমাদের আশাশুভী য় দরকার সেটা আবারের বা এলেনবীন। সেই এলেনবীনের পুণা জিনিষ হচ্ছে কোরাণ এবং সে সম্বন্ধে খোলা নিজে বলছেন * * * * * কোরাণ পড়া প্রত্যেক মুসলমানের পক্ষে করজ। সেখা যায় যে অনেক লোক যারা ইংরাজী শিক্ষিত তাদের বৌলডী-সের মেম্বর ছেড়ে দিতে হয়েছে, কারণ কোরাণ পড়তে পারে না শুদ্ধ করে। সেজন্য আবার নিবেদন হচ্ছে যে আমাদের মাননীয় শিক্ষা বরী মহাশয় এ বিষয় বেন ভাল করে দৃষ্টি করেন যে প্রত্যেক district এ একটা করে বেন old scheme বাঙ্গালা হয় এবং তাতে সাহায্য দেওয়া হয়। বত old scheme বাঙ্গালা সেগুলি neglected ভাবে আছে। সভ্যকথা, মোল্লাদের পুতি বনোবোগ নেই। হজরত বহরত, সন্ন্যাস আলহিল্লাস, বলছেন * * * * * বিদ্যা দু রকম, বর্ন বিদ্যা এবং পারীরিক বিদ্যা। আজ আমরা যে পাকিস্তানের জন্য অবতীর্ণ হয়েছি এবং পাকিস্তান পাকিস্তান করে লারা বাংলা দেশকে বিভূত করে আসছি সেই পাকিস্তানে কোরাণ হাদিথকে আমাদের follow করতে হবে। সেই কোরাণ হাদিথ শিক্ষা দেবার জন্য যে সব old scheme বাঙ্গালা রয়েছে, অত্যন্ত শূণ্যে লিখে বদতে হচ্ছে এবারকার বাজেটে সেই বাঙ্গালার জন্য টাকা পরসা ব্যয় করা হয় নাই। এ রকম কেন হোলো, বিশেষ করে লীগ ministry পাকিস্তান ministry তে কেন এ রকম হোলো? এটা বড়ই দুঃখের বিষয়।

ডায়পরে আবার নিবেদন হচ্ছে যে এই বৌলডীদের জামিহর উলো পাশ করে, এদের কোন ঢাকরী বাকরী করবার উপায় নাই। জালাজা পড়বে এবং মহাজ পড়াবে। এজন্য আমরা হুসিত, অপমানিত, দাঙ্কিত। কিন্তু আজ যদি টিবিরা কুসোজের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়, যে টিবিরা কুসোজের কথা গুড সাত বছর থেকে শুনতে পাচ্ছি যে বাংলা দেশে একটী টিবিরা কলেজ হবে, সেই সবত ছেলেদো, বাবা old scheme বাঙ্গালা গুলি থেকে পাশ করতে ডাড়া সেই টিবিরা কলেজে পড়ে হাদিথ হবে এবং তাদের জীবন বাপন করবার একটা ব্যবস্থা হবে। কিন্তু আজ পর্যন্ত সেই টিবিরা কলেজের কোন ব্যবস্থা হয়নি। আজ এই বসকাতা riot এ কবরের কাগজ ব্যবস্ক বেখেতে পাচ্ছি যে ওখানে মুসলমানদের ভাজরী করতে হবে, এ করতে হবে ও করতে হবে- কিন্তু বীরা ভাজরী করেন তীরা জানেন যে এই ইউনানী বতে চিফিৎসার চাইতে উপকারী কিছু নেই। আজ যদি

এই টিবিয়া college করা হয় তাতে দুটো উপকার হবে :--একটা old scheme বাতাসা থেকে যায়। পাপ করবে ভায়া হাফির হবে; এবং যারা নাকি পরীষ লোক, যারা বেশী বেশী দাবের উত্তর করতে পারে না, এবং করে নিজেদের চিকিৎসা করতে পারে না তাহা সেই হাফিরদের চিকিৎসা রক্ষণ পারে। অতএব আমি শিক্ষারীদের অনুরোধ করি যে অনুগ্রহ করে বাতাসা প্রতিষ্ঠা করার জন্য তাঁরা যেন চেষ্টা করেন এবং তাঁদের অতি সদর টিবিয়া কলেজ সম্বন্ধেও যেন সুব্যবস্থা করেন এবং বাংলা দেশের মুসলমানদের লোভা গুলি তিনি পান। মুসলমানের পাকিস্তানের অভিনাথী এই ministry নিজেদের পদবর্ণনা রক্ষা করে সেই আদায়তানার বিদ্যাকে সর্গু পুথর হান দিয়ে তার প্রচারের ব্যবস্থা করুন। অতি আচ্ছন্নতার বিষয় যে এখান Parliamentary Secretary করেছেন বৌলানা আবদুল আজীজকে, তাঁকে Parliamentary Secretary করা হয়েছে। এ একটা bluff দেওয়া ছাড়া আর কিছু নয়। Parliamentary Secretary কে বহন ভিজ্ঞান করা হয় বাতাসা সম্বন্ধে সে বলে আর কিছু জানিনা। কি কারণে তাঁকে ৩৫০ টাকা মাইনা হয়ে বাধ্য হয় যদি বাতাসার জন্য কিছু ব্যবস্থা না করা যোতো? এ বিষয়ে আমাদের প্রত্যাশা করার প্রয়োজন কি? অতএব আমি অনুরোধ করি মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে যে old scheme বাতাসা সম্বন্ধে এবং টিবিয়া কলেজ সম্বন্ধে ব্যবস্থা করে বাংলার মুসলমানদের যেন সন্তুষ্ট করেন।

MR. SPEAKER: I understand that Mrs. Anwara Khatun wants to speak. She may speak now, and she will be the last speaker after which the Hon'ble Minister will reply.

Mrs. ANWARA KHATOON: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়: আমি বেয়েদের শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে ২৮টি বিষয়ের দিকে আপনারদের মনোযোগ আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। পৃথক হোলো যে পূর্বে যে হিন্দী বক্তৃতা করেছেন, তিনি বলকাতা সম্বন্ধেই বলেছেন এবং কলকাতার বাইরের সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলেন নি। বাইরের সম্বন্ধে হয়ত তাঁর কোন ধারণাই নেই। কিন্তু আমি বলতে চাই যে, বাংলার ব্যবস্থাপক সভায় যেমন চারটি বেয়ে representatives ২৮টা district-এর জন্য, তেমনি বাংলা দেশের ২৮টা district-এ বেয়েদের চারটে high school এবং ২টি M. E. school বাজ আছে। আমাদের ratio অনুসারে আমরাও আমাদের ত্রিধা দাবী করতে পারি। Population অনুসারে বাংলায় বেয়েরা প্রায় অর্ধেক--কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় বেয়েদের জন্য কাছো দৃষ্টি নেই। প্রত্যেক district-এ অন্ততঃ একটি করে Government boys' school দেয়া যায় তাই আমরা দাবী করি যে যতগুলি boys' school আছে অন্ততঃ ততগুলি Government girls' school দাবী দরকার। তাছাড়া বেয়েদের school গুলিতে মুসলমান বেয়েদের অনেক অস্থিবিধা। girls' school গুলিতে মুসলমান বেয়ে teacher-এর একাধি অভাব। আজকাল মুসলমান বেয়ে উচ্চ শিক্ষিত অনেক পাওয়া যায়। বর্ত Post Graduate বেয়ে আমরা নিকটে চাকরীর জন্য আসে। এবং সেজন্য আমি A. D. P. I. for Mohammedan Education-এর নিকট বাট। ওনার মতে B. T. ছাড়া বেয়ে নেওয়া অসম্ভব। আমি তাঁকে এক suggestion সেই যে পূর্বে বেরুগ ছিল তেমনই আজকাল Backward Community-র বেয়েদের জন্য এই ব্যবস্থা করা হউক যে appointment এর নিদিষ্ট কয়েক বৎসরের মধ্যে B. T. পান করতে হবে। ছয় সাত বাস হতে চল্ন কিছু কি করা হয়েছে? আমি বলি যে আমাদের পুরুষেরা যে রকম ভাবে ছুঁলে সেখা-পড়া সেখা ট্রিক সেই রকম ভাবে সেখাও যেন ছুঁলে যেতে পারে। সেই ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। এবং আমাদের এই যে চারটি বেয়েদের school ২৮টা district-এর মধ্যে এর কোন justification নেই, কারণ প্রত্যেক জেলার পুরুষ এবং বেয়েদের জন্য অন্ততঃ সমান সংখ্যক school দাবী দরকার। সেই জন্য যেন বেয়েদের জন্য উপযুক্ত সংখ্যক school তৈরী হয়। এর প্রতি দরকারের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি। এবং পুরুষ বেয়ানে minister হয় সেখানে আমরা যেন হয় যে বেয়েরা এর বেশী কিছু আশা করতে পারে না। এর পরেও অন্ততঃ যেন মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের এ বিষয়ে দৃষ্টি পড়ে এই আমার অনুরোধ--

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Sir, I am grateful to my honourable friends for making very helpful suggestions in the course of their speeches. I am grateful to Dr. Mafik for putting forward important suggestions for consideration of Government as to whether the medium of education, both in schools and colleges, should be in the same language and whether different languages being the media of education are not responsible for the worst quality of education in Bengal as compared to that in other provinces. Sir, that is a very thought-provoking suggestion and it requires very careful consideration. It will not do for

the Education Department merely to consider it, for it will have to take the opinion of the Universities as also of the public at large in order to come to a decision as to what should be the medium of education and whether it should be in one language or in two languages as it is now. Now that we are proceeding towards independence, I think very shortly we shall have to do away with these two languages as the media of education as is now prevailing.

Sir, Mr. Bahar has criticised why nothing has been done with regard to training of nursery school trainers and teachers. I have to invite his attention to No. 96 of the Development Scheme which deals with training of nursery school trainers and teachers and two women teachers have been sent abroad for special training to start nursery institutions here later on.

Sir, many of the speakers have spoken about primary education and that on two or three heads. One is the low pay of the teachers. I have already said in my opening speech that the pay of the primary teachers is going to be substantially increased, and I assure my friend, Mr. Ibrahim, that the increment will be at least three times of what has been put down in the Budget, that is 22 lakhs. It will come to about a crore.

As regards the question of inspection I have also dealt with that in my opening speech. I have said that at present on an average a sub-inspector has to inspect 160 schools in addition to his clerical duties. As has been pointed out by some of the members most of the time of the sub-inspector is wasted in his clerical work. Arrangements are being made to relieve him of his clerical work. It is proposed whether they should not be provided with clerks and whether immediately they could not be given an assistant sub-inspector to help him in his inspection work. Eventually our idea is that not more than sixty schools should be in charge of a sub-inspector of schools in rural areas.

With regard to the efficient working of primary schools I think there should be good inspection and it is by inspection that we expect to improve the quality of primary education. The question of buildings and furniture has been raised by my honourable friend, Mr. T. Ali. I admit that primary education is not now free but the reason for that is known to honourable members. I am not responsible for what happened previously but I may tell the House that Government is now going to undertake compulsory free primary education and they will have to look properly after buildings and other things also in that connection. Government cannot sit idle. They will have to make arrangements for building houses and other things.

As regards Madrassah education some of the honourable members have referred to it by saying that Madrassah education has not been properly attended to. Sir, I am fully aware of the problems connected with Madrassah education. Just after assuming office I called a special conference of Madrassah teachers in order to find out what should be the proper syllabus and the future scheme. The matter is still under consideration and I think within a short time we will be able to come to a final decision. But before we come to a final decision we must take the Muslim members of this House into our confidence. The whole thing will be placed before them and the final decision will be taken after consultation with them.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: What about the Tibbia College?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: It is not a subject of the Education Department. It concerns the Medical Department.

I may announce here for information of honourable members that we have at last decided on principle to accept the Momin Committee's recommendations and that a sum of rupees ten lakhs should be set apart for the advancement of Muslim education in Bengal for a number of years. As an earnest to that we have only recently, only day before yesterday, decided to allot four lakhs odd for the remaining five months of the current

financial year for advancing Muslim education in Bengal. Side by side, Sir, I may say that we are also going to include the education of other backward classes, for example, the scheduled castes' education. The scheduled caste students are already in receipt of five lakhs annually and we are going to increase it in order to accelerate advancement of education of that community. As regards the Buddhists we are going to allot special grants for the advancement of education of that community. As for Anglo-Indians I have already mentioned in my opening speech that for Anglo-Indians and scheduled castes we shall provide increased allotments for the advancement of their education. These minority communities which are backward must be helped to the best of our ability.

Sir, Mr. Md. Habibullah Chowdhury has raised the question of the medium of instruction, and also of the language in the text-books which is so difficult that our students in primary schools are not able to assimilate them properly. I think it is a very important question and we shall seriously take into consideration whether a committee of expert educationists should not be set up to see as to how primary text-books are to be composed in future.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Are you going to have such a committee?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN CHAUDHURY: I think we ought to.

In this connection I have just said about the special allotment for Muslim education, and I am going to have an advisory committee which will consider as to what amounts should be spent on what subjects. As regards the constitution of that committee Muslim members of the House will be sufficiently acquainted previously. Out of that fund it will be possible to give special grants for Muslim hostels and for poor students. My provisional idea is that at least 4,000 primary school students should be given the benefit of this fund in order that the brainy students may be able to go up to high schools after finishing their primary school course. Unless we do something like that, we are not likely to get any student from our Muslim community. I think I have done with most of the points which have been mentioned.

One point has been mentioned by Mr. Nurazzaman that there should be some agricultural course prescribed in primary schools. I think that is also a very helpful suggestion and we should seriously consider it and see whether text books dealing with ordinary agricultural problems should not find place in our primary school text books.

As regards girls' schools, we have already made provision for training of special teachers for girls' schools and two special training colleges are going to be started for training of girl teachers and with that object in view some women have sent abroad and we are going to have a Special Deputy Director for Female Education. We have decided that there should be a Special Deputy Director for Girls' Education and there should be a Special Assistant Inspector for Muslim Girls' Education in order to pay particular attention to this matter. I think everyone of us is aware that Muslims are very backward in female education and it is, therefore, very necessary that special efforts must be made to bring our females to the proper standard of education.

I welcome the suggestion that a committee should be set up for considering this female education in all its phases and I propose to set up a committee of that nature within a very short time. The women members of this House may rest assured that they will be taken into confidence at the time of setting up that committee and considering the personnel of that committee.

As regards percentage of female students, I think we should try first to increase the number of female students as much as possible. For the present they are not meeting with any difficulty in getting seats in colleges

or schools, but the principal difficulty is that owing to poverty many of the girls are not willing to go to schools and colleges. Special allotments for Muslim Education have also been made and we will now be able to grant special scholarships to poor and meritorious girl students so that they may get the advantage of higher education.

As regards female teachers, as far as possible every effort will be made to take female teachers, but, at the same time, in the interest of teaching we must see that a proper standard is maintained and with the establishment of the girls' training colleges, I think, this paucity of Muslim female teachers will disappear within a very short time and we will be able to supply a sufficient number of female teachers for the girls' schools.

Sir, with these words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hossain that a sum of Rs. 3,40,20,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "37—Education—General" was then put and agreed to.

37—Education—Anglo-Indian and European.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSSAIN: On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 11,69,800 be granted for expenditure under the head "37—Education—Anglo-Indian and European".

Sir, I would like to speak after hearing comments from honourable members.

Mrs. E. M. RICKETTS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of this House to the fact that although we are very much assured at hearing from the Hon'ble Minister for Education that the amount of the grant fixed for us is going to be somewhat increased, yet as a general assurance is not very satisfactory I would like to mention some of the particular difficulties under which we have been labouring. Our grant was fixed 10 years ago by the Government of India Act as a statutory minimum. This fact, however, seems to have been overlooked and each succeeding Ministry has regarded this amount as a statutory maximum irrespective of the fact that the purchasing power of the rupee has lessened so considerably since the time this figure was fixed.

The very small increase shown this year has been explained as an adjustment of arrears of maintenance grants and dearness allowances which could not be drawn in 1945. I would ask the Hon'ble Minister to take into consideration the increased cost of living, the excellent results produced by our schools and the fact that although our grant remains theoretically at its minimum yet in practice we are receiving much less than was originally envisaged by the Government of India Act, because although fees of our Government schools have been increased by about 50 per cent. during the war, these fees return to the general funds so that our grant even in actual figures is about 3 lakhs less than is shown on paper. The increased cost of the maintenance of our two Government schools is more than counter-balanced by the increased fees paid by parents, which fees, however, benefit the general funds instead of ours. Moreover, the total grant made to non-Government secondary schools has, for some mysterious reason, been reduced this year.

In order to keep to the spirit of the statute by which our grant was fixed on the average expenditure of the ten years preceding the 31st March, 1933, our budget today should, like that of General Education, be fixed at twice its actual figure. We do not grudge others an increase—indeed we feel that the budget provision under the head General Education is still so inadequate that it will do little to meet the vast needs of the province—but when 5½ lakhs are set aside for a General Development programme, we hope that ample and generous provision will be made for us under this head.

Education is a living force, it must either develop or die: it cannot remain static. Every Government which professes to follow a policy of justice and equity must provide for the development and improvement of existing successful undertakings on a scale commensurate with their success.

The question of inadequate salaries of teachers has already received the attention of this House. I would therefore only ask that provision should also be made in our budget for an increase of salaries. Teaching has never been just any man's job. It calls for special qualities of mind and character which, though beyond price, should not be considered unmarketable. If Government is interested in ensuring that schools are provided with the correct type of teaching staff, it is indeed essential that salaries should be increased three or even four times. There can be no future for an educational system which does not amply protect the interests of those on whom its success depends.

Judging by the list of cut motions circulated to members, it would appear that there are certain objections to separate provision for our education. I would like to remind the House that this is no monopoly of our community, for special provision has always been made for Madrasahs which foster a type of education quite different to the University type, prevalent in the province. Moreover, as our schools cater principally for Anglo-Indians and are staffed almost entirely by us, they are not in the strict sense of the word European schools—though the culture and style of teaching, in keeping with our origin and history, is European, adapted of course to suit our needs as natives of India.

With the introduction of vernacular as the medium of instruction in schools, and as I now hear possibly in colleges, the provision of separate scholastic institutions for our community is even more necessary than in the past. No Government, no individual who professes to respect the rights of minorities can moot the abolition of separate institutions for us. Such suggestions savour of intolerant discrimination and are destructive and dangerous. Education in the English language, in schools of the European type, is our birth-right. It means more to us than titles or fortunes. The moral and intellectual training given in our schools is generally the only inheritance we are able to pass on to our children. Government grants play a small but essential part in this invaluable heritage. More than 50 per cent. of the high cost of maintenance of our schools is met by the high fees willingly paid by our self-sacrificing people. Insufficient money is wasted money; our grants bear fruit only through the whole-hearted co-operation of Anglo-Indian parents who have always spent more on the education of their children than they can really afford.

Finally, it must be remembered that our schools cater not only for the Anglo-Indians of the province, but also for other minority communities such as the Armenians, Jews and Parsis, who together with several hundreds of the majority communities, appreciate the type of education we provide.

The future of India lies in her schools and we because of our non-party bias are eminently suited to serve India educationally, culturally and socially. If this were more universally realised, every right-thinking person would join with me in pressing our claim for more generous treatment as soon as more money is available for educational purposes. In the meantime, I would ask for an assurance from the Hon'ble Minister for Education that our needs should be borne in mind and that he will insist that a statutory minimum should not continue to be misinterpreted as a statutory maximum.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to Mrs. Ricketts for the suggestions she has made in her speech. I have full sympathy with all that has fallen from her mouth, but I must remind her that she must also remember the conditions of Bengal

and its financial resources. As compared with European countries the provision made for education is considered by her to be disgracefully small. I admit that. We cannot possibly maintain the European standard in Bengal, but at the same time we fully realise the importance of the special allotment and of special necessities of the Anglo-Indian community. We know that education is not only for culture only but 99.9 per cent. of it is connected with the bread problem. Unless the Anglo-Indians are properly educated and made fit for taking to professions, they will be a burden on the State. So it is the duty of the State to see that they are given special training, so that they may earn their livelihood and live as honourable gentlemen in the State. With this object in view we are making special provision for the Anglo-Indians. A reference has been made to section 83(I) of the Government of India Act. It has been said that the minimum fixed has been adopted as the maximum. But, Sir, I should remind you that it is not at all so. The minimum according to calculations would have been Rs. 11,30,000. During this year we have provided Rs. 11,70,000. That means we have provided Rs. 40,000 more. Of course we understand the growing needs of the increasing population of this particular community. On account of the increasing population and also due to the question of inflation in the country, they require more allotment in order that proper education may be imparted to the boys and girls of their community. We take note of it. In future we will try to do much more than what has been done hitherto in order to meet their wishes and in order to help them in educating their children on proper lines.

With these few words, Sir, I resume my seat and I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hossain that a sum of Rs. 11,69,800 be granted for expenditure under the head "37—Education—Anglo-Indian and European" was then put and agreed to.

11—Registration.

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 31,56,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "11—Registration".

Mr. FAZLUL QADIR: Sir, I wish to make a few general observations on the administration of the Registration Department. This Department is the most neglected. I do not know whether the Hon'ble Minister takes any notice of this Department. I will say one thing for the information of the Honourable Members of this House that the appointment of Sub-Registrars has been held up for a considerable time now, and the public in the province are suffering a great deal. A large number of sub-registry offices are closed for want of relief officers. One Sub-Registrar is asked to manage two and sometimes three offices. What is the justification of holding up these appointments, and make people suffer? They are paying money for the work which the sub-registry office undertakes to do for them. The section 93 regime did not pay any heed to this Department and the suffering of the people. This Department, Sir, is treated very shabbily. I draw the particular attention of the Hon'ble Minister to three points, viz.,

- (1) the appointment of Sub-Registrars should be made immediately;
- (2) the requisite number of reservists and relief officers should be appointed so that one officer has not to hold two offices in two places; this inconveniences both the parties and officers;
- (3) the members of the staff in sub-registry office, particularly the *mohurrirs* are very poorly paid. Provision should be made for adequate remuneration. Sir, even the *chaprassis* and other menials draw as much as Rs. 35 to Rs. 45. Compared to this the

pay of the *mohurrirs* is wholly inadequate. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire, how much temporary clerks in Calcutta draw as average remunerative? Is it sufficient to maintain themselves? If not, what is the justification for extorting heavy work from them and paying so poor a remuneration? Sir, with these few words I resume my seat.

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Sir, the appointment of Sub-Registrars is almost complete and it will be finally made very soon.

Regarding the low pay of *mohurrirs* attached to sub-registry offices I may assure the Honourable Member that the matter will receive sympathetic consideration of Government, and the other points raised by the Honourable Member will also receive due consideration of this Government.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal that a sum of Rs. 31,56,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "11—Registration" was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 12 noon till 2 p.m. on Monday, the 16th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under
the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 16th September, 1946, at 2-20 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 133 members.

Questions.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, may I suggest that in view of the thinness of attendance of members, particularly of the Opposition, the questions may be held over for the day?

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there any objection?

Mr. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHERJI: We agree.

Mr. SPEAKER: The questions are held over.

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

3-Industries—Industries and 72-Capital Outlay on Industrial Development.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 1,24,92,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "3-Industries—Industries" and "72-Capital Outlay on Industrial Development".

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOWDHURY: মিঃ স্পীকার, স্যার, ইংরাজ গবর্নমেন্ট আগে বাংলার শিল্প ছিল সভ্য জগতের আকর্ষণের বস্তু। এক সময় ছিল যখন ইংলণ্ডের রাপারী সজ্জাগার (Ward robe) সম্পূর্ণ হস্ত না বাংলার মসলিন না হলে। এমন কি ১৮১৭ সনেও ঢাকা থেকে ১ কোটি ২ লক্ষ টাকার মসলিন রপ্তানী হয়েছিল। ব্যাক অব ইংলণ্ডের গোড়াপত্তন হয়েছে বাংলার সোনা জম্পায়ে। বাংলার ডোটিশাট বহু শিল্পের, শীখার জিনিষ, মোহাব যন্ত্রপাতি, শীতলপাটির কদর ছিল দেশ বিদেশে। চট্টগ্রাম ও অন্যান্য জেলায় "কাগজী পাড়া" কাগজ শিল্পের স্মৃতি বহন করছে। চট্টগ্রামে এই সেদিনও জাহাজ নির্মাণ হ'ত। বাংলায় তৈরী জাহাজের কদর ছিল মুল্যবান কনট্রোলিনোপলে। সপ্তদিকার মুল্যবান বাংলার পণ্য নিয়ে সাগর পাড়ি দিত সপ্তগ্রাম, চট্টগ্রাম, ডমলুক ও কাঁধির বলর থেকে। পাঠান বুগের বাজালী শিল্পীরা সানা মসজিদ, লোটন মসজিদ, আদিনা মসজিদের কারুকার্যে যে স্বপ্নজাল রচনা করেছিল চার শ বছর পরেও তা ধমান রয়েছে গৌড় পাবুঘায়ে।

বুটিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদের হাতে বিগত দু প বৎসবে বাংলার বহু অনিষ্টই হয়েছে,--তার মধ্যে সবচেয়ে বড় অনিষ্ট হয়েছে বৈদেশী শিল্পের প্রাধান্য। শিল্প বর্ধমান বাংলার পারিত্রিক নগ্ন আকারে দেখা দিয়েছে দ্বিতীয় বিশ্ব যুদ্ধের সময়। দরিদ্র ও গ্রীষ্মপ্রধান বাংলার অধিবাসী এখনই খুব স্বল্প পরিমাণ কাপড় ব্যবহার করে থাকে। বৈদেশী লেবক বিজ্ঞপ করে বলেছেন 'average Bengalee to-day carries his entire wardrobe on his person'। গড়ে বাংলার লোক জনশ্রুতি ১৬ গজ ঝাড়ে কাপড় ব্যবহার করে। যুদ্ধের সময় তাও হয়ে উঠেছিল দুশ্রাণ। এক টুকরা কাপড় বাজালীকে কিনতে হয়েছে পনের, কুড়ি টাকা দাবে। বিভাব্যবহার্য্য দুশ্রাণ কিনতে হয়েছে বেড় টাকা থেকে তিন টাকা সের দাবে। চিনির দাব উঠেছে এক টাকা বেড় টাকা সের পর্য্যন্ত।

বৎসরে বাংলার প্রয়োজন ৮৫ কোটি গজ কাপড়ের। এর মধ্যে বাংলার নিজে তৈরী হয় ২২ কোটি গজ। ১৫ কোটি গজ তৈরী হয় উত্তরে। বাকি ৪৮ কোটি গজের জন্য বাজালী পরবুগাপেকী।

৯২ লক্ষ বণ লক্ষ বাক্সারী প্রয়োজন হইল বৎসরে। বাংলার কবি বলেন--“লক্ষাধিকারি বৈষ্ণব বে
। জনৈক দিবারপুনে লক্ষ ভাষার।” বর্তমানে বাংলা ৮৩ লক্ষ বণ লক্ষ আর্থনীর করে দিবারপুনে বৈষ্ণব মত,
আর্থনের অন্যান্য প্রদেশ থেকে। বাংলার কারখানার ৩০ হাজার বণ মাত্র মুন তৈরী হয়। কটরিল্প থেকে
সাঁওরা বার ৮ লক্ষ ৭০ হাজার বণ।

বাংলায় যে চিনির চাহিদা তাহা পূরণের ১৫ ভাগ বাংলায় তৈরী হয়। তাছাড়া প্রয়োজনীয় যে কোন জিনিষের
জমা বাংলাকে হাত পাড়তে হয় বাইরে। পরাধীনতার এইটাই সমস্যাতে বড় অভিধান--বিশেষী পোষণের ইচ্ছা
পরিপতি। এই পোচনীয় অবস্থার বিরুদ্ধে বাক্সারী আওতাধীন ঐচ্ছিক বহননি থেকে। এর ফলে কি পেরেছি
আমরা? পেয়েছি কিছু কিছু সমস্যাগুলিকে বিলম্বিত করা, কিছু কিছু সংরক্ষণী আইন। আর হয়েছে বোটা হাইনের
অফিসার বা এক্সপার্ট (Expert) আর্থনীর। হলো কমিশন বৈষ্ণবী নিম্প লক্ষের অনেক মূল্যবান কথা
বলেছেন। সংরক্ষণের বাণী শুনিতেছেন Fiscal Commission আর Tariff Board, Lac Research
Institute, Board of Industrial and Scientific Research, Bengal Industrial Board,
Survey Committee, Post-war Reconstruction Committee, Bengal Technical
Education Committee পর নির্দেশ করতে চেয়েছেন নানা দিক থেকে। কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও বিশেষের
ক্ষেত্রে বাংলা বেশী দূর অগ্রগতি হতে পারেনি। বাংলা সরকারের নিম্প বিভাগ গড়ে উঠেছে আজ শ্রীর
১৫ বছর। এই কয় বছরে বেশীর বিশেষের উন্নয়ন ও জনসাধারণের প্রয়োজন মিটারবার চেষ্টা। এই বিভাগ বর্ত
না করেছে, তাহা চেয়ে বেশী করেছে সম্প্রদায়বাদের পোষণে সাহায্য। আজ দেশবাসী অনুভব করছে
জোড়াতালি দিয়ে নিম্প বিভাগের উন্নতি সম্ভব নয়, প্রয়োজন মৌলিক পরিবর্তনের।

বর্তমান মন্ত্রিসভা বাংলার শাসনের দায়িত্ব গ্রহণ করেছেন মাত্র কয়েক মাস পূর্ণ। বাংলার নিম্পপনুতির
জমা বিশেষ কিছু করা তাঁদের পক্ষেও সম্ভব হয়নি। কারণ আর পাঁচটে বেল ফলান সম্ভব নয় কারুর পক্ষে।
বাড়তে বাক্সারের দিকে দৃষ্টিপাত করলে সরকারের আগেই চোখ পড়বে নিম্প বিভাগের পুতি কল্পকের উপেক্ষা।
৫২ কোটি টাকা বাক্সারে, পুলিশ ঘরানে পেয়েছে ৩ কোটি ৪৫ লক্ষ, বিভিন্ন সাপ্লাই পেয়েছে ১০ কোটি, সেখানে
নিম্প বিভাগের বাক্সার মাত্র ১ কোটি ২৪ লক্ষ টাকা। বিশেষের ক্ষেত্রে যে বেশ একশো বছর পিছিয়ে আছে
তাহা বাক্সারে নিম্পের পুতি এ শ্রেণীর উপেক্ষা অস্বাভাবিক। অমান্য বাবের মত এমনিভাবে বাক্সারেও দেখতে
পাই Sericulture, মাজের চাম, Reeling Institute, Textile Institute, Tanning Institute,
Ceramic Instituteএর জমা ভিটেলিগাটা বাক্সার। তাছাড়া এবার ভারত সরকারের বিভাগীয় সিন্ডিকেটকার ক্রিয়
সারের কারখানায় অংশ গ্রহণ করেছেন বাংলা সরকার। নদীয়া থেকে বাক্সার-মারবার উপত্যকা পর্যন্ত ২,২০০
বর্গ হাইল অঞ্চল জুড়ে বিলুপ্তকরণের আয়োজন হয়েছে এবার। দুঃখের বিষয় সর্গু এই দেশতে পাঁচিট সেট জোড়া-
তালি দেওয়া বাধ্য। সুচিহ্নিত ব্যাপক উন্নয়নের পরিকল্পনা নেই কোথাও।

বাংলায় বর্তমানে ৩৩টি কাপড়ের কল চলছে। বুকের কয়েক বৎসর আগে ৮০টি মিল বেজেটাই হয়েছিল,
কিন্তু মূলধনের অভাবে এগুলি আজ শূন্যের পথে। বুকের পরিকল্পনায় বাংলায় কাপড়ের কলের সংখ্যা বাড়বে
আশা করা গিয়েছিল। দুঃখের বিষয় ভারত সরকারের বৈমাত্রের ব্যবহার এই ব্যাপারে বাধার সৃষ্টি করেছে। বাংলার
তৈরী কাপড় বাংলার বাইরে সিকিন্, তিস্ত, চীন ও মুল্লদেশে রপ্তানী হবে, একথা জেনেও ভারত সরকার বুধ
কর সংখ্যক Spindle (মাকু) বাংলার জন্য নির্দিষ্ট করেছেন।

বুকের স্বযোগে বিভিন্ন দেশে নিভা নতুন নিম্প গড়ে তোলা হয়েছে। আশা করা গিয়েছিল বাংলায়ও
বুকের মত নতুন নতুন নিম্পের গোড়া পত্তন হবে। কিন্তু এ স্বযোগ বাংলা সরকার গ্রহণ করেনি। বুকের
প্রয়োজনে অল্প সবয়ে শত শত মাইল জুড়ে পাইপ বসান হয়েছে, তৈরী হয়েছে বড় বড় বাটা, বেল লাইন, ও এয়ারো-
ক্রফ, কাটা হয়েছে বন জঙ্গল; কিন্তু হয়নি নতুন নিম্পের ভিত্তি পত্তন। বাংলায় বুকের মাল মগা তৈরীর জন্য
২৫০ বাক্সা কারখানা নাকি তৈরী হয়েছিল। কিন্তু এগুলিকে হারী নিম্প পরিণত করার কোন আয়োজন দেখা
যাচ্ছে না। মর মর কোটি টাকার কুটিলিঙ্গ বাংলা বুকের জন্য সরবরাহ করেছে। কিন্তু ঐ পর্যাটই। এতে
করে হারীভাবে কুটিলিঙ্গের উন্নয়ন হয়নি। একটা মজির লিমেট ব্যাপারটা পরিষ্কার হবে। ১৯০৯-৪০ সনে
বাংলার ৪৬ হাজার টন চিনি তৈরী হয়েছিল। ১৯৪৩-৪৪ সনে তৈরী হয়েছে মাত্র ১৪ হাজার টন। মাল-
মদ্যার অভাবে তাঁত নিম্প হয়েছে--মৃতপ্রায়। বুকের মত প্যামার্টের জন্যে বাংলার বেশীর চাহিদা অসম্ভব
যকন বেড়েছিল। বুকের পরে বেশীর নিম্পের পতি অবস্থার দিকে চলছে।

বুকের সময় চট্টগ্রাম ও অন্যান্য অঞ্চলে লবণ শিল্প গড়ে উঠেছিল। সাধারণ চোঁটার ডবলুক, খুলনা, নোয়াখালী, বাঘেরগঞ্জ ও ভারতগোহারবারে শূঁচুর লবণ উৎপন্ন হতে পারে। কর্তৃপক্ষ লবণ তৈরীর ব্যাপারে উৎসাহ দেওয়া দুরের কথা, বাধারই সৃষ্টি করছে। বুকের সময় চট্টগ্রামে লবণ শিল্প থেকে বহু দরিদ্র চাকী বংকিকিৎ রোজগারের সুযোগ পেয়েছিল। সরকারী সহানুভূতির অভাবে এরা এই সুযোগ থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়েছে। বাংলার তৈরী নুন দিয়ে কেবল বাংলার চাহিদা যে মিটেতে পারে তা নয়, বাংলা থেকে লবণ বাইরে রপ্তানী হতে পারে।

আমাদের Rehabilitation Scheme (পুনর্বাসতি পরিকল্পনা) সম্পর্কে অনেক কথাই শুনা যায়। এখানেও দেখতে পাই স্থিতিস্থাপক পরিকল্পনার অভাব। যুদ্ধোত্তর উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা সম্পর্কে বড় বড় বুলি আওড়ান হচ্ছে অনেক দিন থেকে, কিন্তু এই ব্যাপারেও উৎসাহিত হওয়ার বিশেষ কোন লক্ষণ দেখছি না।

যুদ্ধোত্তর পরিকল্পনার আলোচনা করতে গিয়ে 'Planning without tears' নীতির অনুসরণ করার কথা বলা হয়েছে। শুধু তাই নয়, দরিদ্রের অশ্রু মুছান, দরিদ্রের জীবনযাত্রার মান বাড়ানোই হওয়া উচিত ভবিষ্যৎ পরিকল্পনার নীতি। এই জন্য আশাত হানতে হবে সাম্রাজ্যবাদী, নোকশাবাদী ও পুঁজিবাদী নীতির গোড়ায়। বন্ধ করতে হবে শ্রমিকদের শোষণ। সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই আসবে চা-বাগান, বিদ্যুৎ, পাট শিল্প—এগুলিকে জাতীয় সম্পত্তিতে পরিণত করার প্রণী।

পাট বাংলার জাতীয় সম্পদ ও আর্থিক বেক্সডও স্বরূপ। ভারতীয় রপ্তানী শিল্পের এক ঘড়াং হল পাট। ১৯৩৮-৩৯ সনে ২৬ কোটি টাকার ৯৫৫,২২৯ টন পাটজাত জিনিষ রপ্তানী হয়েছে বিদেশে। পাটের সমস্ত বুনাকীই গ্রাস করেছে বিদেশী বণিক ও স্বদেশী শোষক। এই শোষণ বন্ধ করার কোন আয়োজনই এখনও হ'ল না। ভারত সরকারও সব সময় এই শোষণে সাহায্য করে আসছেন। পাটের ব্যবসা ও পাট শিল্প নিয়ন্ত্রণের দায়িত্ব বাংলা সরকার গ্রহণ না করলে পাটচাকীর দুঃখ দূর হতে পারে না। দুঃখের বিষয় এম কোন আয়োজনই দেখা যাচ্ছে না।

বাংলার শিল্প ও কলকারখানা গড়ে উঠেছে কলকাতাকে কেন্দ্র করে। কিছু কিছু কাপড়ের কল নারায়ণগঞ্জ, কুষ্টিয়া ও খুলনায় গড়ে উঠেছে। সারা বাংলাকে করতে হবে শিল্পায়িত। শিল্পের দিক দিয়ে পূর্ণ বন্ধকে নিতে হবে এগিয়ে।

বিদ্যুতের ব্যবহারে এই শিল্পের যুগেও আমরা অত্যন্ত পিছনে পড়ে আছি। আমেরিকার লোক জনশ্রুতি ভারতের চেয়ে ১৮০ গুণ এবং ইউনাইটেড কিংডমের লোক ভারতের চেয়ে একশো গুণ বিদ্যুৎ বেশী ব্যবহার করে থাকে। ভারতে যে বিদ্যুৎ ব্যয় হয় তার অর্ধেক ব্যয় হয় বোম্বে, কলকাতা, কানপুর ও আহমদাবাদে, শতকরা ৪২ ভাগ ব্যয় হয় শুধু কলকাতা ও বোম্বে শহরে। এই অবস্থার পরিবর্তন করতে হবে।

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Mr. Speaker. How much time are you allowing me?

Mr. SPEAKER: Ten minutes. You have spoken for nine minutes. You may speak for one minute more.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: I want five minutes more please.

Mr. SPEAKER: If you can profitably utilize the time I have no objection.

বহীশুর ও ত্রিবাহুর বাজারের পল্লী অঞ্চলে বিদ্যুৎ প্রচলনের ফলে নতুন যুগের সূচনা হয়েছে। শ্রীর অর্ধ শতাব্দী আগে বহীশুর Siva Samudram Hydroelectric Plant স্থাপিত হয়েছে। এরপর বোম্বেতে কার্ধ্যকরী হয়েছে Tata Power System এবং রাজ্য শ্রমদে Pykara ও Mettur Scheme. কে জানে এই ব্যাপারে বাংলা আর কতদিন পিছিয়ে থাকবে? এতদিন পরে ভারত সরকারই মেহেরবাগীতে বাংলার যে বিদ্যুৎকরণের আয়োজন হচ্ছে, তা থেকেও পূর্ণ ও উত্তর বন্ধ বঞ্চিত হ'ল শিল্প সম্পর্কে বাংলার দাবী অনভিলম্বে সমগ্র প্রদেশকে শিল্পায়িত করতে হবে, এবং এর জন্য আরম্ভ করতে হবে ব্যাপক বিদ্যুৎকরণ। সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বৈদ্যিক ও শ্রম শ্রম শিল্পগুলিকে পরিণত করতে হবে জাতীয় সম্পত্তিতে। এই দাবী বেশি মিটেবে সেইদিন হবে বাংলার সর্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতি। শিল্পের সঙ্গে হাত ধরাধরি করে সেদিন হবে বাংলার শিকার উন্নতি, স্থির উন্নতি, জীবনযাত্রার উন্নতি। এমন কি পরিবর্তন হবে জীবন বোধের। বন্ধ কাসক, চিনি, লবণ, চিনাবাটি, সায়ান, হং, স্ববর, চানড়া, পাখুরা, উষ্মপত্র ইত্যাদি বহু শিল্পের সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে বাংলার। হাজারও রকমের কাঠ বেগতে পাওয়া যায় বাংলার বন অঞ্চলে। এদিকে কাঠাও বৃষ্টি পড়ে লাই এখনও।

কচুরীপানার নাম তখনে আমরা ডর পাই। বাংলার শিল্প বিভাগের বর্তমান ডিরেক্টর হাতে কলমে দেখিয়ে রেছেন যে কাঠের Substitute (বিল্প) হতে পারে কচুরীপানা থেকে। গর্জন ডেল থেকে শিল্প, এবাবেল ও Turpentine জাতীয় জিনিষ প্রস্তুত করা সম্ভব বলে দেখান হয়েচে। বাংলার Black apan ইতিমধ্যেই দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছে বিশেষজ্ঞদের। এই শিল্পগুলিকে উৎসাহ দেওয়ার ব্যাপক আয়োজন করতে হবে। বাংলার যে সবগুলি জন্মায়, সেগুলির নানা প্রকারের সম্ভাব্যহার হতে পারে। বাংলার দস্যরী বিভাগ কর্তৃপক্ষের উপেক্ষাই পেয়ে আসছে। এখনও বিশেষ থেকে টিনডরা বাছ আরশালী হয় একদে। Industrialisationএর পরিকল্পনার সমাধাকার ও কৃষ্টিবিল্পকে আঁহা ভুঁতে পারি না। বাংলার গাঈ ছয় মাস বিনা কাজে বসে থাকে। কৃষ্টিবিল্পের ভিত্তি দিয়ে এশের সময়ের সম্ভাব্যহার হতে পারে। বাংলার শিল্প বিভাগের লায়ি হবে দেশের লুপ্ত শিল্পের পুনরুদ্ধার ও কৃষ্টিবিল্পগুলিকে যুগোপযোগী করে নেওয়া। সমাধাকার ও কৃষ্টিবিল্পের আকারে পরিচালিত হয়েও বহু জাপানী শিল্প আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে প্রতিযোগিতা করেছে।

কৃষ্টিবিল্পের পুনরুদ্ধারের জন্যে সম্ভাব্য নীতিই হতে পারে সবচেয়ে কার্যকরী। দুঃখের বিষয় সম্ভাব্য বিভাগ কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে থেকে এতদিন বৈমাত্রের ব্যবহারই পেয়ে এসেছে।

বাংলার বিভিন্ন জেলে নানা প্রকারের শিল্প শিকার ব্যবস্থা আছে। গোহা, ডায়া, পিতল, ধাঁপ, কাঠ, বেতের জিনিষ ও কাপড় বৈধী এখানে শিক্ষা দেওয়া হয়। কিন্তু জেল থেকে বেহিয়ে গিয়ে কর্মশীল। এই শিক্ষার সম্ভাব্যহার করতে পারে না মূলধনের অভাবে। এইভাবে হয় বাঙ্গালী শ্রম ও মজুরের অপচয়।

শিল্পের ক্ষেত্রে বাঙ্গালী সাধারণতঃ পশ্চাৎপদ। বাঙ্গালী মুসলমানের তো এখানে অস্তিত্বই নাই। অথচ এক সময় বাংলার মুসলমানের শিল্প প্রতিভা চমকিত করতো সমগ্র দুনিয়াকে। অধিক সংখ্যক মুসলমান যুবককে শিল্পের ক্ষেত্রে টেনে আনার দায়িত্ব বাংলার শিল্প বিভাগের। ব্যাপকশিল্প শিক্ষার কথা চেড়েই দেই। শিল্প বিভাগের, কিসাঈ বিভাগের, বিভিন্ন ইলেক্ট্রিক স্কিমের চাকুরী থেকেও বাংলার মুসলমান যুবক আজ বঞ্চিত। এই ব্যাপারে ট্রেনিংএর স্বেযোগ দিতে হবে মুসলমান যুবকদের।

বাংলার শিল্প সম্পর্কে অনেক কথাই বলা হ'ল। আমাদের শেষ কথা--সাধারণজ্ঞানের, আরশাতের জাগিয়ে বাংলায় যে শিল্প বিভাগ গড়ে উঠেচে--তাকে একেবারে চেলে সাচ্চাতে হবে, চলবে না জোড়াতালি দেওয়া পরি-বর্তনে।

সমগ্র বাংলাকে শিল্পায়িত, বিদ্যায়িত করার পরিকল্পনা ও প্রধান প্রধান শিল্পগুলিকে জাতীয় সম্পত্তিতে পরিণত করার প্রোগ্রাম যে পর্যন্ত না গৃহীত হবে, সে পর্যন্ত বাংলার গাঈ মিলবে না। কাজ কঠিন সন্দেহ নাই, কিন্তু বনে রাখতে হবে--"কঠিনের সাধনাই মানুষের বর্ধ, সহজের ডাক মোসারি"।

Maujana MUHAMMAD RUKNUDDIN : মিঃ স্পীকার, স্যার, আমি যে এলাকা হইতে নির্বাচিত হইয়া আসিয়াছি তৎকালর অধিবাসীদের শতকরা ৯৫ জনই কৃষক শ্রেণীভুক্ত। এই কৃষক শ্রেণীই যে বাংলার বেকশ ও একথা না বলিলেও চলে। তাঁহাদের স্রষ্টা দুঃখের উপরই যে সারা বাংলার স্রষ্টা দুঃখ নির্ভর করে, ইহাও নির্ণয়ান্বিত হইতে পারে। গত দু'ভিক্ষে বাহারা ধামাজাবে অনাহারে মরিয়া বাংলার কৃষক খামি করিয়া গিয়াছে তাহাদের প্রায় সকলই এই কৃষক শ্রেণীভুক্ত। দুর্ভিক্ষের পর দু'ভিক্ষে বাংলার কৃষকের উপর দিয়া অনবরতই চলিয়াছে ইহার কারণ বিশেষণ করিলে দেখা যায় যে অনাবৃষ্টি বা অতিবৃষ্টির ন্যায় বহু কৃষ্যাত কচুরিপানার অভ্যাচারও একটা অন্যতম কারণ। শস্যপায়রা বাংলার ধানের বিরাট বিরাট লব্ধ মাঠগুলি কৃষকের কৃষকের রক্তে গড়িয়া উঠে। যে মাঠগুলির মধ্যে সবগুলি দেশবাসীর একবারে আগার বহু, প্রাণের বহু নিহীত, সেই মাঠগুলি আবার, শ্রাবণ মাসে বর্ষার জল বৃষ্টির সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বর্ষার রাঙ্গুলী কচুরিপানার কাল প্রাণে পতিত হইয়া দেখিতে দেখিতে প্রাণশূন্য হয়, তখনই বাংলার কৃষক দু'ভিক্ষের কালছায়া ঘনাইয়া আসিতে থাকে আর সবগুলি বাংলার নরনারীদের হাছাকারে বাংলার আকাশ বাজান ডব্বিয়া উঠে। এই কৃষ্যাত কচুরিপানা কেবল যে ধানের ক্ষেতগুলি নষ্ট করিয়াই ক্ষান্ত হয় তাহা নহে, উপরন্তু নদনদী, খাল, বিলগুলি ভর্তি হইয়া নৌকা চলাচলের পথ রুদ্ধ করিয়া বাধা-বাধিতের সমূহ কতি-শাধন করে। নদ, নদী, খাল, বিল, ডোবা, পুকুরগুলিতে বাছ জন্মিতে দেয় না, কমে গেলে বাছের অভাব ঘটে। জুপরি সেগুলিকে ধার ভিপোর পরিণত করিয়া গেলে মাদেশবিরার প্রকাশ বৃদ্ধি করে। সর্বত্র বিস্তৃত পানীয় জলের অভাব হইয়া জনগণের দুঃখ-দুর্ভাষা চরমে পৌঁছায় ও অবশেষে বহু কালিয়া আসে। গোচারণ ভূমিগুলির দাস নষ্ট করিয়া পানীয় অভাবে দুঃখের অভাব এবং ধানের অভাবে চালের অসুবিধার স্রষ্টা করে।

ছোট বড় সকল শ্রাব্যের শ্রম বিক্রেতা বৃদ্ধ করিয়া তাহাকে সমূল ধুংস করতঃ তাহার কবল হইতে রক্ষা পাওয়ার জন্য সর্ববিধ ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করাই যখন দুনিয়ার বীড়িত তখন বাংলার এতদন পরম শত্রু কচুরিপানার লক্ষ্য অত্যাচার উৎপাদিত হইতে বাংলার কোটি কোটি হতভাগ্য নরনারীকে বাঁচাইবার কোন ব্যবস্থাই আজ পর্যন্ত কোন অবলম্বিত হইল না, তাহা ভাবিয়া পাই না। বৈজ্ঞানিক উপায়ে সার ভৈরী করিয়া তদ্ভাষা বাংলার জমি উর্বর করতঃ কৃষির উন্নতিসাধনকল্পে মাননীয় শিল্প-মন্ত্রী মহোদয় পনের লক্ষ টাকা কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারকে দিবার ব্যবস্থা করিয়াছেন। ইহা ভাল কথা, কিন্তু বাংলার কৃষির পরম শত্রু এই কুখ্যাত কচুরিপানাকে সমূল ধুংস করিয়া এবং বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রণালীতে ইহাকে সারে পরিণত করিবার ব্যবস্থা করিলে কি বাংলার বিশেষ উপকার সাধিত হইত না? তাই আমি মাননীয় কৃষি-মন্ত্রী মহোদয় ও শিল্প-মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ জানাইতেছি যে, তাঁহারা যেন সম্মিলিতভাবে চেষ্টা করিয়া দেশের শত্রু এই বহু কুখ্যাত কচুরিপানাকে যেভাবেই হউক ধুংস করিয়া দেশের এক মহান উপকার সাধন করিতে বিশেষ যত্নবান হন। জমিতে ভাল সার দিয়া, বহু পবিশ্রম করিয়া ধানের বলিষ্ঠ চারা জন্মান যেরন প্রয়োজন, তেমন তাহাকে শত্রুর কবল হইতে রক্ষা করাও বিশেষ প্রয়োজন। আমি স্বীকার করি যে, দেশে শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা, শিল্প-বাণিজ্যের ব্যবস্থা বা একটা বিবট এলাকায় বিজলী বাতির সুব্যবস্থা দ্বারা দেশের বহু উপকার সাধন করিয়া দেশের চেহারা ফিরাইয়া আনিতে মন্ত্রীমহোদয়গণ সর্বদা যত্নবান, কিন্তু মানুষের সত্যিকারের চেহারা তাহাতে ফিরিবে কি? যে দেশে প্রায় প্রতি বৎসর দুভিক্ষ লাগিয়াই আছে, ফলে লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক মরিয়া দেশ শ্মশানে পরিণত হইতেছে—সেই দেশের চেহারা ফিরাইতে হইলে তাহার অধিবাসীদিগকে বাঁচাইবার ব্যবস্থা করিতে হইবে সর্বপ্রথম। মানুষই যদি না বাঁচিল তবে শিক্ত হইবে কাহার? বিজলী বাতির আলো আব বিজলী পাথার হাওয়া ভোগ করিবে কাহার?

আমার এলাকার অধিবাসীরা তাঁহাদের দুঃখ-দুর্দশার কথা ও কচুরিপানার অত্যাচারের কথা জানাইয়া যেসব দরখাস্ত করিয়াছিলেন আমি সেই দরখাস্তগুলি মাননীয় কৃষি-মন্ত্রীমহোদয়ের সর্বাধিক পেশ করিয়া এই নিবেদন জানাইয়াছিলাম যে, তিনি যেন লক্ষ লক্ষ নরনারীর আবেদনে সাদা দিয়া অতি সত্তর ইয়ার কোন প্রতিকার সাধন করেন। কিন্তু বড়ই পরিতাপের বিষয় এবং আমি অতি দুঃখের সহিত একথা বলিতে বাধ্য হইতেছি যে, তিনি এ বিষয়ে কতদূর কি করিলেন তাহা কিছুই স্থিতে পাবিলাম না, কারণ কচুরিপানার অত্যাচার পূর্ণে বৈরুপ ছিল এখনও তেমনি রহিয়াছে বরং দিন দিন বৃদ্ধি পাইতেছে। সেজন্যে সমূল ধুংস করা ত দূরে থাকুক, স্থানে স্থানে বেড়ার ব্যবস্থা করিয়া ধানের জরিগুলিকে বাঁচাইবার বিভিন্ন পদ্ধতি করা হয় নাই। আমার সর্বশেষ নিবেদন এই যে, বর্তমানে যিনি কৃষি বিভাগের ডিরেক্টর তিনি এই কচুরিপানা দ্বারা বৈজ্ঞানিক উপায়ে সার ও অন্যান্য জব্য উৎপাদন করিবার নিমিত্ত যে স্বীকরিয়াছেন বলিয়া জানিতে পাবিলাম, তাহা যদি সত্য হয়, তাহা হইলে ইহা অতি সফল কার্যকরী করিবার জন্য যেন ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হয়। পুনরায় এই দিকে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়গণের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করিয়া আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করিতেছি।

Mr. MUHAMMAD OSMAN GANI : মিঃ স্পীকার, স্যার, বর্তমান বাংলার তাঁতীদের দুর্গতির প্রতি মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয়ের বিশেষ দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। প্রথমে আমি বাংলার তাঁত-সূতা সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলবো। সাধারণতঃ বাংলার যে সব তাঁত বিদ্যমান আছে, তাতে ৬০ নম্বর থেকে আরম্ভ করে ২০০ নম্বর পর্যন্ত সূতা ব্যবহৃত হয়। কিন্তু বর্তমানে বাংলার তাঁতীদের বেতাবে সূতা distribution হচ্ছে তাতে দেখা যায় যে ১০^২ নং থেকে আরম্ভ করে ১০ নম্বরের উপরে উঠে না। এবং তার ফলে বহু সংখ্যক তাঁত অচল হয়ে বলে আছে। ঐ নম্বরের সূতায় fine কাপড় বোনা যায় না। সাধারণতঃ ঐ সব সূতা জালের জন্য ব্যবহৃত হয়ে থাকে। ভাল পরিধানযোগ্য বস্ত্রের জন্য যে fine সূতা প্রয়োজন একথা সকলেই জানেন। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় গত দেড় বছর থেকে বাংলা দেশে বেতাবে সূতা বিতরণ হয়েছে, তাতে দেখা যায় যে, ১০ নম্বরের উপরে সূতা খুব কমই তাঁতীদের কাছে গিয়ে পৌঁছেছে। আমরা সাধারণতঃ যে সব কাপড় ব্যবহার করি, সেগুলি যদি ৪০ নম্বর সূতায় প্রস্তুত হয়, তবেই সেই কাপড় পড়তে পারি, নতুবা ২০ নম্বর সূতায় যে সব কাপড় প্রস্তুত হয়, সে কাপড় আমরা পরতে পারি না। পূর্ণে নিরাজগতঃ যে সব তাঁত-কাপড় প্রস্তুত হতো, তার অধিকাংশই রংপুর ও আলোবে চালান যেতো এবং তদ্ভাষা সেখানকার তাঁতিগণ বহু টাকা উপার্জন করতে সক্ষম হতো। কিন্তু বর্তমানে Defective of India Rules দ্বারা সেই সব কাপড় এখন বাইরে যেতে দেওয়া হয় না, কিন্তু সেখানকার তাঁতীদের অবস্থা অত্যন্ত ধারাপ হয়ে গিয়েছে। সেখানে বহু কাপড় জমা হয়ে পড়ে রয়েছে এবং তবেই অনেক কাপড় পচে নষ্ট হয়ে গিয়েছে। আমার শুনতে পাচ্ছি, এদের উপর একটা আইন জারী করা হবে—তাতে বলা হয়েছে যে, 10 per cent কাপড় S. D. O. সাহেবের কাছে জমা দিতে হবে। আমি মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয়কে বিশেষ করে অনুরোধ করছি যে, ৪০ নম্বর থেকে ৮০ নম্বর

পর্যন্ত সূতা যাতে সিরাজপুত্র মহকুমার পট্টান হয় তার সব র ব্যবস্থা করুন। আপনাদ্বারা জারেন—পূর্বে এই বাংলা দেশে $2\frac{1}{2}$ হাত চওড়া ও ১২ হাত দীর্ঘ কাপড় বিতরণ হয়েছে; কিন্তু দু হাত চওড়া আর ১২ হাত দীর্ঘ দাড়ী বিতরণ হতে পারেনা করুনও দেখিনি। কিন্তু আজ বাংলার এই ধরনের বস্ত্র বিতরণ হতে দেখছি। গাবছুর size-এ কাপড় পরিধান করা বলে বাংলার আদর্শী হচ্ছে।

আবার সূতা বিতরণ ক্ষেত্রেও কত পক্ষ ঠিক তেরনি পথ অবলম্বন করেছেন। যেখানকার তাঁতে যে ধরনের সূতা প্রয়োজন, সেই সবস্ত্র তাঁতে বালি সেই সকল ধরনের সূতা distribute করাই উচিত। আমি আপনাদের বানরীর মহারহস্যের এলিকে দৃষ্টি দেবেন এবং বাংলা যাতে আরও বেশী পরিমাণ সূতার quota পেতে পারে তার জন্য চেষ্টা করবেন।

MR. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, I have heard with close attention the speeches which have been delivered by the Opposition (laughter) on other days—not only this day but during the general discussion. But they commit a fundamental mistake when they say that this Assembly is a sovereign body, which it is not. Therefore when they talk of nationalisation, they are not within their scope or jurisdiction. They cannot ask the Hon'ble Ministers to nationalise industry and to nationalise everything. Then, Sir, what is the remedy for this state of affairs? The British Imperialists have all along been adamant right and left, and I think they have been rightly so. (Laughter.) Sir, the misery in this country of ours has begun from the day on which Lord Clive defeated Sirajudowla with the help of our own people. Whether it was a defeat or not matters little. The Chief Revenue Officer of the Emperor of Delhi acquired the dewan of Bengal. They purchased the dewan and promised that they would administer the country according to the directions of the Moghul Emperors, but this promise, this undertaking was thrown to the winds.

MR. SPEAKER: Please confine your observations to Industries.

MR. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I was speaking on the revenue position of Bengal and you will realise that from revenue comes Industry, from Industry comes Agriculture, from Agriculture comes Fishery and from Fishery comes Weaving and so on and so forth.

Now, Sir, a perusal of the provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, will clearly show that this House, this Assembly is not a Parliament in the true sense of the term. It is a toy parliament, it is a glorified debating club, and the Ministers are so many puppets. They are Ministers of a toy parliament. This is the position I beg to submit. Then, Sir, what is the remedy? How do they say that they will nationalise the industries, how do they say that they will nationalise electricity and things of that kind? Have they got the powers to do that? Have the poor Ministers got power to do it? My friends say that British capitalism, British Imperialism is responsible for this state of things. I quite agree but who brought this British capitalism, who brought these Imperialists in our land. My friends on the other side brought these Imperialists here. (Laughter.) I should ask who profitted by the advent of these Britishers and who suffered on account of their advent in this land. Sir, I should like you to consider what is the remedy for the present state of things to which we have been brought. Sir, as you know, Jagat Seth, who was the capitalist of capitalists, Umichand, the Hindu landlords and hostile Hindus all combined and these persons invited Lord Clive and they made Mir Jafar their scapegoat. Mir Jafar was nothing but an instrument in the hand of these Marwaris and Hindu landlords. They induced him somehow or other to believe that if Sirajudowla could be removed from his seat, they would make him the real King of Bengal. With this thought in their mind they duped poor Sirajudowla and killed him in cold blood and put Mir Jafar on the throne. But the greedy Imperialists were not satisfied even with him. (Laughter.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. **Mr. Mudassir Hossain,** I hope you will speak on Industries and be relevant in your remarks.

Mr. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I am going to clear up the position and I shall prove conclusively that industry comes with territorial power and with it comes all other things. My friends on the other side who are advocating nationalisation of everything must feel convinced that without territorial power they cannot launch on a programme of nationalisation.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up. Please take your seat.

(The member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

Mr. KHAIRAT HOSSAIN: মি: শ্রীকার স্যার, আমাদের বাংলা দেশের শতকরা আশী জন লোক হ'ল কৃষক-মজুর। তারা সাধারণত: কৃষিকর্ম দ্বারা জীবিকা নির্বাহ করে থাকে। এদেশে পূর্বে যের কব শিল্প বিস্তার লাভ করেছিল, তা এখন প্রায় সোপ পেতে বসেছে—তাকে পুনরুজ্জীবিত করার কোন পরিকল্পনা গভর্নমেন্টের উরক থেকে দেখতে পাই না। কেবল মাঝে মাঝে গুনতে পাওয়া যায়, ও বাজারে দেখতে পাই যে Industryর জন্য বহু টাকা ব্যয় করা হয়েছে; কিন্তু আসল কাজ যে কবে আদিত হবে সেটা আমরা বুঝতে পারি না। আমাদের রংপুর জেলায় পিতল, তামা, কাঁসা প্রভৃতির জিনিষপত্র প্রস্তুত হতো এবং হাতীর ঝাঁপের ডাল ডাল প্রয়োজনীয় আসবাবপত্রও নিমিত্ত হতো, কিন্তু গত দু'দশকের পর্ব হতে প্রায় সমস্ত শিল্প নষ্ট হয়ে যেতে বসেছে। অর্থ ও অন্যান্য প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষের অভাবে সেখানকার কারিকরগণ শিল্পের কার্য করিতে অক্ষম হয়ে পড়েছে। আমরা শুনেছি সেখানে একটা demonstration পার্টি আছে, তাই মাঝে মাঝে প্রদর্শনী করে দেখিয়ে দেয় যে, কত প্রকারের প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষপত্র সহজে প্রস্তুত করা যায়। কিন্তু গুনতে পাচ্ছি যে, এই সমস্ত demonstration পার্টি'কে সম্প্রতি তুলে দেওয়া হবে। এই ধরনের যদি কাজ করা হয় তাহলে রংপুর জেলার সমস্ত ছোট ছোট শিল্পগুলি একেবারে ভুবে যাবে। এই বিষয় সম্বন্ধে আমি পূর্বে বানরীয় মহীরাহোদকে জিজ্ঞাসা করেছিলাম, এবং তখন তিনি আমাকে আশুস দিয়েছিলেন যে, তিনি এর প্রকৃত ব্যবস্থা করবেন। আমি আবার তাকে অনুরোধ করছি যে, সেই demonstration party যাতে উঠে না যায় তার জন্য তিনি বিশেষ ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করুন।

বুজের সময় দেখা গিয়াছে যে, চীন, জাপান, অষ্ট্রেলিয়ায় যে সমস্ত ছোট ছোট শিল্প ছিল, সেখানকার গভর্ন-মেন্ট সেগুলিকে বাঁচিয়ে রাখেন এবং সেই সমস্ত শিল্পগুলি এখনও বজায় আছে। সুতরাং আমাদের দেশের গভর্ন-মেন্টও ইচ্ছা করলে ছোট ছোট শিল্পগুলিকে বাঁচিয়ে রাখতে পারেন। বাংলা দেশে যে সমস্ত শিল্প ভুবে গিয়েছে সেগুলির পুনরুদ্ধার কেন যে হবে না, তার কোন কারণ দেখি না। পনের কুড়ি বছর আগে বাংলা দেশে কোন Rice Mill ছিল না, এবং না থাকার দরুন সমস্ত দেশে চেকিছাটা চাল পাওয়া যেত, ও তার ব্যবহারে লোকের বেরীবেরী রোগ হ'তো না। কিন্তু এখন বাংলার Rice Mill হওয়াতে চেকিছাটা চাউলের আবদানী প্রায় উঠে গিয়েছে এবং জনসাধারণের মধ্যে বেরীবেরী ও নানা রকম ব্যাধি দেখা দিচ্ছে। এবার পঁচটা Rice Mill আমাদের গ্রামে খোলবার জন্য permission পেরেছে। কিন্তু এম কল হবে এই যে মুললবান চাষী যারা ধান কুটে দু'পয়সা বেতজগার করতো, তাদের সেই আয়ের পঞ্চা একেবারে বন্ধ হয়ে গেল। আমি বানরীয় মহীরাহোদকে অনুরোধ করি যে, বক:বলে এই ধরনের Rice Mill খোলবার permission বেন আর না দেওয়া হয়।

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, many of our friends on the floor of this House have made certain suggestions. **Mr. Chaudhury** has spoken out his mind. I can say only this. Really the Industries Department was brought into existence from 1920. Before that time the industries, practically speaking, did not take any shape in the budget. Even up till now, in the shape of industries the cottage industries are being supported. I have before me at the present moment Bengal Government's industrial policy and the India Government's industrial policy. I am examining them and I may frankly confess before this House that I have not been able to come to any definite conclusion. As my friend **Mr. Chaudhury** has suggested, unless the basic structure is remodelled and reshaped and unless the Bengal Government can take up in right earnest all the industrial schemes, I do not think Bengal will ever thrive in the sphere of industries. At the present moment, all the large or heavy industries are controlled by the

overnment of India. The Bengal Government only give some money in the shape of doles here and there to cottage industries, to some exhibition parties and so on, but as I have told you already there are various schemes. An Industrial Survey Committee was appointed and the committee has submitted a report. A Salt Survey Committee was appointed and that committee has also furnished a report. All these things are before me and at the time when I took charge of this department, I thought that the future of Bengal would depend on how the industries of this province would shape. That is the reason why I have not been able to come to any definite conclusion all of a sudden. I am studying the problems. I hope the suggestions that have been made in the Industrial Survey Committee's report and the Salt Survey Committee's report will be given due consideration. My department has considered them and I hope very soon we will be able to come to some final conclusion.

At the present moment, we have got, as given in the red book, certain schemes about electricity and certain other schemes about sericulture. Many honourable members have mentioned about small cottage industries.

As regards the electrification scheme, as I have already told you on some other day, we have already given notice to the Barrackpore Electric Supply Corporation for being taken up by the Government of Bengal. Very soon we will serve a notice on the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation to take it up and the Bengal Government would try very soon to nationalise the transport system. I do not know how far we will be able to finish it successfully but this will possibly be the beginning. The new electrification scheme that has been taken up starts from Garifa and Nathati and goes via Ranughat, Krishnagar and Nawadwip to Burdwan and then it comes back in a triangular form. There are also other schemes. We are also thinking of hydro-electric schemes. But you all know that every scheme requires money. That is the reason why I have said that after the policy and the basic structure of future industries of Bengal have been settled, the Bengal Government will have to find out the money, whether from their own exchequer or from the Government of India by way of loan that will depend on the Government of Bengal.

Sir, with these words I will say before this House that all the suggestions which my honourable friends have made will be taken into consideration and I can say this that the future of industries of Bengal ought to be not only taken serious notice of but if Bengal is to thrive, the industries of Bengal must be taken serious consideration of.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed that a sum of Rs. 1,24,92,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "43-Industries—Industries" and "72-Capital Outlay on Industrial Development" was then put and agreed to.

43-Industries—Cinchona.

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 22,10,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "43-Industries—Cinchona".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

85A-Capital outlay on provincial schemes of State Trading.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 59,01,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "85A-Capital outlay on provincial schemes of State Trading".

Mr. ABDUL HAKIM MIA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, during the general discussion of the budget, many members of the Opposition as well as members

of the Government side spoke about corruption, bribery and jobbery prevailing in the Civil Supplies Department. I think had the whole budget session been utilized on the discussion of this subject, there would have been no end of it. Just on the assumption of office the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Civil Supplies, declared that officers against whom there existed strong suspicion would be removed from service, and the injustice done to Muslims in the matter of appointment and trade would be remedied very soon. Although more than four and a half months have elapsed, I find, nothing has been done in this respect. First of all, we pressed the Hon'ble Minister for the removal of retired officers who have been re-employed in the Civil Supplies Department. Officers, who retired from Government service after having served for 30 to 35 years, were re-employed in the Civil Supplies Department and are still continuing on fat salaries. I had the opportunity to meet some of these old retired officers, and I find that they are physically unfit as well as mentally. It is difficult for these officers to deal with files which they cannot even move from one place to another. In spite of representations made to the Hon'ble Minister no remedy has yet been done.

As regards the Muslim ratio, when we came here as members of the Assembly, we learnt that the ratio in the Civil Supplies Department was 70 per cent. Hindus and 30 per cent. Muslims. Although, I know, the Hon'ble Minister passed an order that henceforth all appointments in the Department should go to Muslims in order to make up the parity, up till now the ratio has not been increased by one per cent. even. We learnt that Hindu clerks and sub-inspectors drawing a salary of Rs. 50 to Rs. 75 were promoted to gazetted ranks after only six months or one year's service in the Civil Supplies Department; the Hon'ble Minister called for a report from the Departmental Heads about the number of Muslim and Hindu employees with particulars as to their first appointment and the present appointment held by them; the report has been given in such a way that it is difficult for the Hon'ble Minister to detect. I remember to have seen some such report in the *Morning News* that the officer who was entrusted with this report, and who is the conscience-keeper of the Hon'ble Minister, also manipulated the report.

As regards trade and commerce, the Hon'ble Minister assured us that in the matter of trade, Muslims, Scheduled Castes and other Hindus will get their proper share, but I find on enquiry that the privileges, rights and claims of the Muslim merchants and also of the Scheduled Castes, have been neglected and trampled upon. One Scheduled Caste firm approached Mr. Rajan for a permit, but his petition was rejected on the ground that he was a new-comer in the line. I went to Mr. Rajan and asked him, what justification was there for him to hold the portfolio of Director of Civil Supplies when he has no experience whatsoever in the business line? He admitted that I was right, and said that because Government has put him there as Director of Supplies he is working there and drawing his salary. I think the honourable members know that to get permits for mustard oil, gur, mustard seeds, sugar, etc., no experience is necessary. A dealer has simply to obtain a permit for these, then he has to go to U.P. to get the stuff, arrange for wagons, and bring these things to Calcutta. For these things if I am entrusted with the whole of the Civil Supplies Department, I can manage it. During Section 93 regime Scheduled Caste merchants could not enter No. 11/A, Free School Street, because the police prevented them. There was nobody to safeguard their interests. Now after the formation of the Ministry, he can enter the corridor but not beyond that. If these things continue in this way, and the rights of the Muslims and Scheduled Castes are trampled upon in this way, I think we cannot do any justice to these merchants.

Now, Sir, as regards strong suspicion against officers, the Hon'ble Minister assured us that such officers would be removed from the Civil Supplies Department on strong suspicion. Of course, there was terror after

this public statement. But I find that the terror has subsided with the appointment of the Private Secretary to the Hon'ble Minister. This Private Secretary has already gained notoriety being in the Rationing Department for a considerable period. As regards that I have no personal knowledge, but I remember that sometime during the first week of May, some contractors approached the Hon'ble Minister in respect of labour supply of seven rationing godowns in Calcutta. The contractors filed a representation that the whole contract should not be given to one man, but should be divided among seven persons. The Hon'ble Minister agreed and tenders were invited, the last date of which was 21st May. On the 18th May the contractors—fortunately I and the Hon'ble Minister live in the same building, I on the third floor and he on the first—came to me and said that although the Hon'ble Minister had asked for tenders by 21st May, it had been so arranged that the present man would continue for two months more and these tenders would be rejected. I had to use very harsh words to these contractors and said that they should have no such suspicion. On 22nd May it transpired that all tenders have been rejected. I personally approached the Hon'ble Minister who assured me that he would call for tenders, but two months have elapsed and no tender has been invited. The Private Secretary was implicated in the matter and that was the suggestion of the contractors. Now I hold a strong suspicion against the Private Secretary and would request the Hon'ble Minister to enquire into the matter personally and can remove our suspicion in this respect.

There is another matter which I have got to submit before this House. Government has to incur a loss of about 5 to 10 lakhs a year—I think the figure may be higher than this. The rate of contract in the rationing godowns is much higher than the rate in the Civil Supplies godowns, although the work is the same. I would draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister to this matter; the public should not be deprived to the extent of Rs. 10 lakhs given to contractors of Rationing Department.

As regards the corruption prevailing in the Civil Supplies Department, I would only say that the Hon'ble Minister could not as yet remove the corruption prevailing in the office of the District Civil Supply Officer in his district from which district I also come. Sometimes, say a month before, some persons approached for permit for umbrellas. You can get umbrellas only if your petition is forwarded by the District Controller of Civil Supplies of the district to which you belong; but what does the staff of his office do? Corruption is prevalent there. The petition is not recommended unless you pay something to the officer of that department. About two months before three licences for foodgrains have been suspended by the then District Controller for adopting foul means, but as soon as the new District Controller joined, he withdrew that suspension order and allowed those traders to continue although there is enough on record against those foodgrain dealers.

MR. SPEAKER: Your time is over.

(The member having reached his time-limit resumed his seat at this stage.)

MR. OSMAN CANI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we requested the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Civil Supplies to withdraw the rice and paddy licences which have been issued on a thana basis. The Hon'ble Minister assured us that the circular which was issued to that effect would be withdrawn immediately, but up till now I have come to learn that that circular has not been withdrawn and rice and paddy are not moving from one thana to another thana.

As regards godowns I would like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister that Calcutta riots have given us some sort of impression that godowns should be constructed in Park Circus and some other localities inhabited by Muhammadans and the godowns in the Hindu areas should be equally divided in Calcutta.

Mr. SPEAKER: What I shall remember is that the honourable member can express himself very correctly in English.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the interest about participating in the Budget discussion has vanished, because of the decision of the Opposition so as not to participate in the debate. But one thing I would like to bring to the notice of everybody and it is this. What is the position and what is the scope of State trading just ahead of us? Probably all of us have noticed with a very heavy heart that we have got foodgrains for one month only in our reserves. Of course my friends of the Opposition are out to discredit and disgrace this Ministry and to saddle it with the wrong burden of responsibility regarding riots, but they ought to be very careful about their criticism and about their constructive suggestions which we have very fervently sought from time to time as to the improvement of the food situation in this country. Today the Congress have come to the Centre and it is quite natural that Pandit Nehru's Administration will do everything to save the impending famine situation contrary to as the Centre did in the year 1943, but after the Chief Minister's frantic appeal up till now no assurance has come from any quarters to replenish or to subsidise the already famished stock of Bengal. I should like to enquire from the Hon'ble Minister, Civil Supplies, as to the position of procurement from within this country and the scope and possibility of procurement from abroad. Well, as regards procurement from within this country, as I have stated in my previous speech during the adjournment motion, forced procurement will not be able to bring any relief or replenish the stock. It is rather voluntary contribution of the excess stock which the cultivator will be very glad to come forward to save the hungry millions of the deficit area. Contrary to expectation a forced and compulsory requisition was introduced with a notification that stocks above one thousand maunds only will be seized, but in practice we have found that stocks much below one thousand maunds have been seized. I represent a surplus area and naturally it is my interest to see that the growers there are amply paid for what they have grown with their labour and money, but to my utmost objection and dislike I would like to tell this House that in many cases requisitions have been made on wrong information. Actually the requisitioned stock has been found to be very much below one thousand maunds and the prices for such requisitioned stuff have always been varied whenever and wherever it has been found necessary and convenient. I would also invite a reply from the Hon'ble Minister for Civil Supplies as to the stock he has been able to get through forced requisition. If it is found that the stock is not up to the mark or up to the expectation of everybody, then I would question the necessity of forced requisition which every cultivator of surplus areas has resented. We have been confronted with many sorts of malicious propaganda and questions. We shall discuss separately things relating to the Civil Supplies Department when that subject will come up before this House for consideration, but let me tell this House that since the last adjournment motion things in the Civil Supplies Department are exactly in the same place where we left them at that time. The system of licence to which the attention of Government was drawn is still in vogue and no attempt has been made to issue fresh licences or to give more trading facilities to the rice and paddy traders of this country. Rather to my utmost surprise we still find that some section of the people, some marketing caucus is still predominating in the commercial enterprises of Bengal. I earnestly appeal to Hon'ble Minister, Civil Supplies, to extend more trading facilities, issue more licences, more renewals of licences to the merchants of surplus areas who easily and naturally, without depending on the Directorate of Movements, can arrange for the flow of surplus rice to the deficit areas. Some such way ought to have been devised in order to avoid the delay that is caused by the Directorate of Movements. Aus crop is now over. We ought to have experimented some such device regarding aus crop if rice was to be decontrolled and if a system

of natural flow from surplus to deficit areas were to be established. But so far as we find, no such attempt has been made and indeed it is very much regrettable that in spite of our repeated demand experiments on these lines are not being undertaken. In this matter the Directorate of Movements is very slow and absolutely worthless. My friends have dealt with this problem to a very great extent. I had no mind to go into the problem, but only to emphasize one or two important points. I am going to participate in it. The Civil Supplies Officers are of several categories. There are old superannuated officers of which my friend has given a very glaring instance. There are lawyer officers—those briefless barristers who could not shine in that profession have gone into the Civil Supplies Department in order to ameliorate the public distress as also to ameliorate their own distress. These people are not lawyer-Magistrates. How on earth those briefless barristers could be recruited for Civil Supplies Department I do not understand. The very fact that this a temporary department makes the officers irresponsible and those people who have been recruited there have no guarantee or assurance of the continuity of their services. Naturally they will stoop low for money and seize the opportunities that will occur before them. Government ought to have given serious consideration to these things.

There are also merchant officers in the Directorate of Textiles and the Directorate of Consumers Goods. We find that people who had been holding some posts in the merchant offices are all of a sudden becoming big officers in that Department. They have also brought a coterie of men along with them who are enjoying further facilities in this Department. This is a very bad system. If the I.C.S. people who never sold a single grain of rice and never had a chance of having a grocery can act as Directors and Controllers of Civil Supplies, the same set of people can run these Branches more efficiently than the merchant and military officers. Now, Sir, the very fact that this is a temporary department is making the officers callous. From the highest officer in the Civil Supplies Department down to the chaprasi the whole system should be thoroughly overhauled and necessary transfers must be made without delay. This Department should be completely regenerated with permanent Government officers who will not have to think that after the termination of the Civil Supplies Department they will also have to leave their services. At present they suffer from a sense of insecurity and do not feel seriously about their responsibility. Sir, this sense of irresponsibility is dominating the whole Civil Supplies Department and still Government is not taking steps to rectify the position.

Now, Sir, I would refer to some glaring instances of injustice being done to Muslims of this Department and in my speech which I delivered on an adjournment motion I gave instances how Muslim store-keepers, Muslim salesmen have been wrongly implicated in false cases, which were done deliberately with motives. Now, though these people were honourably acquitted in courts they were not given any chance to resume their posts by the Department. I also know of cases in which Hindu officers who got strictures from the courts had been promoted while Muslim officers who have been discharged by the court without any strictures have not been allowed to join their previous posts. There is absolutely no reason why such differential treatment should be meted out to Muslim employees of the Department. I would therefore again suggest that this Department should be thoroughly regenerated and reorganised.

Sir, we are deprived of valuable suggestions of the Opposition in the matter of Food which is coming before us for consideration. I would request the Opposition to take this matter into their serious consideration. The condition of 1943 must be resisted, must be stopped and with this end in view we must be in right earnest to arm ourselves from beforehand. We must be on our guard so that we will not have to be faced with a similar calamity.

With these few words I resume my seat. I shall be very happy if I get a reply on the points I have mentioned.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: My honourable friend Mr. Abdul Hakim has raised several questions which I believe require replies.

He said that in the matter of appointments, justice is not being shown to all communities irrespective of caste or creed. I may tell him that communal ratio rules which were promulgated after a good deal of negotiations between major parties will be and are being very sedulously observed at present.

About trade, my friend has said that sufficient facilities are not being given to Muslims. It is true that Muslims and Scheduled Caste people did not enter into trade before, and there was a certain instruction from the Government of India that unless these people had been trading for three years before 1942, which is called basic year, they would not be allowed licenses in respect of foodgrains and some other commodities. The legal implication of that rule has been examined very carefully; I have taken the opinion of the Legal Remembrancer as well as of the Advocate-General, and now it has been decided that the basic year should not stand in the way of granting licenses for foodgrains or other commodities, and instructions are going to be issued very soon (cries of hear, hear).

My friend has also said that there are many retired officers now serving in the Enforcement Branch and some other branches of the Civil Supplies Department. With regard to that I may mention that I have taken down the names and have also ascertained the efficiency of these gentlemen. I have already issued an order that gradually they will be replaced by efficient officers, because it will not be possible to secure efficient officers all at once, and I have already given notice to four persons to be released as soon as possible.

About the Muslim ratio I have already said that as it is a question of doing justice to all communities and in view of the fact that during Section 93 regime the communal ratio rule has not been carefully observed, I have already issued an order that in future all appointments—whether by promotion or by direct recruitment, should be given to Muslims and Scheduled Castes till parity is reached.

As regards contracts of transport and labour in Calcutta that only one man used to do this business, I have ordered that the carrying business of Calcutta should be split up into several parts, and that should be distributed after tenders are called. I do not understand how my friend says that no action has been taken in this behalf, when a notice has already been issued and they were published in various papers of Calcutta. It has been said that there is corruption in the Civil Supplies Department. As regards corruption, I have heard such general remarks being made both in the press as well as on the platform. You can very well understand that unless specific allegations are made no action can be taken against any person. It is necessary that we must have enough evidence so that the delinquent may be sent up in court to take his trial. I have already told, and I still hold the view that if there be strong suspicion against any person of the Civil Supplies, I shall certainly serve a notice on him to leave the Department within a month.

It has been said that license-holders cannot trade beyond a certain limit, namely, that if he has been granted a thana license he can trade only within the thana. I have already got that modified and now I have passed an order that a trader on taking a license can trade throughout the whole subdivision; he can have any number of licenses for any number of subdivisions. So that difficulty has been very clearly obviated.

Mr. Osman Ghani has suggested that there should be a godown in the Park Circus area. I have already taken steps to see that there might be such godowns in almost every part of the town where the Muslims are in a majority and also where the Hindus are in a majority so that there may not be any difficulty if in future any troubles arise in movement of the foodstuffs.

Then, my friend Mr. Sabur has suggested that Government decided to requisition only stocks over 1,000 maunds, but still stocks of lesser quantity have also been requisitioned. I may inform him that that decision has been modified and now stocks of lesser quantity, viz., above 500 maunds, have been asked to be requisitioned.

Then, my friend has said that several Muslims, who had been prosecuted, have not been reinstated after acquittal. Some such appeals have been made and I have called for report and I have taken action in respect of several of these cases.

I think I have given replies to all the points that have been raised by my friends here and I hope they will now pass the grant which has been moved.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Gofran that a sum of Rs. 59,01,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "85A-Capital outlay on provincial schemes of State Trading" was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 3-43 p.m. till 2-30 p.m. on Tuesday, the 17th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under
the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 17th September, 1946, at 2-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 6 Hon'ble Ministers and 200 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Realisation of collective fines from peasants of Balurghat.

***39. Mr. RUP NARAYAN RAY:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

- (a) the amount of punitive tax or collective fines realised from the sub-division of Balurghat (Dinajpur) in connection with the disturbances that took place in August and subsequent months in 1942;
- (b) how much of these taxes or fines, so collected, were realised from the peasants there;
- (c) whether the Government propose to return the money, so obtained to their respective payees; and
- (d) whether the Government contemplate setting up a non-official enquiry committee to investigate into the atrocities that were committed by police and other officers against the people of Balurghat while collecting these fines?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (a) Rs. 65,389 have been realised as collective fines.

(b) Figures are not readily available and I am not prepared to order the collection of these details, as the time and labour spent on it will not be commensurate with the result to be obtained.

(c) No.

(d) No; Government are not aware of the commission of any atrocities.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: With reference to answer (c) is the Hon'ble Minister aware that in Congress provinces the collective fines that were realised have been returned?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Does the Hon'ble Minister consider it desirable that in this province also the fines so realised should be returned?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: No.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why not?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Because in Congress provinces those who are in power are the friends of those who committed the offences and who were eulogised by them as heroes. It was necessary for them to refund the fines while in this province the Ministry does not take up that attitude.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Does the Hon'ble Minister say from personal knowledge that because the Congress thought them to be heroes that the fines were remitted and returned?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Not from personal knowledge, but automatically it appears that unless the Congress Ministry refund the fines they stand self-condemned.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Does the Hon'ble Minister think it desirable to enquire from the Provincial authorities elsewhere why the fines were remitted?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: We know from Press reports the Congress Governments returned the fines because those were collected for the offences committed by their colleagues during the August disturbances of 1942.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Does the Hon'ble Minister consider the imposition of such punitive taxes justifiable?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that some times collective fines were imposed even on innocent persons who had nothing to do with the offences committed for which collective fines were imposed?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Does the Hon'ble Minister think it desirable to enquire into such cases in the province and give them some relief if imposition has been made on innocent persons?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think that is the principle of collective fine.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: But, Sir, there is no bar to Government giving some relief to innocent people.

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: The Government has, of course, taken into consideration individual cases and has remitted some fines.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Does the Hon'ble Minister know that in Balurghat subdivision one Maharaj Bahadur Singh has instituted a civil suit questioning the imposition of collective fines there by Government?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: The matter is still *sub-judice*.

Mr. PRAVASH CHANDRA LAHIRY: With reference to the latter part of answer (d) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government took note of newspaper reports that atrocities were committed by the police and other officers against the people of Balurghat while collecting these fines?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question cannot be allowed. Newspaper report cannot be the basis of any question.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the principle involved which stood in the way of returning the fines so imposed?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: In the opinion of the then Government excesses were committed by the people and they thought that imposition of collective fines would be the best remedy against those excesses.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: In view of the fact that it was the opinion of the then Government, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether this Government also support the conduct of the then Government?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Individual cases have been taken into consideration and fines have been remitted but not in all cases.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: *Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state some of the principles in respect of which or upon which some fines were remitted?*

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: In cases where Government on enquiry found that the people were innocent the fines were remitted.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Does the Hon'ble Minister think it desirable to enquire from other provinces the exact reasons for which the fines were remitted and returned and let the House know of it?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Government does not think it necessary.

Conduct of I. B. officers in a conference at Natore.

*40. **Mr. PRAVASH CHANDRA LAHIRY:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware that a subdivisional political conference was recently held at Natore (Rajshahi) talkie hall under the presidentship of a member of this House wherein the police officers in uniform and the I. B. officers in plain clothes were said to be deputed there by the district authorities of Rajshahi under the Defence of India Rules?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the police and the I. B. officers did not stand up along with the whole house when a condolence resolution was being put from the chair as a mark of respect to the departed patriots?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any instruction of the Government upon its officers to stick to their seats while the whole house is standing in respect?

(d) If not, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he proposes to take any action in the matter?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (a) Yes. The Nator Subdivisional Congress Workers' Conference was held at the Nator Cinema Hall on the 19th May, 1946, under the presidentship of Professor Jyotish Chandra Ghosh. A Magistrate and Police officers both uniformed and in plain clothes attended the Conference.

(b) Yes.

(c) Under the "Government Servants Conduct Rules" Government officers cannot take part in the proceedings of such meetings.

(d) Does not arise.

Mr. PRAVASH CHANDRA LAHIRY: With reference to answer (c), is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware that a political meeting is attended by non-political men and women also and that they too stand up with the actual participants when called upon to do so by the President of the meeting only as a mark of common courtesy and that it does not mean any participation in the proceedings in view of the fact—

Mr. SPEAKER: That is too lengthy a question: I cannot allow it.

Mr. PRAVASH CHANDRA LAHIRY: Does the Hon'ble Minister think that mere standing up with the whole house constitutes participation in the proceedings of the meeting?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of opinion.

Infant mortality statistics and milk supply to children in Bengal.

***41. Mrs. ASHALATA SEN:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Health and Local Self-Government be pleased to lay in the Table a statement showing—

- (i) how many children were born in the years 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945 and 1946 in the Province of Bengal; and
- (ii) how many of them died within 3 years from birth? (The figures to be shown separately in respect of each year.)
- (b) Is there any milk canteen for the children in the Province of Bengal established at the expense of Government?
- (c) If the answer to clause (b) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many canteens there are and where they have been established?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT of HEALTH and LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali): (a) A statement showing births and deaths amongst children under one year and one to five years of age is placed on the Library Table. Death figures under three years of age are not available as they are not separately recorded.

(b) Yes.

(c) Forty canteens a list of which is placed on the Library Table.

Recruitment of officers in Post-War Fire Service of Bengal.

***42. Mr. DHANANJOY ROY:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Health and Local Self-Government be pleased to state—

- (i) whether there has been any recruitment of officers in the Department of Post-War Development, Fire Service in Bengal, after the assumption of office by the present Ministry;
- (ii) whether there was any advertisement for the post of Director, Deputy Director, two Regional Officers and three Deputy Regional Officers of Fire Service; and
- (iii) whether recruitment of one Director, one Deputy Director and two Regional Officers were made?
- (b) If the answer to (a)(iii) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—
 - (i) whether they are Bengalees or non-Bengalees; and
 - (ii) whether there were any Bengalee candidates?
- (c) If the answer to (b)(ii) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government propose to send the candidates for those posts of Director, Deputy Director and Regional Officers to the Public Service Commission, Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: (a)(i) No; the scheme for a permanent Bengal Fire Service is still under consideration.

(ii) and (iii) No; the designations, jurisdictions and charges of certain existing officers of the temporary Bengal Fire Service have been altered to secure greater administrative efficiency. Two officers of the Calcutta Fire Brigade have been deputed temporarily to fill consequential vacancies in the Bengal Fire Service.

(b)(i) One of the deputed officers of the Calcutta Fire Brigade is an Anglo-Indian resident in Bengal; the other is a Bengali Muslim.

(ii) Does not arise.

(c) *Permanent vacancies in the Officer cadre of the permanent Bengal Fire Service, when that service is established, will, in the usual course, be filled after consultation with the Public Service Commission, Bengal.*

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Arising out of (a) (i), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the Government will come to a decision?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot exactly give the target date but the decision will be expedited.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many of the Fire Brigade Stations have been disbanded?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid I cannot give the number off-hand.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many of the Fire Brigade personnel have been absorbed?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid I cannot give the answer off-hand.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the places where there is no municipality will be deprived of the Fire Brigade Stations?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir, that is most likely correct, because when we have permanent Bengal Fire Service we will give the benefit of fire service to the larger municipalities in this province and the question of giving such facilities to the non-municipal area cannot be taken up by Government at this stage.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there are stations like Feni and Chowmohini which are more important than municipal areas and they are going to be deprived if he follows this principle?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: That is purely a matter of opinion, but I think that Feni and Chowmohini are very big places of importance and may be they are more important than some municipal areas, but at the present moment we cannot give facilities to all the municipalities of this province. We shall have to restrict the facilities to the larger municipalities of this province.

Policy of disposal of derequisitioned premises.

***43. Mrs. E. M. RICKETTS:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Chief Minister's (Common Services) Department be pleased to state—

(a) if it is the policy of the Government that derequisitioned premises should be offered in the first instance to the parties in occupation at the time of the original requisitioning; and

(b) if so, what are the circumstances under which the premises at No. 6, Park Lane, although already derequisitioned have not been offered to the previous tenants?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy):

(a) Yes, as a general rule.

(b) The previous occupants did not ask to be reinstated. Therefore, as the house was required as a students' hostel, and the owner was willing to lease it for this purpose, the house was taken over by Government in the Education Department.

Mrs. E. M. RICKETTS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps were taken by Government to ascertain if all the previous tenants were given sufficient time to reply as to whether they wish to return to their lands?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I think Government gave notice to all informing about the date of derequisition.

Detention of I.N.A. men in Bengal.

***44. Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the present number of I.N.A. men and persons connected with the I.N.A. or persons described by the Government as "Enemy agents" -

- (a) who are still in detention in Bengal;
- (b) their names and full home addresses;
- (c) how many of them have been served with restriction orders under Ordinance III of 1944; and
- (d) their names and home addresses?

Mr. K. NASARULLA (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy):

(a) Nil.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) One.

(d) Babu Priti Chaudhury, son of Babu Benoy Bhushon Chaudhury, of Kadirkhil, Boalkhali, Chittagong.

Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether these I.N.A. men and persons connected with the I.N.A. or persons described by the Government as "Enemy agents" were prosecuted under Ordinance III of 1944?

Mr. K. NASARULLA: I want notice.

Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many of these I.N.A. men were executed and how many sentenced to transportation for life?

Mr. K. NASARULLA: I want notice.

Legislation to deal with traffic in women.

***45. Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department aware that due to the recent influx of women of the town the nuisance has greatly aggravated in the City of Calcutta?

(b) If so, what action, if any, the Government are proposing to take to clear the inhabited localities of the City of Calcutta of undesirable occupants under the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act?

(c) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that social health of the city has deteriorated seriously due to the increase of public women therein?

(d) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of taking adequate measures for removal of the nuisance?

(e) Does the Hon'ble Minister propose to introduce fresh legislation empowering the Police to cope adequately with the traffic in women, which is daily growing in the City of Calcutta?

(f) Is it a fact that the steps that are being taken by the Police at present are not adequate to ensure rooting out of the evil in a short time?

(g) Is it a fact that punishments by way of nominal fines are being imposed in cases of breach of the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act and that such steps are not enough to deter offenders?

(h) Do the Government consider the desirability of introducing more stringent legislation to deal more effectively with the matter?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (a) Yes, the evil was noticed as early as 1944. With the cessation of hostilities and the departure of large numbers of troops from the City the evil has somewhat abated.

(b) Instructions were given to the Police to take action under the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1933, against commercialized vice and with the exception of one or two areas in the north, the City has been cleared of the nuisance. The existing law does not prohibit individual prostitution and action cannot be taken by the Police under section 6 of the Act except on a complaint as prescribed therein. Such complaints are scarcely ever made.

(c) It is a fact that during the war years prostitution, open and clandestine, increased and the dissemination of venereal diseases became alarming. Government took steps to control the situation by closing brothels as stated above and by opening clinics for the treatment and cure of venereal diseases. With the departure of troops from Calcutta the position is not now as serious as it was.

(d) An amendment made to the existing Act in June, 1945, has considerably improved it, but it is found to be still defective and weak in certain respects. Further amendments are under the consideration of Government.

(e) and (f) The answer is as given in (d) above.

(g) In very few cases has the maximum fine of Rs.50 provided in the Act been imposed. This is, however, a matter for the courts. Prosecuting officers have been directed to press for the award of deterrent sentences on conviction.

(h) Please see answer to (d).

Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that commercialised vice still exists in South Calcutta?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Yes, it exists, but not in such serious form as before.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Arising out of (b), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the areas in the city?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Central Calcutta as a whole.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: With respect to answer (d) where it has been stated that further amendments are under the consideration of Government, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when there is a likelihood of bringing such a legislation?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: At the earliest opportunity.

Control of tanks under Calcutta Corporation.

***48. Dr. MOZAMMEL HOSSAIN:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture be pleased to state whether it is a fact that all the tanks under Calcutta Corporation are under direct control of Bengal Government for improvement of fishery industry?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what scheme, if any, has been adopted for the purpose?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain): (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: Does the Government contemplate taking up the improvement of tanks in Calcutta which are now under the Calcutta Corporation?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Yes, the scheme for utilisation of tanks belonging to the Calcutta Corporation by the Director of Fisheries for rearing fish is under contemplation.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Hon'ble Chief Minister's assurance to release political prisoners.

11. (SHORT NOTICE.) Mr. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that an assurance was given by the Hon'ble Chief Minister to the demonstrators assembled at the Assembly compound on the 24th July last for the release of all political prisoners before the 15th August, 1946, and the withdrawal of ban on the Forward Bloc before the same date?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government are considering to implement that assurance forthwith?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to repeat the statement that was made by the Hon'ble Chief Minister on the 15th August in the Assembly compound?

Mr. SPEAKER: The statement of the Hon'ble Chief Minister made on the 15th August is already in the proceedings.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: No, Sir, I am referring to the statement made not here in the House but outside in the maidan west of this building on the 24th July.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The question refers to 15th August.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Fifteenth was the date fixed for release.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think on that date the Chief Minister made a statement in regard to the political prisoners who could be released. I think on the 15th August also the Hon'ble Chief Minister made a statement on the floor of this House with regard to the political prisoners who could not be released on that date. Some prisoners were released on the 15th and he made a statement on that very day with regard to the other political prisoners who could not be released. I think that statement has superseded the previous statement. Let us confine ourselves to the statement made on the 15th August.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: The question relates to the statement of 24th July.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: On the 24th July, the Hon'ble Chief Minister made a statement and promised that he would announce his decision regarding the release of political prisoners on or before the 15th

August, and in pursuance of that announcement the Hon'ble Chief Minister on the 15th August made an announcement on the floor of the House that he had passed orders for the release of all pre-reform political prisoners. The answer "No" in (a) means that he did not make any promise or announcement regarding the withdrawal of ban on the Forward Bloc on the 24th July. His statement only referred to the question of announcement of Government decision regarding the release of political prisoners and the House is aware that in accordance with the announcement made he implemented his promise on the 15th and all the political prisoners have been released.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enlighten us if the Government are thinking of withdrawing the ban on the "Forward Bloc" and releasing the convicted political prisoners?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The matter is engaging the attention of Government.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many of the pre-reform political prisoners have been released since the 15th of August?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: All the pre-reform political prisoners have been released. There was difficulty about one only. There was one pre-reform political prisoner whose name was Naren Ghosh, but the release order in respect of that political prisoner was not issued through a mistake, because there was another Naren Ghosh who was released previously. Therefore due to a mistake in office, his release order was not at first issued, but subsequently about a week back his release order was issued, and now it can be said that all the pre-reform political prisoners have been released.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is their number?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am sorry I cannot give you the number.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARY: In view of the fact that all the political prisoners have been released does the Government think it desirable to lift the ban on Jogesh Chandra Chatterji who is now outside Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid I shall have to ask for notice.

Mr. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Government will remove the ban on the Bengal Provincial Forward Bloc?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state by which date Government will release all the political prisoners?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: As I have said all pre-reform political prisoners have been released.

Mr. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: There are other political prisoners.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The only prisoners who are detained now are convicted prisoners in connection with August, 1942 disturbances.

Mr. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: Is the Government prepared to give a date by which all the political prisoners arrested in connection with 1942 movement will be released?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: No target date can be given, but the Chief Minister is considering all aspects of this question.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there are more than 20 prisoners in the Midnapore Jail who were convicted in connection with 1942 movement and of whom there are many who are suffering from serious diseases?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I have already said that the only political prisoners who are now detained are the persons who were convicted of offences during the 1942 disturbances. All security prisoners have been released and all pre-reform political prisoners have been released. So far as the question of release of political prisoners convicted during 1942 disturbances is concerned this matter is engaging the attention of the Hon'ble Chief Minister. I admit that some of them are not in good health.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of releasing immediately those prisoners who are suffering from diseases?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: As I have said the matter is engaging the attention of the Hon'ble Chief Minister. It is also the policy of Government to release prisoners if the circumstances of the health of a prisoner are such as would warrant his release, but no such prisoner is now in detention whose condition would justify his release on medical ground.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us by which period we shall be able to know that those prisoners will be released?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot give the target date.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there are many petitions for the classification of the prisoners convicted in connection with 1942 movement?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: May be. I am sorry I cannot answer that question without notice.

Mr. ABUL HASHEM: In view of the fact that the Congressmen of the Opposition are showing so much anxiety to release the political prisoners, may I know from the Hon'ble Minister whether after the release of the pre-reform political prisoners, my Congress friends, and as a matter of that, the Congress organisation did give them any reception?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I have no official information, but I did see in newspapers something about reception given to the political prisoners. As far as my recollection goes, reception was organised by the Communist Party.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Pending the question of release of political prisoners, does the Government consider the desirability of keeping all the prisoners convicted in connection with 1942 movement classified in Division I and Division II?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The honourable member will realise that so far as the convicted prisoners are concerned, the question of their classification rests with the trying authority—the trying Magistrate.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: The question of classification rests with the Government.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: It does rest with the Government, but all these classifications are made on the recommendation of the trying Magistrates.

Mr. J. C. GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the reception was given to the released pre-reform political prisoners on behalf of the all-parties release campaign committee consisting of League, Congress, Communists and others?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: On a point of order, Sir. May I point out that it is not the concern of Government to be aware of that?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is no point of order. Government chose to reply to Mr. Abul Hashim's question; so I cannot stop Mr. Gupta.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I have already said that I have no official information of that. I was relying entirely on my own memory when I said that I saw newspaper report of some reception given to the released political prisoners, and it was on the basis of that report that I stated that the reception was given by the members of the Communist Party. I have no further recollection in the matter.

Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the ban on the "Forward Bloc" has already been removed by the Central Government?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I have no official information of that, but I did see a report to that effect.

Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how long will it take the Local Government to consider the question of removal of the ban on the "Forward Bloc"?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot prophesy that.

Mr. PRAYASH CHANDRA LAHIRY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any I.N.A. security prisoner in Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that among the convicted political prisoners in Midnapore there are some who are suffering from serious diseases and have not been classified in spite of repeated petitions for these last five years?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Mr. Nishitha Kundu is generally well informed so far as the conditions of security prisoners are concerned I am prepared to take his word for the statement that they are not in good health. But so far as the question as to whether they are suffering from serious diseases is concerned, that is, I should say, a matter of opinion and neither he nor myself are medical experts.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the answer given by the Hon'ble Minister, I am supplying the name of the prisoner. His name is Birendra Nath Barman. He is much deteriorated in health. He has been asking for classification. His father also applied. I too tried my best to bring it to the notice of Government. Does not the Hon'ble Minister, in view of the information supplied by me just now, think it desirable to enquire into the matter and make a classification in his case?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir. An enquiry into the condition of health of the prisoner named by the honourable member will be instituted, and if he is anxious to know the result, it will be communicated to him.

Controlling of Water-hyacinth.

12. Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DUTTA: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture be pleased to state—

- (i) whether the Government are aware that the *aman* crops of large areas of lands in the district of Tippera specially in the Brahmanbaria subdivision are destroyed each year by water-hyacinth;
 - (ii) whether it is a fact that the destruction has been going on since the year 1915 when water-hyacinth had appeared; and
 - (iii) whether it is a fact that people of many areas petitioned the Government for construction of water-hyacinth fencing to prevent the destruction of crops?
- (b) Do the Government consider the desirability of constructing water-hyacinth fencing under the Water-hyacinth Act?
- (c) If so, in what areas?

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: (a) (i) and (ii) Yes.

(iii) Petitions have been received from time to time.

(b) Government have no immediate scheme. The whole question of controlling and eradicating water-hyacinth throughout the Province has been dealt with in a Development Scheme which is at present under the consideration of a Technical Committee, and Government are awaiting the report of the Committee before taking any action.

(c) Does not arise.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government took any steps to prevent destruction of crops?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Yes, Sir.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Water-Hyacinth Act was passed on the basis of any plan?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Yes, Sir.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether water-hyacinth fencing was constructed on the basis of the Water-Hyacinth Act anywhere?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Yes. At some places in Tippera the scheme was experimented on the principle of levying cess which proved a failure, and Government stopped it.

Mr. MUHAMMAD RUKNUDDIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the report of the Technical Committee will be submitted?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Government is trying to expedite the matter.

Mr. MUHAMMAD RUKNUDDIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps Government propose to take just now?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Government expect to get the report without delay and hope to take proper steps immediately thereafter.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that water-hyacinth is being utilized as substitute for food, and does he consider the desirability of utilizing water-hyacinth as substitute for food instead of destroying and eradicating it?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Government will consider the matter.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, in the light of answer (b) that pending formulation of a particular scheme, whether Government consider the desirability of placing adequate funds in the hands of the Union Boards, so that Union Boards can independently cope with this problem immediately?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Many such schemes have been experimented upon but none proved successful. Government does not think it desirable to spend any money in a haphazard way. Government is awaiting the report of the Technical Committee, and as soon as its report reaches them, it will be duly considered.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state that Government machinery repeatedly proving unsuccessful, does he think it desirable that the country and the people in the Union Boards should be placed in charge of these affairs so that they can ameliorate their own conditions?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: Government is trying to ameliorate the conditions of the people.

Mr. J. C. GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that for want of co-ordination and simultaneous action in every part where water-hyacinth exists, efforts have failed in the past?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: There has no doubt been want of co-ordination, but the scheme which is expected to be evolved will bring about co-ordination from every body.

Mr. J. C. GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that from 1930 up till the present day various schemes have been discussed, but only on one occasion when the Water-Hyacinth Week was inaugurated with the help of the people in every Union, there was some relief?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: There was some relief, but it was not successful.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the members of the Technical Committee with their qualifications?

Mr. HAMIDUDDIN AHMED: I want notice.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Sir, I beg to draw your attention to a certain matter.

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you speaking on a point of order?

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Sir, I am going to make a request to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: But how does it arise. It must be either a point of order or a point of privilege.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Sir, I rise on a point of privilege. Sir, it is our painful memory that during the Calcutta riots a certain section of the Press were most irresponsible and they are still publishing reports in such an irresponsible manner that there is every apprehension of the disturbances spreading all over the country. Can we expect that full and correct publicity of the deliberations that will take place on the 19th and 20th September will be given? Failing that do you not think it necessary or desirable to close the Press galleries for those two days?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am concerned with the correct recording of the proceedings. If I find any press not recording the proceedings correctly, I may then take action.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Sir, for a greater benefit there might be a slight departure from the routine procedure prescribed here. I would request you, Sir, to take a bold step in the matter in order to prevent such a calamity as might befall Bengal again.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The Bengal Special Tribunals (Continuance) Bill, 1946.

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Special Tribunals (Continuance) Bill, 1946, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the object of this Bill is very simple. The two Special Tribunals known as the First Special Tribunal at Calcutta and Second Special Tribunal at Calcutta, respectively, were constituted by a notification of the Central Government under section 3 of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 1943 (Ordinance No. XXIX of 1943), and under section 5 thereof certain cases were allotted to them for trial. As some of those cases are still pending before those two tribunals and some doubts may arise as to the competency of the said tribunals to continue to function in the disposal of the said cases in the event of their not being disposed of before the expiration of the period of 6 months after the proclamation of emergency in force at the commencement of the said Ordinance which has ceased to operate and as it may involve considerable waste of public money if the cases now pending before these tribunals have to be tried *de novo* by ordinary criminal courts it is necessary to introduce this Bill so that the aforesaid tribunals may continue to function and dispose of the cases allotted to them under section 5 of the Ordinance referred to above.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal that the Bengal Special Tribunals (Continuance) Bill, 1946, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to. ✓

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, we do not oppose the Bill but what I want to draw your attention to is this that we are not competent or in a position to take up these Bills in this session because they were not circulated to us as it used to be done previously. In the absence of the Bills we could not apply our mind. For example the Bill which has been taken up just now was not circulated beforehand.

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you speaking about this Bill.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Yes, about this Bill and other Bills. I do not know if this Bill was circulated at all.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, this Bill was circulated.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I enquired of some of my friends and understood that it was not circulated. So, I think it should be dropped. The law should be strictly followed.

Mr. SPEAKER: This Bill was circulated on the 13th August.

Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE: But the original Bill was not circulated.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, the original Bill was not circulated for it is not necessary under the rules. It is in the Library and members have always an easy access to it.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble stand part of the Bill was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Special Tribunals (Continuance) Bill, 1946, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to raise just one point. These two Special Tribunals, as I understand them Sir, were set up to provide speedy trial of certain cases of corruption. They were set up in 1943, and it is now 1946; and I think the House is due some explanation of the delay that is taking place in bringing these cases to an end.

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Sir, a large number of cases had been allotted to the First Tribunal and a large number of those cases were disposed of. Still about ten cases are pending. The Second Special Tribunal to which the famous case of Mr. S. K. Ghose was allotted has also progressed to a considerable extent. The number of witnesses and the masses of evidence are so large that in spite of the best attempt on the part of the tribunal they could not finish dealing with them earlier. It is expected that more than a year will be taken to come to a decision on the cases. Only this Government can now bring it to the notice of those two tribunals so as to give them a chance to expedite the trials of those cases. More than that I am not in a position to say.

The motion that the Bengal Special Tribunals (Continuance) Bill, 1946, as settled in the Assembly, be passed, was then put and agreed to.

The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 1946.

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Sir, I beg to withdraw the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 1946. This Bill proposes to provide certain measures for the speedy trial of riot cases, but those measures are of such importance that it is desirable that in consultation with the leaders of the different parties of this House an agreed Bill should be brought in.

Mr. SPEAKER: On a point of information, Mr. Mandal. Are you withdrawing the Bill?

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: In that case no speech is necessary because the Bill has not yet been introduced.

(The Bill was taken as withdrawn.)

GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly is of opinion that it is desirable that—

- (1) the control of prices and the distribution of drugs within the province;
- (2) fees in respect of the matters mentioned in clause (1);
- (3) inquiries and statistics for the purpose of the matters mentioned in clauses (1) and (2);
- (4) offences against laws with respect to the matters mentioned in clauses (1) to (3); and
- (5) the jurisdiction and powers of courts with respect to the matters mentioned in clauses (1) to (4),

which are among the matters enumerated in the Provincial Legislative List should be regulated in this Province by an Act of the Central Legislature.

Sir, members of this House are aware that the Defence of India Rules will expire after the 30th of September, 1946, and after the expiry of those rules the control over drugs will cease to have operation not only here but in other parts of the country. But even at this time it is necessary to have control over them because supply has not yet improved and is not adequate. Therefore it is felt that when the existing control over drugs is relaxed, those drugs which are very important in the matter of saving life may be traded upon in the black-market. We have information that there are some drugs which have gone underground and when the control will have ceased to have effect after the 30th September, 1946, merchants who are in possession of those drugs will be ruling still in the black-market.

Now, it may be said as this comes within the sphere of Provincial Legislature, a legislative enactment would have met our purpose. But, Sir, it will be realised that these drugs over which we want to exercise control are imported drugs, drugs which come from foreign countries. Therefore the question of import is there. It would, therefore, be better and desirable that the control over drugs should be on an all-India basis and, therefore, we do not want to come in with a separate legislation so far as control is concerned. We want to send our recommendation to the Government of India and armed with our recommendation and recommendations from other Provincial Legislatures, it will be appropriate for the Government of India to introduce a Bill and have this control over drugs retained. I hope there will be no difference of opinion so far as this matter is concerned and the resolution will be accepted.

As Mr. Speaker pointed out some time earlier, we propose to come up tomorrow again with another resolution under section 103 of the Government of India Act for retention of control over various other commodities. It would have been better if there could have been a comprehensive resolution so that all existing controls might have been retained by the Government of India by one Act, but it was felt and I was advised by the department that so far as control over drugs is concerned, it is better to have a separate resolution. Therefore, we have come up to this House with this resolution so far as control over drugs is concerned. We propose to come up tomorrow again with another resolution for retaining control over other essential commodities.

With these words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as clause (1) is concerned, the proper language will be like this. I admit this resolution with this change:

“(1) the control of trade and commerce so far as it relates to the control of price, amount and distribution of drugs within the Province;”

It fits in with the language of the Act.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: All right, Sir.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: I am sorry that an important thing like this which infringes on the power of this House, which is within the Provincial Legislative List and which power we are going to delegate to the Central Government to legislate upon should have been brought by the Hon'ble Minister with such a short notice. Therefore, Sir, I would request the Hon'ble Minister to postpone its consideration for the time being and when all members will be in a position to consider this, we may get it passed. That can be done before the 30th September if the House so agrees. It would only require a few minutes' time. Therefore, Sir, there is no point in hurrying such an important matter through the Legislative Assembly and I would request the Hon'ble Minister to agree to postponement of the consideration of this resolution. Otherwise, if the Hon'ble Minister is not in a position to do this, I would stand on the question of notice because it is a short notice which cannot be done and which, I will say, is not in order.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: I think this resolution, coming as it does, infringes on the rights of this House. It says that the Provincial Legislature is hardly competent to legislate on such matters. I think it would be wrong to go to the Central Legislature in which we have got no confidence whatsoever at this critical juncture. So, I think it would be totally unwise on the part of the Hon'ble Minister to go to the Central Legislature in the form of a resolution rather than make a legislation here on the floor of this House with the consent of the parties sitting together. So, my suggestion is to have a piece of legislation in however short a time it may be and not to go up to the Central Legislature.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I would like time till tomorrow to consider whether a resolution—one comprehensive resolution—should not meet the requirements. If you defer the consideration of this resolution till tomorrow, that would be better.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right, it is postponed till tomorrow.

The Bengal Molasses Control Bill, 1946.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I beg to introduce the Bengal Molasses Control Bill, 1946.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the copy of the Bill was circulated amongst the members only today just now.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think it will not be taken up today. You will have ample time to consider it. It has only been introduced.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: May I request the Hon'ble Minister not to proceed with this Bill further.

Mr. SPEAKER: Only introduction today. When he comes up with a motion for consideration tomorrow, you may raise these questions.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: We oppose the very introduction of this Bill. Introduction may be done tomorrow.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Since you were kind enough to accept the suggestion from the other side, I hope the Hon'ble Minister will also accept this suggestion that this thing be held over because of short notice. It may be brought tomorrow.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am agreeable to the acceptance of that proposition provided the honourable the Leader of the Opposition will agree to the introduction, consideration and passing of the Bill tomorrow. It will be noticed that the Control Bill will expire on the 30th September.

Mr. SPEAKER: No question of introduction. It has already been introduced.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: The Hon'ble Minister will realise that I cannot give any such undertaking until I read the Bill. It is on that ground that I oppose introduction today.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 3-27 p.m. till 2-30 p.m. on Wednesday, the 18th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under
the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 18th September, 1946, at 2-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 7 Hon'ble Ministers and 202 members.

Obituary.

MR. SPEAKER: Ladies and gentlemen, it is my melancholy duty to refer to the sad death of Dr. Hasan Suhrawardy which took place this morning after a protracted illness. Dr. Suhrawardy was a man of outstanding personality. From the post of a rural Assistant Surgeon in the service of the Government of Bengal he rose to be the Chief Medical and Health Officer, Indian State Railways, and later Chief Medical Officer of the East Indian Railway system by sheer dint of merit. He was appointed in 1935 as the Honorary Surgeon to the Viceroy. He was for some time Honorary Consulting Surgeon, Medical College Hospitals, Calcutta, Dean of Faculty of Medicine, and Chairman of the Calcutta Branch of the British Medical Association. Besides his skill in the medical science and reputation as a surgeon, he was well known for his activities in the fields of politics and education where he held many important positions. He was a member of the old Bengal Legislative Council from 1921—1925 and was elected its Deputy President in 1923 and held the post as long as he was a member of that body. He was a member of the Public Service Commission (1937—1939) and was later appointed Adviser to the Secretary of State for India in 1939. He was a sitting member of the Central Legislative Assembly.

As President of the Board of Studies Arabic and Persian, President of the Board of Studies, Medicine, Professor of Public Health and Hygiene, Calcutta University, and as a member of the Senate, he took great interest in matters educational. He was Leader of the Indian Delegation of the British Empire University Congress in 1931. His meritorious services to the country as an educationist were recognised by his appointment as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in 1930, a post which he held with great distinction till 1934. The Calcutta University conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Science and the London University conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He was a Commander of the Order of St. John and held the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army and was the Commanding Officer, Second Battalion, Calcutta University Training Corps. His meritorious career all along was marked by a recognition of his services from time to time by the conferment of titles and honours. In 1927 he was given the O.B.E., in 1930 Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the First Class and in 1932 he was created a Knight. These honours were won by him at different stages of his life and as a loyal subject he very much appreciated the recognition of his services in the shape of these honours. But when the time for action came, nothing was too dear to him which he could not sacrifice for the sake of his principles in life. He surrendered all these honours at the call of the national organisation he belonged to. His services to the country in different capacities are so many and so varied that it is difficult to enumerate all of them. But it must be said that as Founder-President of the Servants of Humanity Society he has done great philanthropic work.

He came of one of the ancient Muslim families of Bengal and was the son of a renowned Arabic scholar, Maulana Obaidul-lahel Obaidy. He combined in himself the best of the cultures of the East and the West. His urbanity of manner, coolness of temperament and affectionate disposition gathered round him a host of friends who now mourn his loss. The House, no doubt, will express its sympathy to the Leader of the House, whose loss is a personal one and to Mrs. Ikramullah who was elected by this House as its representative in the Constituent Assembly.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is perhaps the desire of the House to convey a message of condolence to the bereaved family. I shall now ask the members to signify their assent by rising in their seats.

(Members rose in their seats.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Secretary will take the necessary action.

As he was the Deputy President of the old Council, I adjourn this House as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased till 2 p.m. tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 2.35 p.m. till 2 p.m. on Thursday, the 19th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled
under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 19th September, 1946, at 2 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 234 members.

Oath.

The following member took the oath of allegiance:—

Mr. C. B. G. Wade, elected by the Chittagong Division Europeans.

Motions of No-confidence.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move that this Assembly expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers. At the outset I express my deepest sympathy for the poor and innocent who had died and suffered injuries in the great carnage of Calcutta, and in the mofussil areas in Bengal. My sympathy goes to the members of the bereaved families. I move this motion with a full sense of responsibility and with a depth of feeling, because it had followed the five eventful days from the 16th August to the 20th August, of carnage, loot and arson, unexampled in modern Indian History. During these days, thousands had died, many thousands had suffered injuries, many thousands had lost their all, houses, goods, shops, furniture, jewellery, clothings, employments and means of livelihood, in the presence of the police without any protest from them. Many had been rendered homeless, many children had lost their parents, the poor and the innocent had suffered the most.

The Council of Ministers is a limb of the Muslim League Party. It has got no separate existence. While explaining the Government position in this House when on the 12th of August, I sought to move an adjournment motion on declaring by the Government, the 16th of August as a public holiday, Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali said, "The Chief Minister of the Province is a dual personality. He is not only the Chief Minister of the Bengal Government, but the leader of the political organisation, namely, that of the Muslim League. He is to abide by the decision of the organisation". So, the whole body of Ministers are also to abide by the decision of the Muslim League. I shall now mention to you the background previous to that fateful day of the 16th of August. The Muslim League by its resolution on the 29th of July fixed August 16th for the observance of the "Direct Action" throughout India. The Committee called upon the Muslims to observe hartal on the day, to hold public meetings and to stage other demonstrations. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in explaining what is meant by the "Direct Action" declared on the 7th August that Direct Action means resorting to non-constitutional methods. Direct Action means any action against the law. The Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy in an interview in Delhi on August 10th forecast declaration of complete independence by Bengal and setting up of a parallel Government. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, ex-Premier of Bengal and a member of the Muslim League Working Committee, in an interview with the United Press of India on the 9th of August when asked to clarify the implication of Direct Action said, "There are hundred and one ways in which we can create difficulties, specially when we are not restricted to non-violence. The Muslim population of Bengal know very well what Direct Action would mean

and we need not bother to give them any lead". (At this stage Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq entered the House with his party amidst prolonged cheers and cries of "Allah-o-Akbar," "Muslim League Zindabad," "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Sher-e-Bangala Zindabad," from Government benches. He took his seat in the front line of the treasury benches.) In Sind, the only other province where Muslim League ruled, Mr. Gholam Ali, Home Minister, commenting on Muslim League's Bombay decision was quoted as having said that the Muslim League had declared holy war against the enemies of the Muslim nation, namely, the Congress. Anybody opposing them in pursuit of their objectives will be destroyed and exterminated. Pir Elahi Bux, Revenue Minister, said, "About one hundred years back the British with the help of the Hindus wrested power from the Muslims. We shall wreak vengeance on them and will establish Pakistan. I warn Congress men that if you attempt to rule over us by tampering with the loyalty of some Mussalmans, your fate will be that of Satanic Germans". The Ministers of the two Muslim League provinces openly incited people to law breaking and violence, and so the point at issue is, whether League Ministry which is wedded to the policy of breaking the law can remain as the custodian of the lives and properties of the people. The League cannot function both as a breaker and preserver of the Constitution and Law. If it is the privilege of a political party to achieve its objective by breaking the law, then it is equally the privilege of the people to demand that such a party shall not and cannot remain as a custodian of the law. When the Congress asked people to break the law, it did not do it while in office as a custodian of the law. It resigned its office and then asked the people to break the law. On the 15th of August, i.e., the day preceding the fateful day, Mr. George Morgan on behalf of the European party gave a warning and said that they (European Group) considered that the action of declaring the 16th of August as a public holiday was, to say the least of it, unwise and it created a very bad precedent. Referring to the statements of the Chief Minister and the Finance Minister that the action had been taken for the maintenance of peace and order, Mr. Morgan said that it seemed to them (the European Party) that the action was likely to defeat its object in that the public, having nothing else to do on that day, would be free to do anything they liked and communal trouble would probably arise. The Chief Minister must be aware of the danger of trouble arising and holding as he does the portfolio of Law and Order, he will be hard put to it to keep the peace; he further said, "an atmosphere of uncertainty and fear had been created by this action of Government and that was a very dangerous atmosphere". Really Mr. Morgan gave a warning to the Government with a prophetic vision.

By the utterance of the Muslim League leaders and the League Ministers and by declaring the 16th of August as a public holiday for the observance of the "Direct Action Day" of the Muslim League, the Council of Ministers led the Muslims to believe that they have got the power to enforce the observance of the programme by resorting to any violent means—looting, arson and murder, if necessary. For that object in view a planned arrangement was made to observe the day. A large number of regulation *lathis* of the same size were imported from outside, lethal weapons were also imported. To cite one instance, in the *bustee* in Mission Row, Hindu and Muslim cobblers lived in peace and amity. It was during the nights of some days previous to the 10th of August, weapons, namely, *lathis*, spears, daggers, etc., were supplied to the Muslim cobblers and in fear the Hindu cobblers left the *bustee* on the 10th of August and thus saved themselves. In the afternoon and during the night of 15th of August, many Muslim young men came out in procession armed with *lathis* of the regulation size, crying Muslim League war slogans. In the morning of the 16th of August, processions armed with *lathis* and crying war slogans passed through the Mirzapur Street and forcibly closed the doors of the shops which were opened. At about 8 a.m. of the 16th of August, a Muslim League flag was

hoisted on the Ripon College building which was subsequently removed by the Hindus, and immediately the Muslim hooligans armed with daggers, *lathis*, soda-water bottles attacked the Ripon College Hostel and the college. The Secretary of the Students' Union of the Ripon College phoned the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy who told him in reply that he could not interfere now. At Manicktola Bazar, Hindu shops were looted by the Muslim hooligans early in the morning of the 16th of August in the presence of the police. Very close to the crossing of the Harrison Road and College Street "Luxmi Stores", a big cloth shop, was looted by the Muslim hooligans in the presence of the police. The sergeants and the police participated in the loot. In the College Street Corporation market "Dalia", a very big shop, and some other big shoe shops were looted in the presence of the police. The owner of "Radu Stores" who is a Muhammadan on the other side of the road used fire-guns in dispersing the Hindu crowd who gathered to prevent the loot of "Dalia" and other shops in the presence of the armed police and the sergeants. I personally saw the looting, arson and murder committed in the presence of armed police, but the police did not interfere. On the afternoon of the 16th August, while a building was attacked by a mob with deadly weapons, I phoned the Police Commissioner to send armed police force; otherwise dire consequences would follow but without any effect. From all quarters of the city the looting of the Hindu shops began either in the morning, and in the noon of the 16th August the police at Lal Bazar, the Hon'ble Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and the Private Secretary to the Governor of Bengal were phoned for police help. Everywhere the appeals from the helpless people produced no results. The following outstanding facts are admitted on all hands:—

- (a) In spite of protest by the Hindu public the 16th of August was declared as public holiday.
- (b) From the early hours of the 16th of August the Muslim processionists came out with *lathis* and daggers and other deadly weapons and asked the businessmen to close their shops; on refusal they were cruelly assaulted and shops were looted. And even the closed shops were looted, viz., "Dalia" and other shops.
- (c) In the early hours of the 16th of August, there was not even an ordinary police guard on the street, not even traffic police. Ordinarily the police are posted at the time of the Mohurram and other processions. Ordinary preventive steps even were not taken by the Government.
- (d) Police help was sought by the people but no help was rendered. When policemen were available they pleaded helplessness in the situation having had no order to do anything.
- (e) The officers in charge of the police stations when informed of the disturbances did not render any help but rather pleaded their inability and asked the people to protect themselves.
- (f) Muslim goondas and hooligans used the lorries to carry the weapons even in the meeting presided over by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. Large number of *lathis* and other weapons were carried to the meeting by the lorries and sufficient quantity of petrol were used by the Muslim goondas in setting fire to the houses.
- (g) The normal practice of sending foot and mounted police to accompany procession was not observed.
- (h) From an account of the Brigadier S. D. C. Sixsmith, officiating Commander of Bengal and Assam area, that at 12-30 a.m. on August 17, he was informed by telephone that the police considered that they could no longer control the situation without military assistance and military was posted late in the afternoon of the 17th August. And for two days the city of Calcutta was

thrown open to the hooligans and goondas of the city. It is remarkable to note here that during the whole of the 16th of August the police had not fired a single round though in their presence the looting, arson and murder went on with all the furies.

We were wondering all these times if we were living under any Government. We felt that the Government of the day desired that the goonda *raj* should be established to allow the goondas and hooligans to murder with all sorts of deadly weapons including fire weapons, and to loot and commit arson. These accounts are not accounts of interested persons. Such accounts were published in the Muslim paper "Azad". I do not know what the attitude of the European party now will be regarding the no-confidence motion but their mouthpiece the "Statesman" in its editorial column of the 20th of August described the Calcutta scene in the following terms:—

"When we wrote two days ago the condition in Calcutta were horrifying; they have passed beyond that since. They were tolerable then in comparison with what was subsequently seen....."

This is not a riot, it needs a word found in medieval history, a fury, yet "fury" sounds spontaneous, but there must have been a deliberation and organisation to set this fury on the way. The hordes who ran about battering and killing with 8 feet *lathis* may have found them lying about or brought them out of their own pockets but that is hard to believe. We have already commented on the bands who found it easy to get petrols and vehicles when no others were permitted on the streets. It is not mere supposition that men were imported into Calcutta in making an impression.

"Statesman" by its leading articles of the few days following the Great Killing of Calcutta has made it clear that this Council of Ministers which is responsible for maintenance of law and order have failed in its primary duty of protecting the lives and properties of the people.

The "Statesman" stated, "the present Muslim League Ministry's primary responsibility for the bloody shambles to which the capital of the Province has been reduced is inescapable." It is impossible to enumerate the innumerable instances in which the Government failed to protect the lives and properties of the people, living under their care. For the last one month they have appeared in their naked brutality in all papers of all shades of opinion. For the purpose of this motion it is also not to the point whether it was the Muslims or Hindus who were aggressors. Chapters can be written that the Muslims were aggressive and looting, arson and murders were committed by them first and the Hindus subsequently retaliated. The doubtful facts that are mentioned in the papers supporting the Muslim League that on the 16th of August of the numbers of the injured and dead persons admitted in the hospitals the Muslims were larger than Hindus, do not and cannot give the true picture. The Muslims had under their control the lorries and buses to carry the wounded persons but the Hindus had not and the number of the dead persons lying on the streets were not considered and all the hospitals were not mentioned. The main issue arising in this motion is not if the Muslims or Hindus were aggressive but it is if the Government have failed in its primary duty of maintenance of law and order and of protecting the lives and properties of the people. Here it cannot but be admitted on all hands that the Government has failed in its primary duty and the Council of Ministers are responsible for all the murders, loot and arson and should be tried in an open and impartial court.

It is childish for the Minister to say that the police had failed in their duties and had been responsible for loot and murders and the Council of Ministers cannot be held responsible for that. The Police who were responsible for such a carnage unexampled in the Indian History are still there and are busy in making discriminatory arrests between the Hindus

and Muslims. They are allowed to function. The Ministers should have suspended the Police Commissioner and moved for his dismissal. If they failed to do so, they should have resigned. Otherwise the Council of Ministers cannot escape responsibility.

I shall now turn to what had happened in Eastern Bengal and to what had been happening there and how the Council of Ministers is responsible for those incidents. The conditions in Eastern Bengal are such that the Hindus there are living in a state of insecurity and their lives have become intolerable. The Ministers and Muslim League leaders by their indiscreet utterances and by their conduct have led the permanent Muslim officers to believe that they are Muslim Leaguers first and consequently the performances of their duties are influenced by communalism. This is a new form of corruption which has vitiated the whole service and according to the plan all the key positions in the mufassil are held by the Muslim officers. On the 16th of August at Chandpur the Muslim processionists hoisted the Muslim League flag on the Civil Court Building, looted the Hindu shops on both sides of the Dakatia khal, set fire to Hindu houses, assaulted the Hindus, stopped the trains, forced the passengers out, assaulted the two constables, snatched away the two under-trial prisoners under guard, almost in the presence of the Subdivisional Officer and without any protest.

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Datta, your time is over.

MR. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Please allow me five minutes more.

MR. SPEAKER: I thought that at least the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party will abide by his own decision.

MR. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: It has been decided that other speaker will not take much time.

MR. SPEAKER: As a special case I allow you time.

MR. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: No attempt was made by the police or by the Subdivisional Officer to protect the lives and properties of the Hindu population. Subsequently the disturbances had spread into the rural areas and Hindu shops of Faridgunge Bazar in Chandpur subdivision and of Salimgunge Bazar in Brahmanbaria subdivision were looted. In Bancharampur police-station in Brahmanbaria subdivision many houses of the Kaibartas and one Mahim Chandra Ghose had been burnt. The persons affected are 1,200 and only 25 persons have been arrested and already the "Azad", the Muslim League paper, had written that the police oppression had begun at Bancharampur. Any false and inaccurate news are allowed to be published in that paper.

Train dacoities and robberies attended with murders are common occurrences in the Bengal-Assam Railway between Kishoreganj in Mymensingh district and Akhaura in Tippera district. One such occurrence had happened on the "Id" day. The properties of one Satyendra Nath Biswas who was travelling in the inter-class compartment were robbed by fifteen Muslim young men who boarded the compartment at Brahmanbaria station. While those goondas got down near Ashuganj, they snatched away the pregnant wife of Satyendra Nath Biswas and the dead body of his wife was found floating in the water near Ashuganj. The Subdivisional Officer of Brahmanbaria arrested some of the goondas in the possession of whom looted articles were found.

This has invoked an editorial comment in "Azad": ভৈরব মোকদম কীকেন একটি দুর্বলতা—ভৈরবকানী দিল্লীর মুসলমানের উপর জুয়া চালাচ্ছে।

Such comments speak for themselves. It speaks volumes how the goondas styling themselves as Muslim Leaguers can with impunity run havoc amongst the poor and innocent people. The complaint is that the Subdivisional Officer of Kishoreganj releases these goondas on bail even when they are accused of heinous non-bailable offences, viz., robbery and murders. He releases them because they are the supporters of the Muslim League and with their help the Pakistan will be established. I cannot but refer to a recent incident of this nature. In the district of Mymensingh one goods train was stopped and looted by 200 goondas armed with deadly weapons near Begunbari railway station on Bengal-Assam Railway on the night of the 11th September. One Raja Ali was arrested by the police and he made a confession before the Magistrate implicating 90 other persons, but on the next day he was advised to retract his confession and he did it and he was released by the Magistrate.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, may I make an earnest request. I do want to follow what the honourable member is reading. Will he kindly read a little bit slowly?

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Very well. Such action on the part of the Magistrate is tantamount to encouraging such offence. Magistrates do such things with impunity and under certain plan, viz., the establishment of Pakistan with goondas.

Mr. MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. Are these incidents quite pertinent to the present motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, the motion is a general one.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Government though informed do not take any steps against such Magistrates. Troubles in Jamalpur in the Mymensingh district are more serious. At Islampore Hindu shops had been looted, a jute godown has been gutted and a Hindu merchant had been killed and thrown into the fire. In many other villages Hindu houses had been looted. Hindu shop-keepers are being prevented from sitting in *hats* and boycott is being openly preached. The Subdivisional Officer, Jamalpur, has been threatening the Hindus to behave properly, otherwise he will not be able to save the Hindus from Muslim aggression. His speeches and threats to responsible Hindu leaders for their alleged offence of communicating information about troubles to the District Magistrate have encouraged the Muslims to be aggressive. The Magistrate of the district of Chittagong has surpassed all. He has issued a statement referring to the 16th August incident warning the Hindu public not to provoke the Muslims. If they do, they will not avoid total destruction. He has not got any responsibility for giving protection to the minority community as the Muslims are determined to shed their blood for achieving Pakistan. Such a statement befits Muslim League leaders as they all threaten the destruction of the minority community in the Muslim majority province. On the 17th August, the meeting of Ram Manohar Lohia was dispersed by the Muslims with the help of the District Magistrate as alleged by the Socialist Leader in his statement. In Noakhali, there have been murders of persons in the rural areas and looting of shops.

Dacca is a plague-spot in the province. The disturbances there had begun on the 26th of August and had continued up till this day. There have been stabbing, looting of shops and arson. The incidents there will be narrated by my friend Mr. Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharya.

Dacca is a place where the business had come to a standstill just as in Calcutta and the people cannot live there in a state of security. The Government have failed in their primary duty in maintaining law and order by the omission and commissions of their officers.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your attention is again drawn to the red light. The red light is on.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: One minute more, Sir. It may be contended by the Council of Ministers that they are not responsible for the acts of their officers. I must tell before I take my seat that even equally they are responsible. Moreover the officers concerned are certainly acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers.

It is remarkable to note here that in Western Bengal where Hindus are in majority, no reports of any oppression from rural areas by the Hindus upon the Muslims have reached us. This shows which way the wind blows.

Firstly, this Ministry cannot remain as the custodian of law as they themselves are breakers of law and ask people to break the law.

Secondly, admittedly the incidents of the city of Calcutta and the happening in Eastern Bengal are due to the failure of the police and the Executive Officers to do their primary duties of maintaining law and order and protecting the lives and properties of the people under their care and the Council of Ministers cannot escape responsibility and they therefore stand condemned.

Sir, with these words, I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Sir, I beg to move that this House expresses its want of confidence in the Chief Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, who is also the Minister in charge of Law and Order. In moving this motion, Sir, I am conscious of a sense of heavy responsibility. I am aware that tension and panic, particularly in the north, is still very great. Stray incidents, both in Calcutta and elsewhere are still being reported. In a situation which is yet explosive, I do not fully realise the necessity of utmost restraint of saying or doing anything which may exacerbate communal feelings or sow fresh seeds of discord and disharmony. If the party to which I have the honour to belong considered it necessary to bring in this motion it was because after most careful and arduous consideration it could not help arriving at this inescapable conclusion that public confidence cannot be fully revived nor peace, order and tranquillity assured, if law and order continue to be the charge of a Minister under whose régime the administration for law and order either broke down or was rendered innocuous for four fateful days during which Calcutta was handed over to lawless elements to indulge in orgies of rapine, arson and murder.

May I also say, Sir, that it pains me to have to move this motion. A new member to this House, I am not ashamed to confess that I was much impressed by the colourful personality of the Chief Minister. The large-hearted and courageous manner in which he had handled two incidents—one connected with the demonstration for the release of political prisoners and the other with the arrest of a member of this House—had evoked my admiration. To have therefore to move this notion is painful to me but I realise it is a necessary public duty.

Sir, a cold, matter of fact narration of events without embellishments or much comment will suffice to prove beyond cavil the utter and the most reprehensible failure on the part of the Chief Minister to discharge his elementary duties as the Minister responsible for the maintenance of law and order. I shall sort out the facts and the conclusions that emerge therefrom into three sections. I shall first briefly describe certain facts up to and inclusive of the 15th August. In the second place I shall refer to the four catastrophic days which witnessed a more or less complete paralysis of law and order. In the third place I shall

examine the aftermath of Calcutta's terrible ordeal and show that, even apart from his sins of omission and commission in the interest of the future political and economic well-being of the province itself, the Chief Minister must vacate his high office.

In reference to facts during the first period, I do not intend to take you, Sir, beyond the period when the Council of the All-India Muslim League met at Bombay and passed two resolutions which, I am sure, future historians will hold as most pernicious and short-sighted. One of these rejected the Cabinet Delegation's both long-term and short-term proposals and the other decided to resort to direct action in order to attain Pakistan. Since that meeting the rumblings of the Muslim League volcano in the shape of statements from responsible leaders mounted in an ascending crescendo until it finally erupted in Calcutta with violent consequences.

On August, 2nd, Maulana Akram Khan raised the battle cry in Bengal. "The struggle for Pakistan," he announced, "has begun. Our resolution of Direct Action will soon be translated into action." On the 10th Khwaja Nazimuddin made a statement to which Mr. Datta has already referred. And did not, Sir, as events have so clearly demonstrated, the Muslim population know very well what Direct Action was intended to mean? On the same day, that is the 10th, Mr. Gazdar in Karachi left us in no doubt of the intention of the Muslim League to paralyse India's administration and hinted that the fight would very likely develop into a civil war. A civil war, Sir, did not smite us like a bolt from the blue, but appears to have been carefully and sedulously prepared for (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: By you.) That only you will find out for yourself later on when the Enquiry Commission enquires into the whole thing. On the 11th, in an interview granted to the Associated Press of America, our Chief Minister stated that if the Congress were to be put into power, a probable result would be "the declaration of complete independence by Bengal and the setting up of a parallel Government." The Chief Minister knows the constitutional position too well to make such foolish statements with no purpose. I leave it to honourable members of this House to draw their own conclusions about the intentions of the Chief Minister in making such statements as also their inevitable effects on the already excited Muslim masses who are completely ignorant of constitutional position and procedure. To crown all, Mr. Osman, Secretary of the Calcutta District Muslim League, widely circulated among Muslims a Urdu pamphlet which, in spite of his protestations to the contrary, I maintain directly incited them to open violence. But I will not read it out, although I have the text here. I am also told, Sir, on a reliable authority that oral instructions were issued that Muslims should come out in big processions of the 16th, with *lathis*, *swords*, *daggers* and other weapons. (A VOICE: Funny.) Such inflammatory statements and instructions issued by responsible League leaders clearly indicate that serious trouble was to be apprehended on August 16th. I may also mention here the observation which a member of the League Working Committee is reported to have made to a foreign correspondent some days before August 16th. The Muslim Leaguer said, "if you want to see real fire-works, go to Calcutta". Taking the cue, this correspondent did come to Calcutta. And did not he, Sir, see some fire-works? Even the Chief Minister acknowledged in the Bengal Council that a public holiday had been declared on August 16th, "for the purpose of minimising the risks of conflicts and in the interests of peace and order". I would particularly request you, Sir, to note the words "minimising the risks of conflicts", the implication being that even the Chief Minister expected conflicts and could only hope that they would not be too serious or widespread. I must acknowledge here

that unlike most of the Muslim League leaders, Mr. Abul Hashim, Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, who is also a member of this House, had issued a rather sober statement just before August, 16th, emphasizing that their struggle was against British Imperialism alone. Unfortunately his appeal had no effect whatsoever on his compatriots.

In a situation which was certainly most explosive I believe, Sir, it would strike you as it does me that the first and foremost duty of the Minister in charge of Law and Order, unless he had other intentions, should have been to make arrangements in advance for the provision of adequate police precautionary measures, particularly in threatened zones and also of sufficient police guards to accompany the processionists on the 16th. A prudent and a little farsighted Minister should also have prohibited the carrying of any weapons by the processionists. That no such measures were at all adopted is a mystery which baffles me, except on the hypothesis, as suggested by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, that the Muslim League was "spoiling for a fight". I am afraid, Sir, the Chief Minister cannot shirk responsibility as he has sought to do, by making the Commissioner of Police, the scapegoat. It is quite legitimate to ask what precautionary measures the Police Commissioner had adopted for August 16th. But the Chief Minister himself cannot escape responsibility, particularly as he knew that serious trouble was brewing. As Minister in charge of Law and Order he has a special duty, and I maintain that the situation prior to August 16th, was sufficiently threatening to demand his special attention with a view to satisfying himself that adequate measures were taken to prevent any disturbance of public peace on that day. No amount of casuistry, bluff or strong or abusive language will alter this basic fact.

Before I proceed to the second chapter of my grim story, there is one matter to which I should like to make a passing reference, although I consider it very important. I trust the Chief Minister himself realises the extreme incongruity of the position he occupies in the public life of the country, and particularly in Bengal. As head of the Government, his first and foremost duty is to maintain Law and Order and take the most drastic measures against activities which, directly or indirectly, may seriously endanger public peace and tranquillity. As a leader of the Muslim League, he has at the same time to urge and incite his followers to do things which can only result in breaches of law and disturbance of peace. The Chief Minister's allegiance to his party has unfortunately always proved stronger regardless of consequences, than his allegiance to his office. In truth, he has been playing the rôle of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. I do not know if he thinks that he has special aptitudes for this rôle, but all that I can say is that any decent and honourable gentleman would have found such a position as dishonest as it is loathsome.

August 16th, which climaxes the events up to the 15th and opens the second period of appalling carnage and loss, will, I am sure, be recorded by future historians as ushering in a most infamous chapter in our political history, which, I only hope and pray, may be a very brief one. The happenings on that and the few subsequent days will long haunt and torment our memories as an evil nightmare. I was a witness to some of those shameless and ghastly incidents. In the forenoon of the 16th from an office not far from the Calcutta Corporation and within almost a stone's throw from a police-station, I saw shops being looted. During those days, when Calcutta was under the rule of sword, *lathi* and fire, to borrow an expression of "Capital," I had toured practically all over the city as a member of a mixed private rescue party, which evacuated both Hindus and Muslims to places of safety, and had ample opportunities of seeing for myself the appalling destruction wrought in respect of life and property. I do not intend nor do I

consider it necessary to recount incidents of atrocities and brutalities. For one thing, no words at my command are lurid enough to adequately describe them. For another, the harrowing tales of these atrocities have already been elaborately described.

On the question, Sir, of Calcutta being subject to a reign of terror during August 16th-19th, as a result of a breakdown of the machinery of law and order which is the direct responsibility of the Chief Minister, there is no dispute between the communities. Anarchy fell as tragically upon Moslems as upon Hindus, and predominantly upon the innocent amongst them. Both Hindus and Moslems have therefore a right to demand an explanation of the strange breakdown of the machinery of law and order and the criminally negligent conduct of the police during these fateful days. I would like to ask the Chief Minister the following questions to which every citizen has a right to obtain from him categorical answers:—

In the first place, in view of the overwhelming evidence that serious conflicts and breaches of the law were to be apprehended on August 16th, has the Chief Minister ascertained why the Commissioner of Police took no action under section 62(A) of the Calcutta Police Act, which empowers the Commissioner of Police to institute measures for ensuring the orderly conduct of processions with a view to securing public safety and convenience? Will he also explain what the emergency scheme is, to which he had made a reference elsewhere?

In the second place, in view of the outbreak of looting, arson and murder from the early morning of August 16th, will the Chief Minister explain his conduct in not only presiding over the mass rally of Muslims fixed for the afternoon on that day, but, what is worse, in further inflaming the passions of an already excited crowd, many amongst whom had already committed serious breaches of the law?

In the third place, it was the experience of everybody, irrespective of creed or community, particularly on the 16th that police assistance and protection to law-abiding citizens was completely denied or refused. Not only that, but what is much worse, the police in certain cases actually participated in arson and looting. Assaults, murders and looting took place under the very eyes of the police without any intervention on their part. These are cognisable offences and I understand the police are criminally liable for not taking notice of them. I have it on unimpeachable authority that the police, including high officials, when appealed to for help, had replied that they had no orders. Such a plea is untenable, since the offences are cognisable. If the police remained inactive, they must presumably have had definite instructions not to intervene. This is a very serious matter. From the Chief Minister's statement elsewhere, it would appear that such instructions, if any, were given by the Police Commissioner. Will the Chief Minister ascertain from the officer concerned the reasons for the issue of such orders, and also state whether he had not considered it necessary in the discharge of his public duties as Home Minister to intervene even in this matter?

In the fourth place, in a press conference held on August 23rd, Brigadier Sixsmith stated that even on Friday afternoon, the Police contingent was not fully committed. Sir, much has been said, and I am sure more will be said by honourable members opposite about the inadequacy of the Calcutta Police Force. I am prepared to concede that some strengthening of this force is necessary. But what is relevant in the context of the recent Calcutta tragedy is that even such police force as the Government had at their disposal was not deployed either adequately or in proper time and place. If this had been done, particularly as the military were always available, I am sure Calcutta would never have passed through such a reign of terror and much valuable life and property would have been saved.

Will the Chief Minister explain why the police force was not fully committed in proper time and in the threatened zones, which, as Brigadier Sixsmith stated, lay between Sealdah and Howrah?

In the fifth place, as an explanation of the delay in obtaining military aid, the Chief Minister has stated elsewhere that the military was not prepared to come out in the beginning, while Brigadier Sixsmith asserted that it was only midnight of the 16th that he as the Commander of the area was summoned and told that the police was unable to control the situation without military assistance. Will the Chief Minister explain the discrepancy in the two versions?

In the sixth place, the Chief Minister, on his own admission, had spent long hours in the Control Room at Lal Bazar, but adds that he was merely watching the situation and did not interfere in any way with the Police Commissioner's activities. If that is so, will he explain why at all he spent long hours in the Control Room, and also whether, in view of his personal knowledge of the developing situation, he did not consider it his public duty to issue instructions to the Commissioner of Police for the maintenance of law and order?

In the seventh place, the Chief Minister had stated elsewhere that the police had tried their utmost to quell the disturbances. Will he then explain how is it that the police force in Calcutta emerged from such a sanguinary conflict practically without a scratch, while in Bombay many police personnel, including even the Police Commissioner, were seriously injured?

In the eighth place, although I consider it most ungallant of the Chief Minister to shift the entire responsibility for the disturbances to a subordinate officer, the Commissioner of Police, will the Chief Minister explain why this officer has not yet been suspended or dismissed or what disciplinary measures he proposes to take against him for his utter incompetence and culpable dereliction of duty?

In the ninth place, since the Chief Minister holds the policy of the Cabinet Delegation and the British Government primarily responsible for these communal disturbances, will he say whether, in his opinion, the people of Bengal should reconcile themselves to frequent visitations of the demon of communal conflagration until such time as either the British Government will surrender to the League or reason or good sense will dawn upon it—(THE HON'BLE MR. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: The British Government have already surrendered to the Congress. You should know about that.)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, your time is up.

MR. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: I was under the impression that I was given half an hour to speak.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, that was the arrangement made with the different Leaders of the Parties, but some of your time has been taken up by the Deputy Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party.

MR. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, may I have a few minutes more?

MR. SPEAKER: You may speak for two minutes more.

MR. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, I cannot finish in two minutes. I may please be given five minutes so that—

MR. SPEAKER: No. You may speak for two minutes only.

MR. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: If I have to speak only for two minutes I will say this: that not only in view of what had happened but also in the economic interest of the province, it is extremely necessary that the Chief Minister must resign his office. Because if Mr Suhrawardy continues in his present office the prospect that the economic life of the province may be completely dislocated will become a certainty. The question may be

asked that if Mr. Suhrawardy has lost the confidence of the House, what is the alternative? I would say, Sir, that the best alternative is a Government of the major parties. If that is not a practical proposition, it may be asked what good or profit will result by merely replacing Mr. Suhrawardy by somebody else? I should say, Sir, much good and profit. For, it will demonstrate that a Minister, and a Minister in charge of law and order is that, who fails grievously in the discharge of his elementary duty of protecting the life and property of the common citizen cannot continue with impunity in his office but must pay the inevitable penalty. Such political punishment will have a reassuring effect on badly shaken public confidence.

Sir, I can do no better than conclude my indictment of the Chief Minister by quoting an observation of Cromwell to the Long Parliament which a British statesman—who is a great friend of the party to which the Chief Minister belongs—I mean Mr. Leopold Amery, applied to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in course of a debate in Parliament, which ultimately resulted in Mr. Chamberlain's replacement by Mr. Churchill. This is what Cromwell had said, and I would now say to the Chief Minister: "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go."

Mr. ABUL HASHIM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, today I have decided not to enter into any acrimonious discussion or to make any attempt to apportion blame between the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal having regard to what repercussion and reaction it may produce in future. I wonder if the motion of no-confidence tabled against the present Ministry should really be a motion against the present Ministry or against the Government of India Act of 1935 and its authors and their allies. I have no doubt, as I have full confidence in the intelligence and power of understanding of our friends on the Congress benches, that if they could rise above their own peculiar interest and could see things objectively and make an analysis of the grievances of the Muslims in a dispassionate attitude, they would have instead of bringing a motion of no-confidence against this Ministry, particularly against the Home Minister and the Chief Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy, brought a motion of confidence in him. It is a thousand pity—because I have always, in spite of my difference with other parties and organisations of my country, maintained some respect and regard for my opponents—today when I hear from the Congress benches one of our friends charging Mr. Suhrawardy for making the Commissioner of Police a scapegoat; I feel a thousand pity because in the ordinary course of business one could never expect the members of the Congress representing a great organisation which during recent years held aloft the torch of revolution and independence in India to say things like this and plead in defence of the bureaucratic machinery of the Government. Let me disabuse myself of my affiliation to the party I have the honour of belonging to, but as an honest and sincere man may I tell you, Sir, from what I feel at heart that it is my conviction that what has happened did happen not due to Mr. Suhrawardy or his Ministry but in spite of them. Let me in my own way place before you the causes that, I think and feel, led to this horrible bloody carnage. Sir, in my humble opinion there cannot be a greater fool crawling upon the surface of the earth who can for a moment say that Sir Stafford Cripps and his colleagues—I may say the world's greatest diplomats representing the nation which has been beating all other nations for centuries in diplomacy—came to India to settle the Hindu-Muslim question for the good of India. After the Sepoy Mutiny the British away in India was consolidated and British Imperialism got the control over Indian business and Indian administration. Thereafter they were busy doing politics elsewhere in the Middle East and Europe. But now when we, Indians, are making serious efforts to achieve independence, when we are proceeding towards our goal, the time has come when England should do some politics here also. So Sir Stafford Cripps and his colleagues came

to India for doing politics and they have succeeded in their mission. It is to our utter shame that they have again succeeded and I lay stress on it so as to have the courage to be conscious of our own limitations. Sir, these diplomats came to India to deal with politics. While here in India the Hindus and Muslims were quarrelling with each other, the great leaders of the Congress and the League alike were squarely beaten by Sir Stafford Cripps and his colleagues by their superior political intellect. Let this be admitted first, realised first, and then there will be no difficulty whatsoever in finding out who was responsible for this great killing, where the remedy lies and then do our work. We should never forget that British possessions in India are coloured red. The red colour on the map of India faded by our struggle of the last forty years. Now they want to have a fresh coating of red by the blood of the Hindus and Muslims alike. The Calcutta carnage is a beginning, and unless we take a warning it will take place and the blood of Indians will put a fresh coating on the red colour of the map of India for another one hundred and fifty years or more. His Excellency Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India—if he really meant peace and tranquillity, unity and harmony among the people of India—unity between the Congress and the Muslim League, if he had taken a firm stand that he would not give power to any party unless and until the Congress and the League came to an agreement, an agreement would have been possible long ago. The Congress says that we are demanding communal favour and that the Hindu-Muslim disunity is something artificial created by the third power. It is a pity—a thousand pity—that today it has forgotten the third power and the reason for what is happening between the Hindus and the Muslims today. Instead of working for peace and amity, the Viceroy by his words and gestures attempted to create an impression in the minds of the Muslims and Hindus that one party will be bye-passed by another and it is as a direct result of that that the Calcutta disturbances followed. This has created an idea in the minds of the Muslims that they have been delivered to the Hindus and an impression has been created in the minds of the Hindus that they have got what they wanted.

It reminds me of that mighty personality of Bengal, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, that great patriot who was in fact the pioneer of freedom movement in India. He also in spite of his talents, intelligence, experience and suffering, at the fag end of his life thought he got what he wanted after 1919. So I think also that our revered Congress leaders, whose sacrifices and sufferings will go down to history and for those sufferings the whole of India shall ever remain grateful to them, at the fag end of their life, after having strenuous struggles for over 25 or 30 years, have now felt, as Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea had felt in Bengal, that they got what they wanted in the Interim Government. That is why when the Bombay Resolution of the Muslim League was adopted, Sardar Patel from that end of India declared that the direct action of the Muslim League was not against the British but was against the Congress and the Hindus. They declared that British Imperialism was no more, that Great Britain had abdicated and Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and others were in possession of India; they were at the head of a sovereign state. This impression Pandit Nehru and others had created in the mind of everybody.

Now, Sir, I know that His Excellency the Viceroy has no control over the statements and utterances of big leaders of India, but, Sir, when Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel made utterances creating this false impression in the minds of the peoples of India that British Imperialism had abdicated, which is far from truth, the Viceroy should not have sat silent over the whole affairs. His conspicuous silence over the statements for weeks led to the belief that really what Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel had said had the sanction of British Imperialism behind it. We should also not forget that some time after the Bombay Resolution was adopted, His Excellency the Viceroy summoned a meeting of Governors of the provinces. It was not, I believe, merely for the fun of it. That has also a political background.

Here in Calcutta today we find our friends in the opposition have come forward with a motion of no-confidence against Mr. Suhrawardy on the ground of incompetence and indifference and they have asked him, appealed to him in the name of God to resign. I would ask them also in the name of God and anything that is sublime, let them analyse their own mind and ask themselves whether it is a fact or it is not a fact that Mr. Suhrawardy was found at his height of genius during this carnage. There is no doubt that law and order collapsed. It will be denying reality if anything was said to the contrary but the fact is, from what we have seen of the great man, that he was at the height of his genius, he was at the height of honesty, integrity, sense of justice and efficiency. At that time he was seen moving at the risk of his life in the streets of Calcutta day and night when he saw his comrades, friends falling one by one but he never lost that sense of justice which is becoming of a Chief Minister of our country. Our friends of the Congress said that his affiliation and attachment to the Muslim League party unbalanced him, but nothing can be a greater perversion of truth. We found during those days Muslims in bands and parties coming to us and complaining that Mr. Suhrawardy was attending too much to the Hindus. We found him working restlessly without food, without sleep these three, four days locking himself up in Lall Bazar Control Room, passing orders. If any one dares to consult his private note book he will find how much he had to go into the details. It is true that on the 16th and 17th the ordinary traffic police were found absent; it is true that the Calcutta Police could not cope with the situation, but who can deny this fact that Mr. Suhrawardy at the earliest opportunity called upon the Army to take charge of the city—(Here the member reached his time-limit but was given two minutes more.) but the Army did not obey as hastily and as quickly as they ought to have done, because under the Government of India Act the Chief Minister has no control over them. And if he says anything against the Commissioner of Police he is not making him a scapegoat. Whatever Mr. Suhrawardy may be, I can assure the friends of the Opposition and through them the country, he is not a coward. He knows how to take responsibility himself.

As my time is up I would ask in all seriousness, in the name of God in the name of anything that is noble and sublime, will the Muslims and Hindus alike fall so easily a victim to the British machination and not see things as they should see them. Let us realise that time has come and we should rise up to the height of our genius. Public calamity is a might leveller. Will this public calamity, the blood of our friends, relation and comrades help in levelling our differences and make a united effort to drive out the third party, the British Imperialism from India?

Mr. I. D. JALAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the no-confidence motions which have been moved by Mr. Dharendra Nath Datta and Mr. Bimal Comar Ghose. We are meeting today under the shadow of a great catastrophe which has come over this great city of Calcutta, the second city of the British Empire. It does not require many arguments to convince the ordinary public that so far as the Government of Bengal is concerned it has failed to preserve law and order, not only in a lane or a bye-lane but in the broadest streets of Calcutta, not only for an hour or two but for days together. It is a shame for any Government in the world to come before the public and justify its conduct which involves the massacre of 5,000 persons dead and 15,000 persons injured in the course of two or three days, not in a remote village but in the city of Calcutta which is the metropolis of this great country, which enjoys the privilege of having easily available the Governor of Bengal with his 15 Ministers, the Commissioner of Police and all his paraphernalia. Does it require any argument to convince that so far as the Government of Bengal as

whole is concerned it has miserably failed to protect the lives and liberties, the properties and belongings and honour of the inhabitants of this great city?

I do not understand as to why there should be a confidence passed for the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy as has been stated by the previous speaker. If that be the criterion for passing a vote of confidence, then I think we shall be passing confidence in that person who is responsible for the commission of worse crimes in Calcutta. The position is quite apparent to us. The issue before this House is not what Mr. Suhrawardy as the leader of the Bengal Muslim League Party did. What we are concerned with in this House is as to what the Government of Bengal did in order to preserve law and order in this city. That is the issue before us. My friend who had just preceded me waxed eloquent upon the political differences between Hindus and Muhammadans, between the Indians and the Britishers. So far as that question is concerned, it is being solved and every effort is being made in order to solve this problem in a different sphere. That is not the question here. The question is as to what the Government of Bengal did in order to protect our lives and properties on the 16th and 17th August. We charge the Government of Bengal that it has signally failed to protect the same. The Government of Bengal well knew what the situation was. When the meeting of the Muslim legislators was held in Bombay, Sir Feroz Khan Noon and others waxed eloquent on bloodshed, violence and what not. As a matter of fact, Sir Feroz Khan Noon stated, I am speaking from his reported speech in the "Statesman"—"If Britain puts us under the Hindu Raj, let us tell Britain that the destruction and havoc that the Muslims will do in this country will put into shame what Chengiz Khan did." We have seen, Sir, what Chengiz Khan did being actually done in this city of Calcutta in Bengal which was the only province in which the Muslim League had its sway. Can there be a worse condemnation than this that what Chengiz Khan did several hundred-years back was done in Calcutta under the very nose of the present Government of Bengal and the Government of Bengal was helpless in the matter. (THE HON'BLE MR. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Why do you forget that the Britishers are still here ruling over us?) Mr. Abdul Quayum stated that 10 crores of Muslims will overthrow the Government at the first opportunity. He stated: "The Hindus had been governed by the Muslims for 800 years and the Hindu mind is deep in its heart for revenge. I hope the Muslim nation will strike swiftly before such a Government can be set up in this country." It was on the 2nd September when the Interim Government was going to be set up in this country and the so-called Muslim nation was encouraged to strike swiftly to show what capacity it possessed in order to create bloodshed and strife in this country. It is quite true that so far as the leaders are concerned they stated that it should be observed peacefully, but it is a matter of common knowledge that thousands of leaflets were distributed by the Muslims in order to create bloodshed. I have got one leaflet which showed Mr. Jinnah with a sword in hand. This was a Muslim leaflet. I have got a translation. I am quoting a few lines from it. "The sword of Islam must be shining on the heavens and shall subdue all bad wishes." It was printed by Gulzar Book Depot of 34/1, Ratu Sarkar Lane. It says: "We Muslims have had the Crown and have ruled. Do not lose heart. Be ready and take your swords. Think you Muslims why we are under the Kafirs today? The result of love of Kafir is not good. Oh! Kafir, do not be proud and happy. The doom is not far and the general massacre remains. We shall show our glory with swords in hand and shall have a special victory." I have got another leaflet which is called the Jamal leaflet published from the same place "asking the Muslims to come into the arena with their swords and change of tactics. We shall then see who shall play with us for river of blood shall flow. We shall have the

swords in our hands and the noise of Takbir. Tomorrow there will be Doom's Day." This was the pamphlet which was distributed just on the eve of the Direct Action day on the 16th August.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Who published it?

Mr. I. D. JALAN: Gulzar Book Depot of 34/1, Ratu Sarkar Lane, Calcutta.

Sir, it is not a question of this leaflet or that leaflet. What I say is that so far as the Government is concerned it did nothing to stop such leaflets being distributed when the tension between the Hindus and Muslims was so strong and when every effort had to be made to prevent bloodshed and looting in this city of Calcutta. So far as the 16th and 17th August are concerned, so much has been written and so much has been said that it is needless for me to repeat. The fact is quite apparent that if Mr. Suhrawardy had no hand in the preservation of law and order with what purpose was he in the Control Room? Was he giving directions or was the Commissioner of Police asking for directions? There must be some reason for his presence in the Control Room. Either he was giving directions on his own initiative or he was giving directions on being asked by the Commissioner of Police. But the fact remains that Mr. Suhrawardy was in the Control Room. He states that the Commissioner of Police is responsible for preservation of law and order and that he was not responsible. Then what was the purpose and meaning of his stay in the Control Room? We are absolutely in the dark as to what happened to the police on the 16th and 17th, but we did not receive the slightest aid from the police or from the Government of Bengal, in any shape whatsoever, and we had to preserve our lives and properties by our own unaided effort, by our own help and by the aid and relief of our Relief Societies. Even those who were evacuated had to pay heavy bribes to the police to carry a party from a disturbed area to a safe area. Everybody was feeling helpless, everybody thought that the Government of Bengal was at an end. A friend of mine told me that he phoned up the Governor and the Commissioner of Police and elsewhere but without success. When he phoned up the Commissioner of Police, somebody in the Police Department said: "....." That was what was stated to me. The question is that there are thousands of persons who can testify that as a matter of fact no help was forthcoming from the police. If no help was forthcoming and if so many persons have thought that no help was received from the police, certainly after the great carnage people cannot have confidence in the Government. That is the burden of our song. So far as this Government is concerned, it has failed to preserve law and order in this city and because it has failed therefore it has forfeited our confidence and the confidence of the people. Sir, these are mere incidents to prove this fact and nothing else.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Jalan has quoted some abusive language. I think it should not go in the proceedings.

Mr. I. D. JALAN: Sir, that was what was stated to me by others.

Mr. BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is with a heavy heart that I stand here to condemn this Ministry. I have passed all my life dreaming and fighting for the day when my own countrymen would by their own votes elect their own rulers. I know this Ministry is not the realisation of my dream, yet I cannot forget that these Ministers are elected representatives of my own people. It is only the gravity of the situation that has compelled me to rise in condemnation of this Ministry.

Sir, I have been in the city during those terrible days; and as a humble worker of the Congress I could not and did not sit safe behind closed doors. I had to fulfil my obligations as a citizen and as a Congressman. I have

seen horrible scenes with my own eyes. I had to face angry mobs repeatedly; I had to roam over and walk through some of the worst affected areas. It seemed to me, during those days, civilisation, nay even human sense, bade good-bye to this city.

Sir, I have seen horrible crimes perpetrated in broad daylight before the very eyes of the guardians of law and order. In vain I have tried to draw the attention of the standing-by police who have invariably replied that they did not see anything or they could not do anything.

We are yet to know what mysterious order stayed the hands of the Police and made them passive spectators of all sorts of crimes perpetrated throughout the city. It has been told, rather it has been admitted, that the Chief Minister was during the most part of these days himself staying in the Control Room of Lal Bazar and yet frantic telephone calls to Lal Bazar for Police help were only responded to with *dhamkis*: "Don't vex us. We know everything; nothing new." Even within a hundred yards from Lal Bazar where the Chief Minister was sitting and where a large number of armed force was present, hooligans looted shops, set fire to the whole of Territy Bazar and butchered men, women and children. The whole Governmental machinery, it seems, as if by pre-arrangement ignominiously abdicated to the mob rule. Sir, I am a Congressman. I have spent my whole life for the salvation of my people and for the liberty of my country. My conception of my country and people knows no limitation of caste and creed. I am not here to blame Hindus or Muslims. As such I say with sorrow and shame that my people behaved in a manner unworthy of our traditions and unworthy of humanity. Sir, for this degrading of my people I hold this Ministry responsible. It has enraged and excited one community to the Nadir of a communal frenzy and it has cornered another community to desperate helplessness. Sir, this Ministry deserves the strongest condemnation as keeping themselves in cosy safe seats, they have roused and let loose the elemental passions of the mobs. Sir, I condemn this Ministry because it failed to give protection to the innocent and helpless citizens, because it could not check the frenzied mobs, because it could not foresee that such eventualities might occur. But that is not all. I further condemn this Ministry because it could not keep even the balance of Government authorities. It has been swayed by sectional feelings. It was a common talk of the city that by acts of commission and omission it has encouraged the hooligans and anti-social elements of one community. It has tampered with the ordinary Police administration not in order to check riots and preserve law and order, but in order to provide greater facilities to the hooligans and goondas. The incidents that happened in the streets of Calcutta during these days would have been sufficient to condemn any Ministry, leaving aside what happened behind the scene—what happened in the Control Room of Lal Bazar, in the Secretariat and in various other police-stations of the city. That furnishes double condemnation for the Ministry. Not only have they failed to keep law and order but they have deliberately prevented the normal administrative machinery from doing that. Even now goondas and other criminals are occupying shops and houses from where lawful owners have either been eliminated or forcibly ejected. Sir, yet that is not all. We have yet to see at the root of the thing. Members of this Ministry are responsible members of a party which has taken the course of Direct Action at its best which then means the upsetting of law and order and in its worst means the stirring up of a civil war. Sir, I leave it to you and to this House if it is anywhere in this world possible for the Ministers to play Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in matters which involve the life and safety of 60 millions of people. This is a curious sight that those who are in charge of maintaining law and order should at the same time play a rôle of law-breakers and instigators of a civil war. Common decency and a little sense of responsibility should have impelled them to shake off this double rôle. But I am sorry, Sir, that these Ministers have neither a common decency nor any sense of responsibility developed in their

feeling either to resign from the League or from the Ministry. They did neither. Instead of that they have been instigating a civil war—a war of mutual extermination. They did not pause to think about the consequences of such a war—if it is, as this is likely to spread from Bengal to other provinces. This is a dangerous game for a set of crazy Ministers to indulge in. Sir, I know that they have roused communal passion to such a pitch that they felt safe behind a statutory majority. I know that my Muslim brethren would turn a deaf ear to my earnest appeal, yet I must make my appeal to them and ask them to consider where this Ministry is leading our people to. This communal Ministry can lead to no good, neither to the Muslims nor to the Hindus. Three years ago a similar communal Ministry was functioning, millions of our countrymen died of famine. I was then in prison and was thus spared the painful sights of corpses in the streets. But I have seen the recent achievements of this communal Ministry. Hindus and Muslims died in that famine and they have both died in this carnage. So I appeal to my Muslim brethren present here to ponder over the matter and decide from the point of view of doing good to Muslims alone whether this Ministry deserves their support any longer. Sir, I appeal to the other corner of this House also, I mean the European group. May I expect that they will not allow any material gain or petty commercial considerations to stupefy their human sense? They have seen the gruesome pictures of the Calcutta streets during the Great Calcutta Killing. Would they then lend their support to the Ministry who failed so grossly to keep law and order even on the streets of the great metropolis? May I expect that at least now they would allow human sense to prevail over other considerations? Sir, lastly, through you I should like to send my appeal again to my countrymen sitting in this small room. I appeal to them to assert their democratic right to condemn this Ministry which is responsible for the death of so many Hindus and Muslims, which has failed to protect the life and property of thousands of people, which has been playing with fire when charged with the duty of quelling fire and which has fomented bitter communal animosity all over the country. This Ministry which has no programme of social welfare for the amelioration of the condition of even the Muslim masses, which has not done a little bit for the good of the toiling millions and which as a last resort had stirred up bitter communal passion of the worst type for remaining in office deserves condemnation from all parts of the Province. This Ministry has failed as administrator. It has failed as a political party. It has failed as a set of honourable men. The street scenes of those days are still haunting me and I cannot for a moment forget those gruesome scenes and hence I cannot forget the Ministry which is alone responsible for them. I owe it to my people and I owe it to my conscience when I say that I shall strive to remove this Ministry, which has failed so atrociously in protecting the destiny of 60 millions of people. Sir, for the god of the people of Bengal, both Hindus and Muslims, I support this resolution of No-confidence.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is with sorrow and humiliation that I take my stand to oppose the No-confidence motion that has been moved against the Ministry as a whole and against Mr. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of this Province. Sir, it seems my friends on the opposite side seem to think as if Mr. Suhrawardy and the gang here this side are the persons who are at the root of this carnage. I know very well that it is very easy to speak on the floor of this House. Sir, before I go into details of the recent happenings may I take my friends back to the historical background of the whole tragedy that has been witnessed here in Calcutta?

Sir, who does not know how the Mussalmans of this Province were crushed, how Mussalmans all over India were crushed from 1757 to 1857. Then again, who does not know the Confiscation Proceedings that followed the occupation of Bengal. Confiscation of Muslim properties, confiscation

of mosques, confiscation of jagirs, confiscation of large zemindaries belonging to Muslims were the order of the day and these valuable properties were handed over to the Hindus. Why? Because the Mussalmans ruled this country then and it was necessary for the British rulers to crush the Mussalmans. That followed till 1857 when the first war of Indian independence was waged. Well, Sir, we know, and I think every reader of history knows, that the Muslims with the help of some Hindus—I mean, the Mahrattas—tried to regain the independence of this country but they failed because the Sikhs helped the British, and there the curtain was drawn.

Sir, this followed in the international sphere also. I would refer my honourable friends to the situation in the Middle East. In 1914-18 when the first Great War came, Colonel Lawrence was sent to Arabia, stirred up the Arabians to revolt against the Turkish rulers, and everybody knows that Turkey was divided, dismembered and defeated. Money was spent to win over a traitor just as here also it was done to win over traitors like Jagat Seth, Mirzafar, Umichand and others. That traitor was promised kingship of Arabia—the holy land of Arabia—but after the war was over, the Britishers did not keep that promise and pledge given to him.

Sir, today we hear that India cannot be partitioned into Pakistan and Hindusthan. Everybody knows that the carnage over which we are debating here was the result of the fact that the Muslims in this country want that they should have Pakistan in this country while our Hindu friends oppose tooth and nail that demand of Pakistan which they say we could never have. Well, Sir, you all know that the betrayal of the Cabinet Mission recently led to the outburst of the feelings of distrust that was already in existence between the two communities in this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was saying that the way in which Muslims have been treated and the way in which their rights have been trampled upon—that has given a cause of exaltation to my friends opposite. Sir, before I speak on the main question, I would refer my friends to the accusations that have been hurled against this Ministry. My friends have said that the Ministry, and particularly Mr. Sukrawardy, was the root cause of this calamity. Sir, on the 16th August what did the Muslim League ask the people to do? The 16th of August was not a Direct Action Day when the Muslims were asked to rise in revolt and cut down every Hindu in the conflagration. The 16th of August was fixed for explaining the implications of the resolution that was passed at the Bombay session of the All-India Muslim League Council, and you know, Sir, how Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah appealed to the people to observe that day in peace. As far as the accusations are concerned, may I refer my friends to the writings in the “Basumati” and in other papers, the sentiments expressed and the speeches delivered in the past in various parks of the city. I would refer, Sir, to certain writings in the “Basumati”. This carnage took place from the 16th of August. But on the 4th of August the “Basumati” writes:—

“কিন্তু লীগের এখন মনে করিবার কি হেতু আছে যে, হিন্দুদের বিরুদ্ধে যদি তাঁহারা সংঘর্ষ উপস্থিত করেন তবে ২৫ কোটি হিন্দু ৯ কোটি মুসলমানের সম্মুখীন হইতে ভয় পাইবে? খালি শতাব্দ্য সংঘর্ষের ভয় দেখাইয়া ব্রিটিশ গভর্ণমেন্ট ও কংগ্রেসকে লীগনেতা ডাঃ হাভের মুঠের মধ্যে আনিতে পারিবেন না।”

Then on the 10th of August the “Basumati” writes:—

“লীগের পাকিস্তানী অধ্যক্ষরা এই চেষ্টা করিতে বিনষ্ট করিতে না পারিলে বাকালীর বরাতে অনেক হুঃখ ভোগ আছে।”

“শুধু পাকিস্তানের স্বাধীনতার পক্ষ সমর্থন করিয়া রাখা যাইবে। কিন্তু এখনও পাকিস্তান পালনভার হস্তে হয় নাই; ডাঃ হাভের পুণ্ড্রই যেন পাকিস্তান হইয়া গিয়াছে বলিয়া যদি বাংলা গভর্ণমেন্ট পাকিস্তান গভর্ণমেন্ট অসুস্থ কার্য করিবার সুযোগ পায়, তবে তদু ১৬ই আগষ্ট এইভাবে সংঘর্ষ-বিহীন পালন

করিয়া নিবৃত্ত হইবে না। প্রতি পক্ষেই পত্ৰ-বৈশেষের সমস্ত কবিতা সংখ্যালব্ধি সম্প্রদায়ের বিরুদ্ধে বিরোধিতা হইবে। ইহা অতি সভা—দিনের মত সভা। অতএব লীগ পত্ৰ-বৈশেষের বর্তমান প্রচেষ্টা সাধারণের সমস্ত পক্ষি দিয়াই নিবৃত্ত করিতে চেষ্টা করা সংখ্যালব্ধি সম্প্রদায়ের সকলের কর্তব্য। (পত্ৰ-বৈশেষ ও হরতাল।)

Then on the 11th of August the "Basumati" writes:—

“লীগের হুমকি বিশেষ করিয়া হিন্দুদের প্রতি গ্রহা সোভা ভাষ্য না বলিলেও বেশ ভাল করিয়া বুঝা যায়। কিন্তু লীগওদের আশা এখনও ভাল করিয়া জানা দরকার যে, কীকা আওহাজ করিয়া লোককে ভয় দেখান, বিশেষতঃ মহাউষানের পর, আশা আর চলিবে না। হিন্দুগণের বাহাণ্য বন্দুকগুলি সাহসে শূন্য পাতিয়া দেয়, অকুজোড়ের বাহাণ্য দেশের জন্য প্রাণদান করে, দেশের কল্যাণ কামনা করে সকল সুখক সুখী, বালক বালিকা, এমন কি শূন্য শূন্যও বুটিন পুনিশের অভ্যাসের অবদান করেন সহ্য করে—কিন্তু কবিতার নিরীহ ও পরাজয় স্বীকার করে না, লীগ এবং লীগ মহাপ্রভু মনে করিয়াছেন—নাটকীয় হুমকিতে তাহাদের উদ্ধারই পিতেন ? নাটক ছাড়িয়া সহজ বাস্তবে লীগ এবং লীগ মহাপ্রভু একবার অবতরণ করিয়া আমাদের কথাই সত্যাসত্য পরীক্ষা করিতে পারেন।”

Then writes the "Basumati" on the 14th August, two days before the occurrence took place:—

“কলিকাতার হিন্দু-মুসলমান সংঘর্ষের আশঙ্কা।—”

I am sorry, Sir, I have not been able to translate these passages for the benefit of my friends over there, but I shall translate them, if time permits, when I have finished.

Sir, there was a meeting held at Deshpriya Park on the 14th of August. I will not read out the leaflets that were distributed in that meeting. In that meeting Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy and Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar uttered certain words which were heard by some of my friends present in the meeting. Then the meeting was addressed by Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar and others urging the Hindus to see that the observance of the 16th August might not succeed.

Then, on the other side, I may mention to you, Sir, what appeal was issued by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, that was published very kindly in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika", dated the 16th. Mr. Jinnah said: "The 16th of August is not for the purpose of resorting to direct action of any kind and therefore I enjoin upon the Muslims to conduct themselves peacefully in a disciplined manner and not to play into the hands of our enemies".

Sir, I would refer in this connection to the one statement issued to the Press and another made at the Press Conference at Bombay by the now Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He said that if the League did not join with the Congress there might be some minor trouble. His statement to the Press Conference was very significant, namely, that if the Congress formed an interim Government under the leadership of Pandit Nehru and if the League started some kind of direct action, obviously the Government would face that kind of direct action either by coming to a compromise or by opposing it: if the Government is strong, the direct action goes under; but if the Government is weak, the Government goes under.

MR. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: What is the point there?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: The point is—this is a sentiment that you are feeling that the Hindu Raj has been established. May I, Sir, in this connection say that I was an humble servant of the Congress for over a quarter of a century. Mr. Bhupati Mazumdar has said that he has played his part. May I remind my friend that he and I were college friends and he and I were in the Congress, and if he has played his part I also have played my part.

Sir, we find that the mentality that has been exhibited today is the culmination of a mentality that was at the root of there being no settlement between the Hindus and Muslims during the period when Mahatma Gandhi

tried his best to solve the communal problem. In 1928 the Nehru Report was drafted for giving constitution to India. The sum and substance of the Nehru Report was that there would be unitary Government at the Centre with powers for the provinces and we Muslims in the Congress opposed it and opposed it tooth and nail. That was one of the reasons why the Nehru Report was scrapped and in the 1929 session of the Indian National Congress held at Lahore, that was thrown into the river Ravi and the resolution of complete independence was adopted.

I need not remind my friends of the Congress in this House that they have made their sacrifices in blood and money. Well, the Muslims have done the very same thing. Before 1920 there was no direct action begun either by the Congress or any other organisation in this country. Before that time—from 1757—the Muslims paid in money, in life and in property and my friends the Hindus cannot deny that they were profited by the entry of Great Britain into this country. When the light of nationalism arose in my friends of the Congress, I admit that was the time when they took up active resistance to foreign rule in this country. In 1920 non-co-operation was adopted as the creed of the Congress and I must admit that with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi into the scene, really the Congress became a force and it was the Khilafat that gave that force to the Congress. I may remind this House that when the non-co-operation resolution was adopted, the Khilafat movement also adopted and accepted that non-co-operation programme in August 1920 and the Congress at its special session held at the Wellington Square in September 1920, accepted that non-co-operation programme.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: We have heard enough of his heroics. What did they do to keep law and order?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: So long as the Speaker does not ask me to sit down, I am not going to sit down. Why is my friend getting impatient?

I was in the Congress and I worked in the hope that India would attain independence. I worked in the hope and with the vision and dream that united India will come in, but when I apprehended that my friends in that guise wanted to establish another *raj*, then alone I left the Congress and joined the Muslim League. I frankly confess it and I admit that for 25 long years I worked with my friends of the opposite side. It has been amply proved by the recent utterances of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Even after assuming the office of the Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council, what did he say at the time of the broadcast? At the time of the broadcast, he referred to untouchability, but he did not speak a word about Hindu-Muslim unity.

Then my friends have said, what was the Chief Minister doing? Mr. Subrawardy will explain what he was doing and as Home Minister he will explain what he was doing. But as an humble Minister I may say that on the 17th we tried to contact the Congress leaders and we wanted to meet them so that the carnage might be stopped. I personally went to the Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party at Taltolla. He would not come out of the House, but I brought him out of his house. I addressed a gathering at Taltolla and my friend Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy also addressed the gathering. Thereafter we assembled at the Chief Minister's room here in the Assembly and there we tried how to bring about peace in the city. The day following, we also met. The Chief Minister, and the Home Minister will say what he tried to do. My friend Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy also knows what we did. (MR. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Not all you did.) Neither I know what you all did. I say that we tried to do what was best under the circumstances. Sir, what is my time?

Mr. SPEAKER: You have been allowed 20 minutes. You have spoken for 18 minutes and you can speak for two minutes more.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I am sorry the time is very short. I can only make a passing reference to the mentality that has been exhibited by the burning of *bustees* and killing of persons. I do not now whether these people knew about Pakistan or Hindusthan. My friends have laid everything at the door of the Muslim League and the Muslim Ministry. I could not imagine or visualise how lowly *bustees* inside Hindu-dominated localities could have been wiped out and burnt to shes. I have it from some of my Hindu friends that the Nikaripara *bustees* and the Baghbazar *bustees* were surrounded and set on fire and whenever people wanted to come out were beaten to death by iron rods and the dead bodies were thrown into the fire.

Before I sit down may I say—I do not hold it out as a threat—that if we Muslims and Hindus cannot live together, this game will be played as we have been made the cat's paw. If we cannot shape our destiny ourselves, we do not know what is going to happen. The Muslims want that they should have Pakistan and our Hindu friends say that the Muslims should not have Pakistan. If there is no settlement, I do not know what is going to happen. The Congress has been installed in power at Delhi. I do not now what talks will take place between Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Jinnah. But, after all, I apprehend that if this is not settled, I do not know what is going to happen. The Congress has combined with Great Britain and it has become an Anglo-Fascist organisation. It has caught hold of the reins of office. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" published in blazing headlines "Congress assumes power". After assumption of power, I know my Hindu friends were in ecstasy.

On the 16th August the Muslims were going to attend a peaceful meeting at the maidan. What would have happened if the Muslims had turned out in thousands at the maidan to express their resentment at the betrayal by the Cabinet Mission? What was there in opposing and in giving active resistance to the processionists who were going? What was here that at Bhawanipore and at the Harrison Road junction the processionists were beaten and brickbats were thrown at them from house-tops? Does not that show that preparatory arrangements were made? This was proof positive of the fact that my friends of the Hindu Congress wanted that the 16th August should not be made a success. If the 16th August had been a success, possibly the Muslims would not have got Pakistan. Pakistan would not have fallen on Calcutta if the observance of the 16th August had been a great success. I am sure the communal bogey, the unholy structure, will soon come to pieces and its remains will be kept in the Museum where it will remain in silent majesty. I hope even now sense will dawn on my friends here and they will come to a compromise on a joint basis. I believe my friends here will think over this matter seriously (A voice from Congress benches: Did you say joint electorate?): Sir, here in Calcutta the Muslims are in a minority. But what would have happened, may I ask my friends to imagine, in Chittagong, in Eastern Bengal and other places if the Muslims there were furious. Well, as a matter of fact you have by your action brought about Pakistan. Hindus are evacuating from Muslim localities and Muslims are evacuating from Hindu localities. By your action, by your active resistance on that day, by your killing innocent men, women and children you have added actively and constructively to the advancement of the Pakistan programme. Long live Quaid-e-Azam—Long live Pakistan. You do not want to give Pakistan to the Muslims, but, in fact, in Calcutta you have proved that the only solution that lies ahead is in the observance of Pakistan.

With these words, Sir, I oppose the motions.

Mr. GANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, বর্ধমান বহীনের বিবেকে উপস্থিত অন্যান্য প্রভাব, বঙ্গ-স্বাধীনতা বয়োজব নিয়ে বিচার করতে পারি নবনবকে অনুমোদন করছি। বঙ্গবন্ধু স্বাধীন বহি কেহ অনাস্বকারী প্রতি কাঙ্ক্ষা প্রদর্শন করেন, ব্যক্তিগত ক্ষমতা স্বার্থের মধ্যে বহি কেহ

ভূত বিচারবুদ্ধি বিসর্জন দেন, তিনি নিশ্চিতরূপে এদেশবাসী দরিদ্র হিন্দু-মুসলমানের প্রতি বিশৃঙ্খলভাৱে পাপে অভিপ্রায় করেন।

এই বহিঃশাস্তি অসামান্য, অস্বাভাবিক এবং পক্ষপাতবিশেষ গোচর হইল। এই অপরাধগুলি এতই গুরুতর যে ইহার যে কোন একটি অপরাধে অপরাধী ব্যক্তি বহীস দায়িত্বপূর্ণ আসনে আসীন থাকার অযোগ্য।

মিঃ সারওয়ারী এবং তাঁহার পরিচালিত বহিঃশাস্তির অযোগ্যতা প্রমাণের জন্য অতীত ইতিহাস পর্যালোচনার প্রয়োজন হয় না। কারণ বর্তমানে তাঁহাদের দুর্ভাৱাগুলি অতি নগ্নরূপে আশ্চর্য্যকর হয়েছে।

শীতের প্রত্যেক সংগ্রাম দিবসে অশ্রুশ্রবিত সহস্র সহস্র মুসলমান জনতাকে প্রহরীবিহীন কলিকাতার দিকে তাগত। সশস্ত্র জন্য লেলিয়ে দেওয়ার ঘড়য়ে বহিঃশাস্তি বা বহিঃশাস্তির কট্টর বোম্ব ছিল, তাহা প্রকাশ পেলে ইহাদের চরম অসামান্য পরিচয় পেরে অগতঃ স্তম্ভিত হবে।

বিগত ১৬ই আগষ্ট কলিকাতায় অবস্থান করবার দুর্ভাগ্য বাদের হয়েছিল, তাহার বহীনের অস্বাভাবিক প্রত্যক্ষ করেছেন। তত্ত্বিগ্ন বীর সোমস্বত্বের ব্যর্থ প্রমাণে মিঃ সারওয়ারী যেসব উক্তি করেছেন, তাহাতেও তাঁহার পোচীর অস্বাভাবিক স্বীকৃতিই পরিষ্কৃত হয়ে উঠেছে। তাঁহার উক্তি আংশিক ভাবে সত্য হলেও কর্তব্য বোধে এবং বীর বর্ষাদা রক্ষার জন্য পদত্যাগ করা তাঁহার সম্মত ছিল।

দলগত সাম্প্রদায়িক স্বার্থের প্রেরণায় ইহার শাসন-ব্যবস্থাকে কলুষিত করেছেন। অস্বত্বের অভিপায়ে বাংলার সমাজ-জীবনকে অতর্কিত করেছেন। ইহার দৃষ্টান্ত পেতে হলে পূর্ণ বাংলার দুর্ভাগ্যের প্রতি দৃষ্টিপাত করুন।

পূর্ণ বাংলার আকাশে বাতাসে ধূনিতে হয়ে উঠেছে হাঙ্গামার, চারিদিকে ধ্বংসিত হচ্ছে অশান্তির আগুন। শাসন-ব্যবস্থার অন্যতরে সংখ্যালঘু হিন্দুর ধনপ্রাণ আজ বিপন্ন। আজ তথাকার হিন্দু সমাজ মনোপ্রাণে উপলব্ধি করছে—রাজদ্বারে আর নাহি প্রতিকার।

প্রত্যক্ষ দিবসের কলিকাতার ভয়াবহ নর-হত্যার আবেগের লম্বিত লীণ পটীয়া নিলজ্জভাবে হিন্দুদের উপর ন্যস্ত করিবার জন্য প্রয়াস করিতেছেন। সে আশোচন্যও কবিব না। কিন্তু প্রাণ পূর্ণ বাংলার এই যে অস্বাভাবিকতা চলিয়াছে—লুণ্ঠন, অগ্নিদাহ, খুন, জখম চলিয়াছে, ইহার আরম্ভ হইয়াছে কি নিত্য সংখ্যালঘু এবং অসহায় হিন্দু দ্বারা?

সবাজের ধনসম্পত্তি রক্ষা ও আইন-শৃঙ্খলা রক্ষার দায় বাট্টের। সেই রাষ্ট্রপতি মুসলিম লীগের কবায়ত। পূর্ণ বাংলার অধিকাংশ স্থানেই মুসলমান কর্তৃত্বাধী বিশ্রাম। এই অবস্থায় শাসন-শক্তি দুর্ভুক্তিকারীদের যদি কঠোর হস্তে ধরন না করেন, তাহলে দুর্ভুক্তিকারী গুণ্ডাদের মনে এই ধারণাই কি বদ্ধবল হবে না যে তাহাদের বাদশাহী হয়েছে, হিন্দু নিগ্রহ করলেও সাজার ভয় নেই। গভর্ণমেন্ট সাম্প্রদায়িক নড়ে—মহাশয়ের দ্বারা অত্যাচার অন্তর্ভুক্ত হোক, তাহাদের কঠোর সাজা পেতে হবে। আইন-শৃঙ্খলা কোন সম্প্রদায়ের বুধ চোখেই কর্তব্য-ব্রত হবে না। পুলিশ কর্তৃত্বাধীরা বধোও কোন সাম্প্রদায়িক পক্ষপাতের দেখা দিলে, শাসন-শক্তি কাহারও করা করবে না—এইরূপ বিশ্রাম আজ দেশে আনতে হলে, এই বহিঃশাস্তির পরিবর্তন আবশ্যিক।

ঢাকার এক মুসলমান প্রধান অফিসের হিন্দুর বহু সম্পত্তি লুণ্ঠিত হওয়ার ফলে পাইকারী জরিমানা ধার্য্য হয়—তাহারই পাল্টা হিসেবে হিন্দুদের উপর পাইকারী জরিমানা ধার্য্য করবার উদ্দেশ্যে মুসলমানদের গৃহ হস্তে ব্রহ্মাদি সরিয়ে হিন্দু কর্তৃক লুণ্ঠিত হয়েছে, এই অভিযোগ উপস্থিত করা হয়—যাহা জেলা ম্যাজিস্ট্রেটের প্রকাশ্য ভাষাতে বিখ্যাত প্রমাণিত হয়েছে। এই ভয়ানক ঘড়য়ের সহিত জনৈক মুসলমান D. I. B. কর্তৃত্বাধী জড়িত। তাহার প্রতি পাক্ষিকবাদের কোন ব্যবস্থাই হয়নি। দুর্ভুক্তিকারীদের সহিত শাস্তিরক্ষকের এই যোগাযোগের ফলে রাষ্ট্র-ব্যবস্থার আদার ভাব ধাক্কাতে পারে কি?

মহানগরীতে, কুমিল্লার দলবদ্ধ গুণ্ডাদের অত্যাচার-কাহিনী আমাদের শ্রুত্রে ডেপুটি মিজার প্রিন্সিপাল বীরেন্দ্রনাথ দত্ত বহাগর উল্লেখ করেছেন। প্রকাশ্য দিবালোকে নোরাখানীর গ্রামে কংগ্রেস কর্মীকে হত্যা ও তাহার সম্পত্তি লুণ্ঠনের সংবাদ আপনারা পেয়েছেন। কবিরপুর জেলার বাজার-সুন্ডের সর্বদল প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। এই অত্যাচার পূর্ণ নগরপ্রাণ প্রকাশ পেয়েছে ঢাকার।

একমাস ধাব্য ঢাকা নগর ও সহরতলীতে গুণ্ডারাজ্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছে। বাজারের পথে দরিদ্র বংশাজীবী নিহত হয়েছে; নগরবিক্রয়কারী গুণ্ডার হাতে প্রাণ দিতেছে; সহরের উপকণ্ঠে গুণ্ডার প্রাণবাসীদের হতাহত করেছে।

ঢাকা সহরে বাবুরবাজার, বাগীচাবাজার, চক বাজার, রহবতপল্ল, নবাবপল্ল প্রভৃতি মুসলমান-অধুষিত অঞ্চলগুলিতে ব্যাপকভাবে হিন্দুর ধনসম্পত্তি লুণ্ঠন, ধ্বংস; কষ্টপাড়া, ধর্মপাড়া প্রভৃতি দরিদ্র শ্রমী ও দৈন্যবিশিষ্ট ধর্মের দ্বন্দ্ব বিচারক বিবরণ এবং কয়েকজন, বজ্রবিদ্যার, উর্দু, চান্দনীঘাট প্রভৃতি স্থানের হিন্দুদের ব্রহ্মচারী করা আশোচন্য করা এই অল্প সময়ের মধ্যে হয়ে যা।

দান-ব্যবস্থা কিভাবে কল্পিত হয়েছে, তারই ২৪৮৭ নম্বর আপনাদের কাছে উপস্থিত করব।

অত্যাচার-পীড়িত অঙ্গুলে হিন্দুদের নিরাপত্তার জন্য পুলিশ মোতায়েন করার আবেদন রাইট প্রত্যাখ্যাত হয় নাই--নাম প্রকাশ পাওয়া সত্ত্বেও হত্যাকারী ওগা বৃত্ত হয় নাই। হিন্দুর গৃহদাহকারী এবং হত্যার উদ্দেশ্যে হিন্দুকে আঘাতকারী ওগাও পুলিশের হাত থেকে মুক্তি পাচ্ছে।

ঢাকার রাজ্যে বহু পঞ্চাশী হত্যাহত হচ্ছে। ওগাপন ইটপাটিকেল, বিশেকারক পদার্থ নিয়ে শ্রুকাশ্যে চলত বাস আক্রমণ করে যাত্রীগণকে আহত করছে।

ঢাকা বাসীর দুর্গতির সীমা কেবলমাত্র ইহাতেই পরিমাপ করা চলে না। পুলিশ মুলমান ওগা সমভিষাহারে হিন্দুর বাড়ীতে প্রবেশ করে নারী পুরুষ সিঁথিগেমে সকলকে লাঞ্চিত করছে, আনবাবপত্র ধুংস করছে, এমন কি একটি নিরীহ বালককে ওগা করে হত্যা করতেও পরাঙ্মুখ হয়নি। হিন্দু পারীতে হিন্দু নারীকে ওগা করে হত্যার সংঘাত এসেছে।

তারপর চলেছে পাইকারী জরিমানার অত্যাচার। জেলা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট এ বাবৎ পাইকারী জরিমানা ধার্যের বে নিরপেক্ষ নীতি অনুসরণ করে চলেছিলেন, কলিকাতার প্রধান মন্ত্রী ও চিক সেক্রেটারীস সচিব সাক্ষাতের পর সেই নীতির পরিবর্তন হওয়ায় দুষ্কৃতিকারীদের উৎসাহ বৃদ্ধি পাবে ইহা নিঃসন্দেহ।

বারমাদের বাজারে হিন্দু বাণীবাহী বাসের উপর হাতবোরা নিক্ষেপ করা ও মলিনী চানিজিকে হত্যা করার অপরাধে পাইকারী জরিমানা ধার্য করা হয়েছে ৩০০০ তিনশত টাকা। এদিকে মলগোলায় জটনক মুলমানদের দেখে সামান্য আঘাতের ফলে হিন্দুদের উপর জরিমানা হয়েছে ৫,০০০ পাঁচ হাজার টাকা এবং আরলাগোলায় মুলমানদের তিনটি জীবন কৃতির দাতার জরিমানা ধার্য হয়েছে ১০,০০০ দশ হাজার টাকা, কিন্তু হিন্দুর গৃহদাহের দরুণ অনুরূপ জরিমানা ধার্য হয়েছে কি?

কেবল ঢাকা সহরেই নহে--কিছুদিন পূর্বে নারায়ণগঞ্জে ওগা বর্ষণ করে নিরপরাধ হিন্দুগণকে হত্যা হত্যা করার সংবাদ আপনাবা জানেন।

এই পক্ষপাতিত্ব, এই অবিচার, পুলিশের মধ্যেই সীমাবদ্ধ নয়--ইচার ব্যাপকতা বহুদূরপ্রসারী। এই পাপ বিচারালয়ের স্তন্যমুখেও নষ্ট করছে। দেখা যায় হত্যাপরাজে অভিযুক্ত মুলমানকে পাঁচ হাজার টাকা জামিনে মুক্তি দিয়ে ১৪৪ ধারা অব্যবহারে অভিযোগে অভিযুক্ত হিন্দুর নিকট বিপ হাজার টাকা জামিন দাবী করতে ঢাকার মুলমান বিচারকের বিচারবুদ্ধি আঘাত পায়নি। একইভাবে বয়মসিংহে লুণ্ঠনকারীরা জামিনে মুক্তি এবং কিশোরগঞ্জে নারী-ধর্ষণকারীরা জামিনে মুক্তি কলকাতায় ইতিহাস সন্ধান হয়েছে।

আর্দ্রব সেবা মাদার বর্ষ, সুদূর প্রাচ্যে যাব শ্রৌরব, সেই চিকিৎসকের পরিত্রস্ত্রকরক ও এই পাপ কল্পিত করেছে। আঘত বিপদের প্রাণবন্ধার গুল্মনিষ নির্ভয়ে যাহার হস্তে অর্পণ করা হয়েছিল, সেই চিকিৎসক ঢাকার হাসপাতালে পাকিস্তান প্রতিষ্ঠা করবে, এই জঘন্য উক্তি করতে সক্ষম বোধ করেন।

বিভিন্ন ক্ষেত্রে সাময়িক পথে অধিষ্ঠিত এই শ্রেণীর অসাধু ব্যক্তিদের প্রত্যক্ষ ও পরোক্ষ পুরোচনার উদ্বুদ্ধ হয়ে এবং "আজাদ" নামক একগালা দৈনিক পত্রিকার প্রাচ্যাতিক বিখ্যাত সংবাদ পরিবেশন এবং ধারাবাহিক উদ্ভেজনা-পূর্ণ প্রবন্ধ পাঠে উত্তেজিত হয়ে এক শ্রেণীর ওগা জনসাধারণের জীবনবাহার পথ বিয়স্কুল করে দেশের শান্তি নষ্ট করে দিচ্ছে।

এই পরিঘটে যাহার দল নিরপেক্ষভাবে শান্তিকামী হিন্দু-মুলমানগণের উন্নতি শ্রমায়ী তাদের নিকট আসার সনির্বুদ্ধ অববোধ--বার্ষাৎশ্রেণীর শ্রুতিবধুর মিষ্টভাষে বিভ্রান্ত না হয়ে অথবা কোন অব্যবহিত চিত্ত ব্যক্তির উজ্জ্বলিত প্রশংসিত্যায় বিভ্রান্ত না হয়ে ধীরভাবে স্থির বুদ্ধিতে কর্তব্য নির্ণয় করুন। পক্ষপাত দোষে দুষ্ট অযোগ্য বহিঃ-বগীক অপরিস্রব করে এ দেশবাসীর হিন্দু-মুলমানদের শ্রুত বজল সাধন করুন।

Mr. BIJOY KRISHNA SARKAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, ১৬ই আগষ্ট প্রত্যক্ষ সংগ্রাম দিবসে কলিকাতার বৃক্কের উপর যে নারসীর হত্যাকাণ্ড ও লুটতরাজ হইল, ইচার জন্য দায়ী কে? সাধারণ মুলমান লোক ইহার পক্ষপাতী ছিল না। কিন্তু তাহা সত্ত্বেও এক্স নৃশংস হত্যাকাণ্ড হইল কেন? কতকগুলি দ্বাৰ্ষাৎশ্রেণী মুলমান লীগ নেতা জাতীয়তাবাদকে ধুংস করিবার জন্য এই পতঙ্গোলের স্রষ্টা করেন। অতঃপর তাহা সাম্প্রদায়িক লঙ্কার পরিণত হয়। নারী-শিশু-বৃদ্ধ-বোঙ্গী-নিগিগেমে সকলকে নির্ভরভাবে হত্যা করা হইয়াছিল। এমন কি বহু শোভানপাট লুট হইয়াছিল, কত বাড়ী-ঘর ভস্মীভূত করা হইয়াছিল--তার অবিকারই হিন্দুদের। ইতিহাসে ইহার দৃষ্টান্ত পাওয়া যায় না। দাঙ্গা শুধু কলিকাতাই সীমাবদ্ধ হইল, ভা নর, ঢাকা, কুমিল্লা, নারায়ণগঞ্জ প্রভৃতি স্থানে ইহার দৃষ্টান্ত পাওয়া যায় না। ঢাকার অবস্থার এখনও কোন পরিবর্তন হয় নাই। গতবৎসেও তাহা প্রতিষ্ঠাকরে কোন চেষ্টা করেন নাই কেন? প্রত্যক্ষ সংগ্রাম দিবসে যাহাতে কোন প্রকার অশান্তি দেখা না দেয়, তৎক্ষণাৎ পূর্ণ বেছেই কোন পুলিশের ব্যবস্থা

Mr. TAFAZZAL ALI: The second city of the British Empire had been through a blood bath. The savagery committed during the Great Killing in Calcutta is certainly something which will be remembered by the historians of India when writing the history of the country. The atrocities committed by the Japs and Germans pale into insignificance before the atrocities committed in this Great Killing of Calcutta. I realise, Sir, it will serve no useful purpose in recapitulating the acts of brutality that have been committed on men, women and children, including cases of rape on girls of immature age and women of 60 years of age. It will merely prolong the sores of the bodies and the minds of the aggrieved persons, and start a fresh conflagration throughout the whole province. I have heard with wrapt attention all the speeches that have been made on the floor of this House this afternoon, but I have been pained to hear the speech made by an honourable member who merely gave a narration of the atrocities committed, according to him, by one particular community. I can also narrate instances of

similar nature, I mean, atrocities committed by the other community. This will merely embitter the feelings which are at a high tension in Calcutta, as well as throughout the Province. Sir, after hearing the speeches and observing certain facts, I am inclined to think that persons who are against this Ministry—the only League Ministry in the whole of British India, deliberately engineered this riot, in order to discredit the Ministry before the bar of the world opinion (cries of “hear, hear” from Government benches.) I thought, Sir, that after the frank and straightforward speech made by the Hon’ble Mr. Suhrawardy in the Upper House, in reply to an adjournment motion, this motion of no-confidence would not be pressed in the Lower House, but my friends in the opposite have decided otherwise.

Sir, one fact that strikes me is that on the 15th August, a meeting was held in the Deshapriya Park which was attended by eminent men of the other community including some honourable members of this House. Without disclosing the name of the particular member I am pained to read a portion from his speech in which he exhorted the Hindu youths of Bengal to rise against the Muslim League Ministry and set up a parallel Government and start a no-rent campaign, saying that if the majority were to rule, the jackals would rule over the lions.

Sir, my honourable friends will realise that such a speech must have created a very bad setting for the 16th August. Another fact that strikes me most is the participation of a class of persons who are not Hindus—I mean my Sikh brethren, and I possess unimpeachable evidence to prove that the Sikhs attacked the Muslims—the peaceful processionists—in South Calcutta along with Hindu goondas and subsequently took part also in killing Muslims. They are not Hindus, and I do not know why they took part in this communal strife. Why should the Sikhs fight unless there was a previous alliance between the Sikhs and others, who wanted to create trouble on the 16th; there is no reason why people who were not Hindus should take part in a communal fight. But I say, Sir, that it was not a communal fight at all. On the 16th August, at 9 a.m. in the morning, there were simultaneous attacks in various parts of the city. One such attack was made on a Muslim mass in a Hindu area of Central Calcutta where as many as 15 persons were killed and the report is that in that area my esteemed friend Mr. Dharendra Nath Datta also lives in a Boarding House, namely, the Ideal Home. I do not know if it is correct. Now, Sir, will it be proper to say that because some atrocities were committed near his building, my friend Mr. Datta could have anything to do with those atrocities? Similarly, the Ministers cannot have anything to do with any atrocities that might have been committed by Muslims. And as far as I am aware, those atrocities were committed late on the 17th, 18th and 19th so far as killing was concerned.

Sir, it has been said that Muslims in all places were aggressors. I do not know, Sir, how it is possible either for me or for any honourable member to say on the floor of the House that either the Muslims or the Hindus in all places were the aggressors. I do not pretend to make a statement of this nature because I consider it to be physically impossible to vouch for a statement of this nature. But, Sir, I was present in the maidan meeting of the 16th, where about a lakh of Muslims assembled and held a peaceful meeting. I have personal knowledge of this fact that apart from motorists, even Hindu pedestrians and cyclists were passing by the side of this meeting, but not a single Mussalman thought it fit to interfere with their freedom of movement. On the other hand we have been asked to believe that a handful of Muslims who were coming in a procession to the meeting, everywhere gave provocation. I would ask the honourable members of this House to draw their own conclusions on the facts of the case as to who gave the provocation.

On the 16th evening I went to the Medical College Hospital with some injured persons after 6 p.m. and at the junction of Wellington Street and Bow Bazar, the truck in which I was carrying the injured persons was stoned by the goondas. I would leave it to the House to assume what kind of goondas they were that they threw stones at the truck in spite of the Red Cross sign on it. At the Medical College Hospital I met Colonel Montgomery. I found out that there were as many as 45 deaths recorded by the Calcutta Medical College on the 16th and my information goes that out of 45, 35 were Muslims and 10 Hindus. If the Muslims were the aggressors—and the Calcutta Medical College is located at a place near about which there are localities inhabited predominantly by Muslims—I am sure the proportion of deaths would be different on the 16th in the Calcutta Medical College. These are and there are various other unerring circumstances. It is no use making observations or throwing fling on any individual or any particular party. Sir, there are facts and circumstances which will lead to the irresistible conclusion that there are some persons—some brains behind who wanted to create some trouble from Saturday. It may be that their intention was not to spread a conflagration of this nature, but once the flame was kindled it was probably beyond the power of the authors to control a conflagration, of this nature.

Sir, I personally thought that today's debate would centre round one question, namely, the inactivity of the police in Calcutta on the 16th and 17th and some days thereafter. It is true that the police did not show activity on the 16th and 17th. I rang up the Deputy Commissioner of Police, South, on the 17th, several times only to be told that the Deputy Commissioner was out. It has now transpired that on the 17th the Deputy Commissioner of the South district was taken to some place on a specific duty in spite of the fact that the 17th August, was the greatest day of man-killing in Calcutta. I do not know for what purpose the Deputy Commissioner of Police was taken away from his ordinary place of duty. But as far as I have been able to ascertain, he was taken practically for window dressing. There were two Deputy Commissioners of Police in the North District working during that period in respect of which the number of people slaughtered in the North District is simply appalling. I have heard horrible stories from Refugee Camps. It is not proper for me to give out those stories now as I do not want to rouse communal feelings again in the city of Calcutta. But, Sir, it is surprising that particular places were besieged and held for 10 or 12 hours and the killing continued for 8, 10 or 12 hours in spite of which the police did not come to the rescue of the attacked places and persons. It appears to me, Sir, that it is necessary for the Chief Minister to start an enquiry against the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, and I hope, Sir, His Excellency the Governor of the province, knowing him as I do, will certainly not hesitate to join the Hon'ble Chief Minister in starting an enquiry against the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, for his inactivity.

Sir, after all that has been said and done, I realise that mere words will not improve the situation. Certain allegations have been made against the Muslims throughout the province and I have no time to reply to those allegations. I hope the Hon'ble Chief Minister will reply to some. I have personal knowledge of some places of which the facts have been presented before the Assembly in a very distorted manner, particularly in Chandpur where it was a peaceful procession and the processionists were attacked and brickbats were thrown at them when they were dispersing after the procession, as a result of which the processionists retaliated. At Bancharampur also, which is a place within my subdivision, originally it was not a communal trouble. There the whole trouble started over the issue of a Ration Card by a Hindu gentleman who was a member of the local Food Committee. It was not

an incident of a communal nature at all, in spite of which a reign of terror has been created by the Hindu officers in Bancharampur thana and respectable Muslims who were actually innocent have been arrested for a trouble of this nature. Similarly, Sir, is the train incident referred to by one of my honourable friends. Nobody knew that the culprits might be Muslims. Nobody thought that the culprits could not be non-Muslims. If perchance the culprits happen to be Muslims and they are punished by a court of law, the Muslims will have no grudge on that score, but I do not think it will be fair to cite a particular incident of crime and give it a communal colouring unnecessarily.

Sir, in conclusion I would place before the House, my humble views that we should all be sorry for the conduct of those persons, educated persons who during this Calcutta Killing had taken part either directly or indirectly in man-slaughter, and I would further suggest that a wall of shame should be constructed in some conspicuous part of Calcutta to commemorate the killing of a brother by a brother in the great Calcutta Killing.

MR. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, within the short-time at my disposal it is not possible to place the entire incident, unhappy incident, that took place on those fateful days in the middle of August, Sir, nor do I think it necessary to place facts here, for this is not the proper forum where we can decide matters after hearing facts. If I place facts I know that these facts cannot take the place of legal proof or legal evidence. I shall place facts in one way and my friends opposite will make counter-allegations and there will be no end of it, but, Sir, I want to place a few facts for expressing the feelings of the Hindu public in this province.

Sir, my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, was telling us that the Hindus by their speeches and conduct showed that they wanted to see that the Direct Action Day became a failure. Sir, this sort of argument is a double-edged argument and cuts both ways. I can say that the Muslims who declared 16th to be the Direct Action Day wanted and wished to see it very successful. So any obstacle on their way for a successful termination of the observance of the Direct Action Day would be very much resented by any and every Mussalman.

Sir, the morning of 16th at about 7-15, one Muslim young man was admitted in the Medical College Hospital. I am told that he was pulling a rickshaw against the declaration not to work or to suspend all work by the Muslim League to observe the Direct Action Day, and he was hit by Muslim goondas and was brought by some Hindus and Sikhs. (A MEMBER FROM GOVERNMENT BENCHES: Sikhs?) That is the report which I got from newspaper. There is record in the Medical College Hospital and you may enquire of the physician or surgeon, who might have been incharge at that time. It is the custom to enquire and to take a short statement from the injured person. He might have told something and if an enquiry is made it will be proved that he was hit by a Muslim—an over-zealous Muslim who naturally wanted to see that the Direct Action Day was successful. So, Sir, the entry in the Medical College Hospital or Campbell Hospital earlier does not show or prove anything, nor any examination of facts is required to prove the utter failure of the Ministry and for the matter of that the Government of Bengal to maintain peace and order.

Sir, every one here in this House, the Muslim Leaguer and the Congressites have admitted not only this afternoon, but also yesterday in the Upper House that the police was inactive and the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy, who is the Home Minister and Minister in charge of law and order had tried in his reply to shift the responsibility on the Commissioner of Police. Sir, I cannot think of a harder expression by

which the Ministry can be condemned. The Hon'ble Mr. Subrawardy stands self-condemned by expressing his utter helplessness in telling us that he could not do anything, he could not pass orders on the Commissioner of Police. He said in these words: The responsibility of maintaining law and order in Calcutta is that of the Commissioner of Police and no Minister and no higher authority can interfere with it. Even if the Commissioner of Police will not perform his duties no Minister will interfere. Imagine the helpless condition of the Minister and the people whose safety is entrusted on the Ministry. Even if the Commissioner of Police will sit tight, even if there will be unchecked wholesale murder, the Minister and the higher authorities will not interfere. Sir, if he knew that he has no power to command the Commissioner of Police, why did he go only to court insult there in the Control Room? His presence in the Control Room would not ensure any safety to the people and citizens of Calcutta.

Sir, I admit that Hindus and Muslims were brutal alike during those days, and I admit that there was no peace and tranquillity anywhere, either in bye-lanes or streets, but what this Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers and the Government did. It cannot be said that they did not know anything about it beforehand. On the 14th, in this House my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali told us that their motive was very good and they declared 16th to be a holiday to avoid clash, conflict and disturbances. The resolution that was passed by the Muslim League in reply to the resolution of the Congress also admitted that with the object of avoiding clash, conflict and disturbances, 16th was declared a holiday. So it was known to us all that there was a likelihood of breach of peace on the 16th.

Sir, my friend Mr. Abul Hashim was telling us that the Hon'ble Mr. Subrawardy was at the height of his genius on the 16th. Sir, I do not know if he paid any compliment by saying so. If the poor performance made by the Hon'ble Mr. Subrawardy on the 16th and following days was the height of his genius, I must say he is devoid of any genius at all.

Sir, there are other incidents. On Rupabani Cinema House, there was an assault. This was an unprovoked attack at about 8 or 8-30 in the morning when it was not the time for procession on the 16th. There were many other incidents, but I do not want to place them before the House, because I think that that is not necessary. The only point is whether there were disturbances, whether they were known to Government, whether the Ministers apprehended disturbances and whether the Ministers or for the matter of that Government or the Commissioner of Police did their best to avert those disturbances. If they knew it, they could have certainly averted those disturbances only if they would have placed pickets one day earlier, i.e., on the 15th. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin was reading out from papers certain matters which help us very much, because these are matters which gave us clearly to understand that there would be a clash. If these matters were before the Government and the Ministers, they should have been specially careful to make elaborate arrangements for Police and Military to avert those disasters. But, Sir, they have not done so. Our previous experience is that on the 8th August 1942, there was a resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee, and on the 9th all the top leaders of the Congress were arrested and the Congress organisation was declared illegal. Processions and meetings were banned. Here, Sir, the League Party is in power in Bengal, but what did they do? They by their action encouraged direct action. They are remaining in the Government to encourage direct action—not direct action, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin has told us against the Britishers against whom he was pouring venom, but certainly

against the Hindus and the Congress. I cannot reconcile their policy that "they shall be in the Government and also declare and take recourse to direct action". When Congress declared direct action, they at once went out of office. (The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: You do not know facts; direct action has not been declared. You will learn hereafter.) If only the observance of Direct Action Day produced such a result, I do not know what will be the fate of Bengal if direct action is actually taken up and commenced.

Mr. MUHAMMAD RAFIQUE: Sir, I find that here in this House unlike other places that I have been accustomed to we can make all sorts of statements—correct, half-correct and incorrect—with impunity. The question before us today is not as to how many Hindus were killed and how many Muslims were killed; the question before us today is how far Government is responsible for the occurrence of 16th to 19th. In order to assess that we have got to go back to the day when Direct Action resolution was passed in Bombay. From that day you will find that propaganda had been carried on by the Congress and Hindu press. Meetings have been held not once a month, or once in every three months, but practically every day in all parts of the city of Calcutta exciting the Hindu youths that under no circumstances should they give in. Again when the meeting of the 16th was announced, two days before that, meetings, private and public, were held in all corners of Calcutta and the young men, educated young men, were given to understand that if they once gave in, Pakistan would be established. In order to assess the cause of the riot beginning from the 16th, you have to take these facts into consideration. Leaflets in lakhs and lakhs were distributed purporting to have come from the Muslims exciting the Muslims to assault Hindus. These leaflets, I can say without any fear of contradiction, were issued by the Hindu Press—non-Muslim press. The Hindu young men were given to understand that 16th is a day which will decide whether Pakistan would be established or not. We have already seen examples of these leaflets which have been just produced before the House by my friend Mr. Jalan as having been printed from 45/1, Ratu Sarker Lane—a locality where the Hindus predominate. (Laughter from the Congress Benches.) I have got a grievance against the Chief Minister, because he gave an assurance to us that there would be no trouble on the 16th, perhaps relying on the fact that whenever Congress says that they would attack, they remain non-violent and whenever they say that they would remain non-violent, they resort to violence. Perhaps he thought that these were mere threats and the Congress threats do not mean what are uttered in the Press and on the platform. Had we known that a well-planned scheme has been made to crush the Muslims on the 16th, we would not have attended the meetings on the maidan in lakhs and lakhs leaving our children and womenfolk at home to the mercy of the Hindu goondas to be butchered. I have visited many localities on the 16th. I went to maidan at 8 o'clock and I was told that while the processionists were passing through Ezra Street, brickbats were thrown upon them. Perhaps the perpetrators of this crime thought that if they threw brickbats on the young men who were going to attend the meeting, the meeting would not be successful, little realising that this conflagration might take such a huge form unknown in history. The entire responsibility rests with the leaders of the Congress Party and the Hindu press which had been for the past few days going on preaching and publishing horrible news exciting the Hindu society. I can just give you a personal experience. While I was passing through the Bow Bazar Street, I found a young man being dragged inside a lane. I asked some persons who appeared to be educated Hindu young men of bhadrolog class to let him go, telling them that I would keep him all right. They did not pay any heed to

my request. On the other hand, they attempted to drag out my driver who happened to be a Muslim, and damaged my car with brickbats. It pained me to see that they were all educated young men and spoke nice English. They belonged to the University and big offices. I was surprised at their conduct. We were under the impression that the Calcutta riots were the work of the hooligans, but I found that these riots had been deliberately engineered and perfectly planned by the educated Hindu bhadralogs, in order to smash the Muslims so that they could never attend the meeting in thousands to make it a success. Sir, long before this meeting was held in the Maidan I was asked by some of my friends in the Calcutta Corporation as to what would happen on the 16th, and said: “আমিদিগকে কি বেরে ফেলবে নাকি! আচড়া দেখা যাইক”।

It merely shows how prepared they were. Sir, my friend has said that the first man that was admitted into the Calcutta Medical College was a rickshaw puller. I can tell him that Muslim rickshaw pullers were slaughtered in fifties. In one place they were asked to come out with the assurance that their life would not be in danger and they would be removed to a safe place. They were taken out one by one and done to death. (Cries of “shame, shame”, from the Government benches.) You cannot continue with this show. If we knew that there was going to be a riot and there were preparations made by the Hindus, we would not have declared the 16th August a public holiday and asked the Muslims to participate in the public meeting at the maidan leaving their womenfolk, children, hearth and home undeterred to fall an easy prey to this well-planned hooliganism of the other community.

My friends have said that the Hindu localities were left unguarded. He is not correct in saying so. Some of my friends also said that Hindus were slaughtered defenceless, which I repudiate. (Interruptions.) Take the case of Tiljala and Park Circus areas where Hindus in thousands were given protection. (Interruptions.) Hindu shops in Zakariah Street were not touched. They are all intact. Dr. Sen and Captain Gupta's dispensaries were also left untouched in that area. Sir, you will be pained to hear—perhaps you are already aware—that the Wellington Square mosque just in front of Dr. B. C. Roy's house had been desecrated. Mr. Jalan said that huge sums of money were taken by Muslims to rescue the Hindus. This may be true, but the lives of the Hindus who had to pay money were made safe by the Muslims who took the money. But I may tell him that money was extorted from the Muslims and they were assured that they would be rescued to a place of safety; but the promise was not kept and they were all murdered.

Mr. NIMARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are meeting here to discuss this motion under the shadow of a great calamity from which Calcutta has just suffered. Sir, after we have witnessed the communal frenzy unleashed in Calcutta and what a havoc it did cause, I hope the members of this House will rise up to the sense of their responsibility as members and as representatives of the people of Bengal and will face without passion the problem they are out to solve, namely, to find a way for the purpose of giving Bengal a peaceful and happy future. (A VOICE FROM THE TREASURY BENCHES: “Physician heal thyself.”) Sir, as a member of this House privileged to represent a joint constituency of both Hindus and Muslims I record my deepest sense of grief at the senseless carnage which has taken a toll of lives of thousands of Hindus and Muslims alike. What are the causes underlying this carnage? Sir, I know that the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal want always to live together and in fact they have been living together for centuries. Sir, it is not to the interests of the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal to exterminate each other, but alas,

Sir, there are forces from outside, there are the adventurers for the expansion of the Empire in this country who would not even condescend to speak the language of the Bengali Hindus and Muslims after years and years of their residence in this land who would rather have us divided.

Then again, Sir, it is from England that the Constitution Act was promulgated and we are working and meeting here unfortunately under that constitution. They would rather have us divided so that they may mislead us into fratricide and thrive upon our division for their self-aggrandisement in world politics. Sir, that is a fact which we cannot overlook and to our utter shame they rear up successfully by their manœuvring communal electorates and communal organisations and create communal leaders who become convenient and willing tools in the hands of the British and perpetuate British sponsored division amongst us. The sinister game costs us blood and tears. It costs them nothing. We lose all and they gain an Empire at our cost. The real enemy lurks behind his creatures and we wallow in the horror of brother stabbing brother to the triumph and glory of the British Empire. While we spill blood, the Britishers smoke their leisurely pipe and perhaps chuckle to see us so successfully befooled. They witness in India a stage, which has been left centuries behind in England when the worst orgies took place between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. Whereas we want unity, whereas the Congress as a party work for the good of all alike, the leaders of the Muslim League want division and play the British game. That is the tragedy. The Leaders of the Muslim League would also rather not condescend to speak the mother tongue of the Bengali Hindus and Muslims nor understand the sorrows of unhappy Bengal. For they are only eager to score their bargains in the high politics of India at the cost of the blood of Bengal. Sir, neither the Bengali Hindus nor the Muslims want to exterminate each other in a senseless game of power politics. They want bread and freedom equally for all. Why then this stupid killing of each other?

Sir, one of the methods employed was with a view to terrorise Bengal and hold it as a blackmailing score for the purpose of extortion elsewhere. The so-called Direct Action Day as observed in our Province on the 16th of August had resulted in the gruesome tragedy in the city of Calcutta. It is surprising—— (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: It is a tragedy all over India.) It is not a tragedy all over India but one in Bengal.

It is surprising that it should not have occurred to the Chief Minister who is in charge of the Department of Law and Order and his Council of Ministers that they could not be the custodians of law and order and of the protection and peace of the people of all communities of this province as well as the protagonists of direct action at one and the same time. They should have obtained free hands for themselves from their Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah to keep Bengal outside the pale of their so-called direct action if for no other reason than this that their Ministry already hold the province for the Muslim League. No direct action was needed in Bengal unless it was for the purpose of a communal war of extermination against those who did not see eye to eye with the leaders of the Muslim League. They are guilty of incredible stupidity if they fail to see this simple course of common sense and reason.

In connection with the happenings of Calcutta it is the Bengal Ministry and neither the Hindu nor the Muslim community who were on the dock today; for it is this Ministry which by the height of their stupidity and incompetence, if not by their nefarious complicity, have been responsible for the slaughter of both the Hindus and Muslims. It is futile now splitting the hair and quarrelling on their failure to give protection to the Hindus. If they failed to give protection to the Hindus, they equally failed to give protection to the Muslims and there is no recompense to the bereaved families of either community. It is futile now splitting the hair and quarrelling as to who killed how many. If you are stupid enough to rouse

the Frankenstein of communal passions, the consequences beyond your control are inevitably bound to follow— (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy: Hear, hear!) I am glad to find the Chief Minister agreeing at least on this point.

Sir, the politics of the Muslim League leaders is based not on love and brotherliness of the human being, for such noble and humane sentiments are not allowed to find a place in their outlook. They keep on fanning the lowest communal passions as egged on to do by the cunning ingenuity of their British masters under whose patronage they flourished. Their unceasing appeal is to the selfishness and greed, to the basest communal passions and separatism. That is not playing with politics. It is playing with the blood and lives of others.

Within the limits of my time, Sir, I do not wish to go into details. Mr. Suhrawardy surely is not a child not to be able to realise that the minds of vast sections of the people were panic-stricken regarding the direct action in Bengal and quite naturally so. Direct action by the party in power is an unheard-of thing anywhere in the world. Against whom could such direct action be? Mr. Suhrawardy roused his Frankenstein but could not control it. That was precisely what happened in Calcutta. Mr. Suhrawardy's conduct and failure to keep his assurance about the peaceful observance of the Direct Action Day might be briefly contrasted with the conduct and actions of his fellow League Ministry of Sind. Mr. Suhrawardy and the Bengal Ministry have not shown that sense of responsibility evinced by their colleagues in Sind on the same occasion. They did not profit by this plain fact but took the responsibility for what has happened in Bengal in contradistinction to Sind. Or, are they in search of a scapegoat for setting up a defence case before the Commission appointed by themselves? If what Mr. Suhrawardy now says in support of his plea of "not guilty" is to be taken as true, that plea would be tantamount to placing Governor Burrows and the Commissioner of Police on the dock. Incidentally, the conduct of all these officers deserve scrutiny. It would be useful to contrast the part played by these officers in contradistinction to the part played by the Chief Secretary of Sind— (At this stage the red light was on.) May I, with your permission, Sir, finish my sentence with saying that it is today an undeniable fact that the present Ministry does not enjoy the confidence of vast sections of the people of Bengal. If, Sir, the existence of the present Ministry in office means the continuance of panic, it is their duty to quit and help in the installation of a Ministry which would enjoy the confidence of all sections of the people of the province of Bengal, if peace is really their objective in view.

With these words I commend these two motions to the acceptance of the House.

May I, Mr. Deputy Speaker, offer a word of correction with reference to the speech you have delivered on the floor of the House?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I could have allowed you if you had time, but now your time is up and you have also finished your speech.

MR. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOWDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আজকের অসামান্য প্রত্যাহসার্ক আলোচনা করতে গিয়ে আমার মনে পড়ছে ১৫ই আগস্টের কথা যখন এই হাউসের সালে সানসীর প্রথম-বর্ষী মি: মোহাম্মদ হুসাইন মুহাম্মাদী বাংলার রাজনৈতিক বন্দী ধরা বহু বছর থেকে কারা প্রতিষ্ঠানের অন্তরালে আবদ্ধ ছিলেন তাঁদের মুক্তি কথা ঘোষণা করেছেন। সেই দিন এই পরিষদের সকল দলের পক্ষ থেকে তাঁকে অভিনন্দন জানান হয়েছিল। এর পর শুভানন্দ পার্কে বাংলার বিভিন্ন দলের জননেতারা সভা কোরে মুহাম্মাদী সাহেবকে অভিনন্দিত করেছিলেন এক আঁশ করেছিলেন—যখন বন্দীরা ফিরে আসছেন তখন যেসব আবহাওয়া পরিবর্তন হবে। আর আজ এক বাল পরে আমরা যেখানে পাচ্ছি এই হাউস থেকে মুহাম্মাদী সাহেবের বিরুদ্ধে—ব্রিটিশদের বিরুদ্ধে—অসামান্য প্রত্যাহসা আছে। আসামারা ভয়ে ভয়ে অবাক হবেন শুভানন্দ

পার্ক ১৫ই আগস্টের সন্ধ্যা বে বজ্জতা হয়েছিল তাতে উচ্চাধিত হয়েছিল বিননের বাণী। ১৫ই আগষ্ট বাংলায় হিন্দু-মুসলমান, কংগ্রেস-লীগ-কমুনিষ্ট একসঙ্গে আগ্রাভ উঠিয়েছিল, আর ঠিক তার পরের দিন সন্ধ্যা সন্ধ্যা হয়ে গিয়েছিল হিন্দু-মুসলমানের রক্তে। সে রক্তে ভেসে গিয়েছে বিননের বাণী।

এই যে ব্যাপার হোল, এ কেন হোল? আজ সন্ধ্যা শেষ চাপিয়ে দেওয়া হচ্ছে বিঃ হোসেন নবীল হুহা-ওগাধীর বাড়ি—লীগ নেতাদের বাড়ি, যেন তাঁরাই এই সন্ধ্যার জন্য দায়ী। বহুবৈরী কাগজে নবীল সাহেবকে বলা হয়েছে—“উনুসুলজি গি গ্রেট”—বিষ উদ্‌গীর্ণ করা হয়েছে লীগ নেতৃবৃন্দের বিরুদ্ধে। আমাদের হাতে যে সব তথ্য রয়েছে তাতে সহজেই আমরা প্রমাণ করতে পারি লাজার সূত্রপাত মুন্সির লীগ করেনি। লাজার জন্য মুসলমানরা তৈরী ছিল না বোটেই, আর নবীল সাহেব একমাত্র জননায়ক যিনি নিজের জীবন বাধে বাধে বিপদাপন্ন করেছেন লাজা বন্ধ করতে গিয়ে।

একটা কথা আমরা চমৎকারভাবে ভুলে যাচ্ছি। আগে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের লাজা হ'লে বলা হ'ত—কংগ্রেসের পক্ষ থেকে বলা হ'ত—ভৃতীয় পক্ষের অস্তিত্বের জন্য হয়েছে। আজকে ও ভৃতীয় পক্ষের অস্তিত্ব হয়েছে। কিন্তু সম্পর্কের আজ পরিবর্তন দেখতে পাচ্ছি। আজ টেটস্‌ম্যান পত্রিকা কংগ্রেসের সঙ্গে হাত বিলিয়ে মুন্সির লীগের বিরুদ্ধে কুৎসিত প্রচারণা চালাচ্ছে। কংগ্রেসের ডেপুটি লীডার টেটস্‌ম্যানের প্রশংসায় আজ পক্ষমুখ। অথচ কিছুদিন আগে পর্যন্ত কংগ্রেস নেতাদের মুখে টেটস্‌ম্যান কাগজ বয়কটের কথাই শুনেও পেড়ার ভারতীয় দাবীর বিরুদ্ধাচরণের জন্যে। আজ এই যে অবস্থা এতে পরস্পর পরস্পরের বাড়ি দেখা না চাপিয়ে আমাদের পুরোজান ছিল self-orientation বা আত্মসমালোচনা করার। আমাদের মানসিকতা কতখানি গাঢ় নেমে গেছে সেটা সকল দলের বিশেষ করে বিরোধীদের বন্ধুদের মনে মনে ভেবে দেখতে অনুরোধ করি। এই যে লাজা হয়ে গেল—একে লাজা বলতে আমি বাতী নই। একে মুছ বলা যায় না; একে civil war ই বা কেমন করে বলি? টেটস্‌ম্যান বলেছে Great Calcutta Killing. তা থেকেও যদি বাবাপ কথা থাকে এই হত্যাকাণ্ডের তাই বলে অভিহিত করতে হয়। আপনাবা স্মরণ কোরে লেনুন বাংলা দেশের লোক এই হত্যাকাণ্ডে কতখানি অংশ নিয়েছে—পরিচয় দিয়েছে কিম্বদন্তি বর্ণনায়।

আমি শিবদের কথা বন্ধে চাই না, পাঞ্জাবীদের কথা বলতে চাই না, ইউ-পি বা বিহারের লোক যদি হত্যা কোরে থাকে তাদের কথাও ভাবতে চাই না। আমরা ভাবব বাংলা দেশের অধিবাসীর কথা। যে বাংলা প্রেমের দেশ বোলে খ্যাত, যে বাংলায় শ্রীচৈতন্য ও চণ্ডীদাস জন্মেছিলেন, যে বাংলায় রামমোহন ও রবীন্দ্রনাথ হিন্দু-প্রের প্রচার করেছেন এবারকার লাজায় সেই বাংলার লোকদের হাত কেঁপে ওঠে নাই শিবদের হত্যা করতে, নারীদের হত্যা করতে। এই বর্ণনায় কথা গরন ভাবি তখন মনে হয় সত্যিই জেনেলেলা থেকে যে গুরু অনুভব করেছি বাংলা দেশে জন্মেছি বোলে, সে গৌরবের আমরা অধিকারী কি না। আমার মনে বাধে বাধে আজ প্রস্তুত জাগু—করোজ টীকে বইএর সেকানওলো নই করেছে যারা তারা কোন্‌ প্রদেশের লোক? বিরাটপুর টীকে লোকের ভূমিলী ফুলের মতো শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান খুলে করেছে যারা কোথায় তাদের জন্মভূমি? ভাস্করিং হাসপাতালে গিয়ে যারা বলেছে বোণীদের বার কোরে লাও, তাদের হত্যা করব—তার কাবা? কাবীপাড়া, লাইপাড়া ও শোভাবাজারের হত্যাকাণ্ডের লোকদের বেশ কোথায়? এই যে কৃষ্ণাধি বাংলা দেশের দেহমনকে আক্রমণ করেছে, তাতে আমরা কোথায় লজ্জিত, নত হব, আমরা ভাবব কেমন কোরে এই মানসিকতা থেকে বাংলা দেশকে উদ্ধার করা যায়, আর তা না কোরে ভাঙি কতটুকু শোধ হুহাওগাধী সাহেবের বাড়ি চাপান যায়, কতটুকু পুলিশের বাড়ি। পুলিশের শোধ অস্বীকার করছি না। কিন্তু কলকাতার মত শহরের লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক যদি হত্যার লোণার মেতে ওঠে কি প্রতিকার করতে পারে পুলিশ? হুহাওগাধী সাহেব কি প্রত্যেক বাড়ীতে গিয়ে যে হত্যাকাণ্ড হয়েছে তা বন্ধ করতে পারতেন? তাঁর বিরুদ্ধে যড়যন্ত্র হয়েছিল নানা দিক থেকে। বোঝাই যাচ্ছে হুহাওগাধী সাহেবের নির্দেশ মেনে পুলিশ ও শ্রেণ্যিক সামরিক অসামরিক কর্মচারীরা কাজ করে নাই। শ্রেণ্যিক সিবিদিসান বা পুলিশ মন্ত্রীকে আশেপাশে বসিয়ে—এ ব্যাপার ভারতের রাজনীতি কেড়ে নুতন কিছু নয়। শাসন সংস্কার প্রযুক্তি হবার পর এই শ্রেণীর ঘটনা ঘটছে বহুবার। অন্ততঃ ল্যামাপ্রদাণ বাবু একথা অস্বীকার করবেন না। কলকাতার অজুতপুর্ন, অশুভপুর্ন হাঙ্গামা ধামাতে পারেন নি বলে হুহাওগাধী সাহেবের বাড়ি বাঁধা শোধ চালাচ্ছে তাঁদের ভিজালা করি বাঁধে ও ইউ-পির অপেক্ষাকৃত ক্রুদ্ধকারের লাজা কংগ্রেস সরকার ধামাতে পেয়েছেন কি? হুহাওগাধী সাহেবের বিরুদ্ধে No Confidence—মুন্সির লীগের বিরুদ্ধে No Confidence—এটা No Confidence নয়, এটা ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদকে কারেব করার আয়োজন, এ হচ্ছে ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদের প্রতি আঘাত প্রত্যাহ। আমি আশা করি আবার বন্ধুরা আত্মসমালোচনার মত হবেন। বাংলা দেশের রক্তবলে পর্যন্ত হাঙ্গামা নিবৃত্ত হচ্ছে। বহুবার কানকর অভিজ্ঞিত বীভল করিবি দিবের পর দিন হুঁপা হবে, আর বকঃমেনে পাতি বিরাজ করবে—এ শব্দ

করে আশা করা যায়? কিরপ শক্তির সারের আঘাতকে হত্যা করা হয়েছে ইত্যাদি মিথ্যা কথা বহুবার বখরের কাগজ ও বেতিও বারক পুঁচাবিত হয়েছে। এসব মিথ্যা প্রচারণা বন্ধ করার কথা কিন্তু কেউ ভাবছেন না। পুলিশ ও ম্যোনেস হুহুয়াওয়ানীকে দায়ী করার আগে আমাদের মানসিকতা কোথায় গিয়েছে তা দেখুন। এই মানসিকতার পরিবর্তন প্রয়োজন। আমরা চলেছি আজ কোথায়?

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOWDHURI: One minute please.

এই মনোবৃত্তির যদি পরিবর্তন না হয় তাহলে পাকিস্তান হিন্দুস্থান ত পরের কথা, সমস্ত বাংলা দেশ গোরস্থানে পরিণত হবে এবং কায়েম হবে অৰ্থও হিন্দুস্থান বা পাকিস্তান নয়; কায়েম হবে অৰ্থও ইংলিশমান। লর্ড ওয়াডেলকে ও তার স্বত্বাধীনকে দায়ী করতে হয় এই দাবীকার জন্য। লর্ড ওয়াডেল স্বাধীন প্রাণের কলকে এসেছিলেন তাঁকে বলা হয়েছিল এই হত্যার জন্য তিনিই দায়ী। একদিন নয়, দুদিন নয়, বহুদিন থেকে plan কোরে এই বিরোধ সৃষ্টি করা হয়েছে। সবচেয়ে বেদনাদায়ক ব্যাপার এই যে আমরা তা বুঝতে পারিনি। কংগ্রেসের মূলো নেতারাও আজ সাম্রাজ্যবাদের হাতের পুতুলে পরিণত হয়েছেন।

Mr. G. C. D. WILKS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Anglo-Indian Group, I rise to strongly condemn the complete breakdown of Government machinery for the maintenance of law and order during the ill-fated days of last month. No individual, no community, no political party, in fact, no Government, can view with equanimity this failure to maintain law and order. The breakdown was evident to the man in the street. The police failed to maintain law and order. The military were called out too late. Arson, looting and murder held sway in the city for 48 hours. It was apparent to all and sundry that the situation was out of control by midday on Friday and, speaking for my Group, I would like the Hon'ble Chief Minister to tell us why the military were not called out on Friday.

The Hon'ble Chief Minister, when replying to a debate in the Upper House on the 15th August, stated that his action in declaring a public holiday on the 16th August was motivated by the desire to prevent disorder. Therefore, he must have foreseen the possibilities of disorder and, under these circumstances, will he explain what special police precautions were taken and if the military were asked to stand by in case of need?

On the other hand, we have been amazed at the attacks from the Opposition Benches on the failure of the police to take action on this occasion and, in particular, their criticism of the police in not making use of fire-arms. In contrast, their public attacks against the self-same guardians of law and order for their attempts to prevent breaches of the Law in November last year can hardly be reconciled. This perhaps may be an explanation of the police inaction on this occasion. In other words, Sir, "you cannot eat your cake and have it." The police are in an invidious position and it is essential that at all times we must have an impartial force so that the public support may be behind them. Here I would like to tell the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this portfolio that the manners and dealings of this force towards the general public are not beyond question, and I would point out that these men should be the servants of the general public and not the masters. In any case, it has been proved without doubt that the existing police force is inadequate for a city of the size of Calcutta and it must be augmented immediately.

From the speeches made before the House so far, I regret to remark that all speakers seem to have overlooked one major point and that is, what will be the fate of this province in the event of the present Ministry falling? I would like the honourable members on the Government benches to realise that they have done their utmost to shield their Ministry, but in so doing they have helped to fan the flames of communal feelings whereas the casting of the Hon'ble Chief Minister in no uncertain terms by the Opposition incidentally tends to open the communal sore which is slowly healing.

Sir, I do not stand here to make excuses for one side or the other. I represent a very small minority group of this House and I would like to point out the fate of this province if this Ministry should fall. The leaders of the two major communities of this Province should hesitate before worse happens. The seed of communalism has been sown on fertile soil and has borne ripe fruit. Riot and arson will be the order of the day, life and property will no longer be safe and the fair name of this province will ever remain besmirched for ever in history. Are we all to permit this?

An alternative to this Ministry is the enforcement of section 93 Government. This enforcement would be disastrous to the province.

(At this stage the member reached his time-limit and was allowed two minutes.)

We have just emerged from an Administration of this type and its ills have hardly left the province. Our country is on the eve of independence and we, therefore, must strive at all costs to uphold a parliamentary form of Government. Reversion to section 93 therefore would put the clock back a hundred years.

We are gathered here today as the elected representatives of the people of Bengal. We all desire that peace and prosperity should be the lot of our people. Therefore, it is our bounden duty to study the present position in a spirit of conciliation and not recrimination. In the next few weeks a commission of eminent Judges will sit to enquire into the recent happenings and, therefore, it is not up to us at this stage to point the finger of accusation at any individual or party. It would be difficult, in any case to fix responsibility on any individual during the continuance of the administration under the 1935 Act which divides responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. This position is unsatisfactory but it is inevitable until the new Constitution has been framed. A change of heart rather than a change of leadership is required to save Bengal from anarchy. Therefore I call upon the present Ministry and all honourable members of the House to save what good will there is left and to go all out to form a coalition—a Coalition Ministry of all parties including the minorities so that good Government may prevail. Inefficiency and graft must be struck out with a firm hand, but this hand must not be communal. To prosper, Bengal requires a Government of the people, by the people and for the people, but to be successful any change in Ministry must be through negotiation and not through defeat. It is a great thing. I ask of the members that with India standing on the threshold of the House of Freedom and the doors wide open to receive her surely each and all of us of her sons must make this sacrifice, so that Freedom may be ours. (Applause.)

Mr. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I feel I must participate in this debate as a representative of a working class constituency composed of both Hindus and Muslims and let us pay a tribute to the working class of Calcutta and its suburbs for keeping comparatively aloof from the carnage that has disgraced our city and blackened most horribly our political life.

I shall not attempt to depict the savagery, cowardice and inhumanity to which thousands of people descended, but I would ask all members of this House and my countrymen outside in all seriousness not to forget for a moment that whatever we say or do must be with a view to salvage, at once and with all the good will, political insight and the spirit and strength of our people, their doubtless determination to fight imperialist trickery and win the freedom for which both Hindus and Muslims hunger and thirst and ache in every limb. In Bengal for life and liberty the only way out is a coalition ministry with our backs turned on the Europeans with a progressive programme. The method of achieving it is not through votes but by sitting round a table. Let us put first things first, and before we pillory the Ministry—which has an enormous amount of acts of omission

and commission to account for—let us see the prime mover in the dastardly game against us, let us with all our indignation realise that it is British Imperialism our enemy No. 1 which keeps us down, keeps us divided and maddens our people and now proudly maintains in Calcutta a miserable desert peace that might break any moment.

Every time previously we have had a communal riot we have rightly condemned Imperialism as its main instigator and seen in our people only hopeless, pathetic pawns in imperialist hands. There is no reason to think differently now. I accuse with all the patriotic force I can command the main criminals who sit complacently whether in Whitehall or New Delhi or Calcutta's Government House and pull strings and make our leading political parties walk into their trap. What a neat game the Cabinet Ministers played for the last six months, mouthing honeyed phrases luring the Congress once and League another time. They announced proposals which are capable of varied interpretations. Finally they instead of leaving our country with their army gives an award which gives neither freedom, nor democracy nor self-determination but is calculated to perpetuate our conflict and poison the minds of one section of our people against another and which finally led to the cataclysm that happened in Calcutta. Coupled with all this I ask, Sir, what were the secret plans discussed at the Governors' conference presided over by the Viceroy after which the Sind Governor disallowed the declaration of holiday on the 16th August and the Bengal Governor did the contrary in Calcutta the seat of British business. How was it that Government had literally abdicated in Calcutta for two days and who saw to it that the police abstained from their ordinary duty and helped in loot and arson? We have known how the police break up strikes. We have seen how they acted on Rashid Ali Day to disperse our revolutionary youth; that is how they act in suppressing people's upsurge. We have experience how in 1942 the police let loose their terroristic rule without reference to the Ministry. But this was an occasion when the people fell apart and they realised their rule would be strengthened. Hence it will not avail these autocrats to take shelter behind constitutional procedure. Would they have done the same thing if Englishmen were waylaid or their property looted or military trucks burnt? This is what is palpable and meets the eye, but one can only guess the diabolic method of the C. I. D. in working up the riot because presumably they knew of the preparations that were afoot. Therefore I assert, Mr. Deputy Speaker, this malevolent neutrality of the Governor and the Police Commissioner was deliberately planned.

Mr. Suhrawardy and his Ministers are attempting to say that their business is only to give orders and it is the Police Commissioner's to carry it out. But Mr. Suhrawardy knows, saw it with his own eyes, felt it on the wind screen of his car on the noon of the 16th August that the crowds were getting out of control. It was his business to see that the Police Commissioner under him carry out his duty. But there is nothing to show the Prime Minister acting in a determined way. Is he thinking of suspending the Police Commissioner or other Deputy Commissioners who failed to do their duty? He lacks courage because he knows his own failure and the miserable failure of his Government. But the Muslim League Ministry is not separate from the Muslim League Party and the latter must bear responsibility for its acts of omission and commission. In spite of everything I maintain that imperialist policy could never have landed us in this catastrophe but for the part played by the League and the Congress in falling victims to the evil conspiracy.

Thus I shall cite in brief the responsibility of the League first:—

(1) The "Asad" on 15th August editorially explained the significance of the 16th August as the day when the battle for Pakistan begins.

(2) The All-India League Council characterised both the British and Congress as enemies.

(3) Maulana Akram Khan and Mr. Osman reminded the Muslims that in the sacred month of Ramzan *jihad* against the kafirs had been undertaken.

(4) The knight-errant Mr. Nazimuddin repeatedly emphasised that Muslims were not pledged to non-violence.

(5) The brave Mr. Suhrawardy declared he would declare Bengal independent and defy the authority of the centre if the British Government made a unilateral settlement with the Congress.

(6) The All-India League Council's Direct Action was meant to force the Congress to accept the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16th which gives freedom to none and also to accept compulsory grouping without the vote of the people.

(At this stage the member reached his time-limit.)

Sir, may I have a few more minutes?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I don't think I shall be justified in giving you more time.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: Sir, Mr. Speaker told me that he would allow me 10 minutes. Would you kindly give me two minutes more?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, one minute.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: I want two minutes more.

Is it to be wondered, Sir, that a section of the Muslims took their leaders seriously and made practical preparations for the Direct Action and were led to a fratricidal strife by which the British forged fresh chains for us and only British life and property became safe and Hindus and Muslims looked at one another with fear and distrust. On the other hand the Congress instead of organising an all-out offensive against British Imperialism has accepted the British plan knowing that the British army is not leaving, the princes will have a dominant voice and that ultimate power remains with the British. Thus the Congress face the opposition of the Muslim League within the British scheme and has to prepare politically and psychologically against it. That is why the Muslim League Direct Action is taken as a threat to the Congress and a successful hartal is looked upon with disfavour. So passions are roused in Desapriya Park against the day on the 15th August.

Even now with all our experience, we say that British troops cannot give us peace; curfew order, section 144 and suppression of civil liberties will not bring back brotherly trust and fellow feeling. Appeals to the Viceroy to get rid of this Ministry will not help and neither will the attempt to overthrow it solve our problems. Because "what next" the people will ask. It is of no use the League making excuses that without coalition at the Centre no coalition in Bengal is possible. It must realise what straits our people have been reduced to under a one-party Ministry. It is only in a spirit of patriotism that the political parties can together save Bengal by working for a Coalition Ministry, a Ministry which will break with the Europeans and follow as I have stated a programme of progressive legislation, living wages, protection of unions, abolition of landlordism, fair minimum price of jute, adequate food and cloth for all, complete civil liberties and release of remaining political prisoners.

We shall therefore not vote for any side in this debate arising out of a resolution of no-confidence. It will only fan the flames of a fratricidal war. Our appeal goes to our common people—Hindus and Muslims—to mobilise their forces, so that they may not be involved again and again in mutual slaughter leading to the smashing of our trade unions, ending our fight for more wages and better conditions of life and strengthening the Europeans' evil rule. In the spirit of Rashid Ali Day, R.I.N. ratings mutiny, I.N.A. trials movement and General Strike of July 29th, the people, the united people will force the leaders to work together and common humanity will march on to peace and freedom. It is time for them to say, "never, never again shall we raise our hands against our brothers; never never again shall we tolerate those who speak in terms of Hindus and Muslims and make us fight".

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 5-25 p.m. till 2-15 p.m. on Friday, the 20th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled
under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the
20th September, 1946, at 2-20 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN), in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble
Ministers and 236 Members.

Motions of No-Confidence.

[The debate on the motions of no-confidence against the Council of
Ministers and against the Chief Minister was resumed.]

Miss BINA DAS: মাননীয় শ্রীকার মহোদয়, বাংলার স্বাধীনতার বিরুদ্ধে অনাধা প্রস্তাবকে সমর্থন
করবার জন্য আমি দাঁড়িয়েছি। এর প্রয়োজন হবে বলে ভাবতে পারিনি। গত ১৬ই আগষ্ট থেকে পঁচাত্তর
কলকাতায় যা ঘটে গিয়েছে, যা একান্ত অশুভ, নিজের চোখকেও বিশ্বাস করা যায় না এমন সব ঘটনা।
স্বচক্ষে দেখার পর একবারও মনে করতে পারিনি—আবার ঠিক এইভাবে আমরা বিলম্ব, এইভাবে এই স্বাধীন-
বঙালীরই সামনে দাঁড়িয়ে এমন করে কথা বলার মাথা পেঁথে আমাদের নিশাচর অভিজ্ঞতা এবং অন্তর্দৃষ্টিকে ভাঙা দিতে
হবে। পনের আনা হেরে যাবার সম্ভাবনা সামনে রেখে অনাধা প্রস্তাবের সাহায্যে স্বাধীনবঙালীকে অপসারিত করার
বার্ধটোটা করতে হবে। বাংলা দেশের দুর্ভাগ্য—নাহ'লে এর চেয়ে অনেক অনেক পড়াশোনাও কম অপরাধে
কত দেশে কত রাজপক্ষি হুলায় লুটিয়ে গিয়েছে। বাংলার গণপক্ষি আজও স্থপ্ত এবং বিকল্প—নাহ'লে শুধু এই
কলকাতা সহরের জনতার পক্ষি ছিল—হিন্দু মুসলমান, নরনারী নিগ্রিশেষে শুধু এই কলকাতার জনগণই পাখডো
এই স্বাধীনবঙালীকে বিনা ছেপে গাধী থেকে টেনে নাড়িয়ে দিয়ে বাংলার প্রতিনিধিবৃন্দ শাসনের নামে যে উন্মাদ
শাসন চলছে তাকে বন্ধ করে দিতে। কিন্তু যা হওয়া উচিত ছিল, তা হ'ল না। দেখা গেল বাংলা দেশে সবই
সম্ভব হয়। এখানে প্রতিষ্ঠিত Popular Government-এর চোখের সামনে যেমন অনাধাশে হাজার হাজার নিরপরাধ
লোককে পঁচাত্তর ঘরে লাঠি পিটিয়ে, ছোরা খুঁচিয়ে বেবে ফেলা যায়, সর্বস্বান্ত করে দেওয়া যায়, তেমনি আবার
সেই গভর্নমেন্টকেই কয়েক করে রাখবার জন্য বাংলার জনগণের প্রতিনিধি দলট পনের বাগু থাকে। ঠিক এই
রকম পরিস্থিতিতে এমন কাগজের বা মুখের অনাধা প্রস্তাবের মূল্য কতটুকু সে বিষয়ে সন্দেহ হয় সকলেরই।
তবু চুপ করে থাকা অসম্ভব। তাতে অপরাধ করবো তাদের কাছে, যারা আবার এখানে পাঠিয়েছে। সেসব
সামনের চোখের সামনে তাদের বুকের পিত্তদের আড়ালে বেবে ফেলেছে, যে শ্রীমতের দাঁড়িয়ে দেখতে হয়েছে স্বাধীনকে
টুকুরো টুকুরো করে কেটে ফেলা হয়েছে, যেসব নারীরা নারীদের চরম অপরাধের গুণি কোন অজ্ঞাতবাসনে অঙ্ক-
কারে আজও বন্দ করে চলছে, যাদের উজ্জ্বল কোনও বাদস্ব। আজ অস্বপ্ন করা হয় নাই, তাদেরই প্রতিনিধি
হয়ে আর কিছু যদি নাও পারি অস্তিত্ব: এই আইন সভার সভ্য দিয়ে আমার সাক্ষী রেখে দিয়ে যাব এই স্বাধীন
বঙালীর বিরুদ্ধে, দুর্ভাগ্যের পরগণতন্ত্রের রক্ষা ধার করেনি, অনাধা নর-নারীর সর্বশাসনের কারণ ধার করেছেন।

এখানে একটা কথা আমি বলে রাখতে চাই। এই অভিযোগ আজ যখন আমি করছি, তখন কোন দলের
বা সম্প্রদায়ের প্রতিনিধি হিসাবে করছি না। আমি যে একজন কংগ্রেস কর্মী সে পরিচয়ও আমার কাছে বড়
হয়ে উঠেছেনা। মানুষের চরম নির্যাতন নিজের চোখে দেখেছি বলেই আজকের স্বাধীনবঙালীকে প্রশ্ন করছি কেন
ওঁরা এতগুলি সবচেয়ে অসহায়, সবচেয়ে নিরপরাধ মানুষকে এমন করে হত্যা করতে দিলেন? কেন এই কলকাতা
সহরে কোর্ট উইলিয়ম, পুলিশ বিলিটারী বেস্ট্রড কলকাতায় বেথানে সাধারণ দু-একটা বিলিটারী লরী পুড়িয়ে লম্বা
কলকাতা পুলিশ বিলিটারীতে জেঁকে ধরে—রক্তের গঙ্গা বইয়ে দেব, সেই কলকাতায় পঁচি পঁচটি দিন ধরে শুণ্ডার
রক্ত চলবে, অর্ধ কোথাও কোনও রক্ত পুস্পের প্রতিরোধ দেখা গেল না। কেন প্রাণের স্বাধীন ৭২ ঘণ্টা ধরে
লাল বাজারে থাকা সত্ত্বেও বহু টেসিকোনে বহু জারগা থেকে, এমন কি বহু নারী-প্রতিনিধি থেকেও যাদের যারে
সাহায্য চাওয়া সত্ত্বেও কোথাও কোনও সাহায্যই পাওয়া যায়নি? পুলিশের পক্ষে ভরনকার অসহায় থাকানো লম্বা
ছিল না, এটা বিখ্যাত কথা। কারণ একথা সকলে জানেন যে, যে ক'দিন—বিশেষ করে প্রথম দু'দিন, বহু জারগার
দেখা দিয়েছে পুলিশের সামনেই লোকান ভেঙে কেলেছে, মানুষকে বেঁচে কোলেছে, লার্ভেন্ট দাঁড়িয়ে হাসছে—কোথাও
বা দুটের মধ্যে নিজেরা যোগ দিয়েছে, এবং এমনও বহু জারগা ছিল যেখানে ৭১০ মাইলের মধ্যে বড় রাজ্য

উপরও একজন লাল পাগড়ী বা একটিও armed car দেখা যায়নি। আমার এই কথার মাধ্যমেই এর সাক্ষ্য দেবেন এখানে পুত্ৰোকেই, ঈশ্বর তখন কলকাতার ছিলেন এবং আমি জানি একজনও এখানে নেই যিনি এর প্রতিবাদ করতে পারেন। এ সম্বন্ধে আজ প্রায় এক সপ্তাহ হয়ে গেল, পুলিশের এই আচরণের কোনও explanationই জনসাধারণকে দেওয়া প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রোতাজন বোধ করেননি। মন্ত্রীগুলিকে সম্বন্ধন করতে গিয়ে কেউ কেউ শ্রাব্য করছেন—সে সময় পুলিশের বিশেষায়িত কর্তৃপক্ষ প্রধান মন্ত্রীর কথা না শোনাতেন সে রকম ব্যাপার হতে পেরেছে। কিন্তু সেখানে আমাদের প্রশ্ন—সে কথা যদি সত্য হয়, তবে প্রধান মন্ত্রী কেন তৎক্ষণাৎ সে কথা প্রকাশ করে নিলেন না? তাঁর আদেশ অমান্য যারা করে, কেন তাদের পদচ্যুত করার বশোবস্ত তিনি করলেন না? আর সেও যদি তিনি না পেরে থাকেন, তাঁর শক্তিতে না কুদিয়ে থাকে—তাহলে কি শুধু ঐ একটি মাত্র কারণই যথেষ্ট ছিল না তাঁর পদচ্যুত করার? বাংলায় “প্রধান মন্ত্রী” নামে যিনি পরিচিত—পুলিশ বিভাগের তার তাঁর হাতে থাকবে, অথচ পূর্ণাঙ্গ criminology-এর সময় পুলিশের উপর কোনও কর্তৃত্ব তাঁর বাটবে না, এমন অত্যন্ত রকম অপমানজনক অবস্থায় প্রতিষ্ঠিত থাকার অপমান তাঁর গায়ে না লাগলেও সারা বাংলার গায়ে লাগে। Provincial Autonomyর limitations আমরা জানি, বহুবার তার শ্রবণও পেয়েছি। কিন্তু বর্তমান প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় যদি আমাদের বিশৃঙ্খল করতে বলেন যে সেই চরম দুর্ঘোষণার সময় পুলিশ কর্তৃপক্ষ তাঁর কথা শোনেনি বলেই তিনি পাঁচ দিন ধরে সেই মৃত্যুর তাওবলীলা ধামাতে কোনও চেষ্টা—বিলুপ্ত চেষ্টাও করতে পারেন নি, তাহলে তাঁকে আমরা বলবো, সবগুণ বাংলার হয়েই বলবো, এই বাংলা দেশকে অন্ততঃ Provincial Autonomyর এই ধীন পরিহাস থেকে তিনি বাঁচান, মন্ত্রীই তিনি ছেড়ে দিন। মরতেই যদি হয়—সোভাস্বজি বিজাতীয় পক্ষের হাতেই আমরা মরব, সামনে আমাদেরই প্রতিদিনের এমন করে শিখণ্ডীর মত দাড়িয়ে থাকতে দেব না। কিন্তু প্রধান মন্ত্রীর কাছে পুলিশের বিরুদ্ধে এ ধরনের—অর্থাৎ তাঁর কোন আদেশ না শোনার মত গুরুতব অভিযোগ আমরা আজ অবধি শুনিনি। কাজেই এর পূর্বে জনসাধারণের একটামাত্র সিদ্ধান্ত করার পথ খোলা থাকে, সে হচ্ছে প্রধান মন্ত্রী ইচ্ছা করলে যে দিন সমস্ত পুলিশকে কলকাতার বুক থেকে অপসারিত করে কলকাতা সহরকে ওগোড়ের হাতে তুলে দিয়েছিলেন এবং এর পূর্বেও প্রধান মন্ত্রীর পক্ষে তাঁকে প্রতিষ্ঠিত রাখা মানে আবার সেই অবিস্মরণীয় পঁচাটী দিয়ে পুনরাবৃত্তির পথ খোলা রাখা। অবশ্য এক হিসাবে প্রধান মন্ত্রীর বা মন্ত্রীগুলীর কাছে বলবার বা দাবী করবার আজ আমাদের কিছুই নেই। পরম সঙ্কটের মুখে থাকা কলকাতার একান্ত বিপন্ন, একান্ত পরণাপত্ত নরনারীর আত্মনাগে কান দেননি, তাঁরা আজও আমাদের এই অভিযোগকে অন্যায়সেই হেসে উড়িয়ে দিতে পারবেন। আমার শুধু এই সভার অপর পক্ষের সভ্যদের একবার আজকের এই সুযোগে জিজ্ঞাসা করতে ইচ্ছা হয়—এত বড় অন্যায়ের পরও এই মন্ত্রীগুলিকে কয়েম বামতে কিসের জন্য তাঁরা ইচ্ছুক? কংগ্রেসের সঙ্গে, হিন্দুর সঙ্গে রাজনৈতিক কলহ—সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহ—যত তীব্রই তাঁদের হোক, বাংলার মন্ত্রীগুলীর যে আচরণ তাঁরা নিজের চোখে দেখেছেন, সে আচরণের মূল্য শুধু হিন্দুই দেয়নি দিয়েছে অসংখ্য দরিদ্র অসহায় মুসলমান। তাই মন্ত্রীগুলীর এই রাজনীতিনী কৰ্ত্তব্যচ্যুতির পাপকে এভাবে বিনা প্রতিবাদে সম্বন্ধন করে যাবার তাঁদের কোন মুক্তি থাকতে পারে? ইতিহাসদূর্ভাগ্য যে ভারতবর্ষ হত্যাকাণ্ড হয়ে গেল কলকাতায়—কাবণ তাই যা-ই হোক, রাজনৈতিক কলহ যত তীব্র তাতেই তার পিছনে থাকুক না কেন, সে প্রশ্ন আজ নয়। আমাদের শুধু প্রশ্ন কলকাতার সবচেয়ে গরীব, সবচেয়ে নিরপরাধ মানুষগুলোকে যে এমনকবে কাতাবে কাতাবে একান্ত অসহায়ভাবে একান্ত নিষ্ঠুরভাবে বেঁধে কেনা হ’ল অথচ তাদের বাঁচাবার জন্য গভর্ণমেন্ট একটি আঁচলও যে তুলল না—নিশ্চাপ শিশুর রক্তে কলকাতা লাল হয়ে গেল—উপকৃত নারীর রক্ত আত্মমানে লাল। কলকাতার আকাশ বাতাসকে বিলীণ করে তুললো, অথচ তাদের বন্ধার জন্য চারদিন ধরে কোনও বশোবস্ত গভর্ণমেন্ট করতে পারল না, সেই গভর্ণমেন্টকেই জনগণের প্রতিিনিধি হয়ে তাঁরা যে এভাবে বিনা প্রতিবাদে সম্বন্ধন করে যাবেন—বিশ্বের কাছে কি এর জবাবদিহি? দেশের ইতিহাসের পাতায় কি নির্লজ্জ দুঃপন্থয় কলহের কান্না তাঁরা দেশে দিতেছেন।

আমি আর কথা বাড়াতে চাই না। শুধু বসবার আগে বাংলার সবগুণ নারীর হয়ে বাংলার এই অন্ধ কাপুরুষ মন্ত্রীগুলীর বিরুদ্ধে আমার পূর্ণ অনায়াস জ্ঞাপন করে বাংলার এই প্রতিিনিধি সভার কাছে অসংখ্য নির্ধাতিত নরনারীর উপর সংঘটিত নানবীর অভ্যাত্যাবের বিচার দাবী করছি।

Mr. M. A. H. ISPAHANI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I associate myself with the words of sincere sympathy expressed by some of the speakers for those who have suffered in life and property as a result of the disturbances between the 16th and 20th of August. I welcome the motion of no-confidence because it has given us an opportunity to explode the myths so sedulously broadcast and spread by persons who appear to be anxious to make capital out of the misery of our people.

A great deal has been said by Hindu leaders of all political parties and prominence has been given in the Congress press to the absurd contention that the declaration of the Direct Action Day was solely responsible for the happenings in Calcutta on the 16th of August. No honest man, to whichever political school of thought he may belong, can deny that the widest publicity was given to the fact that the Direct Action Day was declared for the purpose of convening peaceful meetings of Muslims throughout the length and breadth of India to explain to them the two resolutions passed at Bombay by the Council of the All-India Muslim League. It is nothing but a travesty of truth to say that this day was declared in order to create friction between the two major nations that inhabit our sub-continent. It cannot be denied that the President of the All-India Muslim League and every prominent leader of the organisation throughout India made it clear through appeals and statements that Muslims should observe the day as the day of peaceful *hartal*. It is absurd to suggest that if the Muslims meant direct action in the literal sense they would have selected a city like Calcutta where they are in a minority of three to one in numbers and from the point of view of influence and control over the city, they do not count at all. If Muslims had meant direct action they would have selected better ground to launch it. It has been proved beyond doubt that Muslims throughout Bengal and in India remained peaceful on that day.

Sir, soon after the Muslim League declared the 16th of August as a day of *hartal* for Muslims throughout India it became increasingly clear that hostile organisations and a section of the Calcutta press would not allow the day to pass off without resistance in every possible manner to frustrate the objects of the *hartal*. The experience of the past within recent months in Calcutta was that every form of coercion and force had been employed unhesitatingly almost on every occasion to enforce *hartal*, demonstrations and strike on peaceful citizens and specially upon the unwilling Muslims. Transport services were paralysed, essential services suffered, employees of all ranks and services were prevented from attending their work. Even public servants and Ministers were not allowed to attend their offices. The Muslims did not do anything to jeopardise the course of these observances. The meanest intelligence will not credit Mr. Suhrawardy with the foolhardiness of sending away the Muslims in their thousands from their homes to attend the public meeting in the Maidan leaving their women and children to the mercy of *bladrologs* and their dupes, to be butchered mercilessly in their absence. Had it been suspected that such trouble was in the offing different arrangements would have been made. Frankly, the Muslims were taken unawares and completely off their guard, with the result that they had to pay heavily both in life and property.

I would have moved a vote of censure against Mr. Suhrawardy and even demanded that he should be tried publicly and executed had I been convinced that Mr. Suhrawardy was aware of what was going to befall Muslims on the 16th of August and in spite of it had not taken necessary precautions to defend them. I congratulate him on the hard and tireless work he did in those terrible days working as many as 18 to 20 hours a day. This I speak from my personal knowledge. It was he who brought the conflagration under control in 4 days. Bombay with all its preparations has not succeeded in doing so for almost three weeks. Ahmedabad is another case in point.

The power of the press, particularly the Hindu press, cannot be ignored and the part it has played in fanning communal bitterness cannot be exaggerated. More than anything else it is the press that I hold substantially responsible for the unfortunate and regrettable happening in Calcutta for four days. Day in and day out truth was converted into falsehoods and falsehoods into truth. The process has not ceased unfortunately. In the matter of *hartal* it adopted a most hostile attitude. The Hindus were provoked not to observe the *hartal* and to suspend their normal activities on the day. It was instilled into the minds of the Hindus that "the observance

of the *hartal* would be repudiation of their cherished political faith", that "Pakistan as contemplated by the League, would be a hell not only for the Hindus but also for the Muslims who did not see eye to eye with Mr. Jinnah and the League" and that "the *hartal* was directed against the Congress and not against the British Government and that it was anti-national and communal".

If it was the intention of the Chief Minister or the Ministry or the Muslim League in the province to declare war the Muslims would not have been caught unprepared and the Chief Minister would not either declare the public holiday or release the pre-Reform political prisoners on the 15th of August. He sought to keep the atmosphere calm and peaceful. But the opponents of the League who had made the preparations clandestinely had decided otherwise and were bent on striking well and hard to instil fright into the hearts of the Muslims throughout the country. I am wondering if hardened by the experience of the I.N.A. and other troubles in which the Muslims held aloof, advantage was taken of the League *hartal* day to wreak vengeance on them, and to teach them a lesson for all times to come.

I may inform the House through you, Sir, that I am one of those who was constantly on the move from the morning of the 16th until sanity returned both to the Muslims and to the Hindus. As early as 7-15 on the 16th morning reports came in from various parts of Calcutta that peaceful Muslims were being attacked. I was a witness to the brickbat throwing that took place in Corporation Street at 10 a.m. on Muslim passers-by from the three-storied buildings on either side of the street—buildings owned by Hindus. My tour of Calcutta proved to me beyond doubt that this brickbat throwing from house tops that I witnessed in Corporation Street was not an isolated affair, but this method of attack was employed at every point of vantage with such force that some processionists could not get through and had to return or were broken up. If, as alleged, Muslim processionists carried weapons with them much more serious allegations against them would have resulted whereas in fact there is no report of retaliation from any quarter barring one or two. The majority of the wounded and dead that were brought to the hospitals of Calcutta before noon of the 16th of August were Muslims. This is not a frivolous statement. It can be checked up from hospital records despite efforts made in some hospitals to register patent Muslim casualties as Hindu ones. It is also an unquestionable fact that most of the shops and houses that were looted and dwelling places that were burnt till the evening of the 16th August belonged to Muslims. While this attack was being carried out with fury Muslim Leaguers were out calling upon their brothers to remain peaceful, not to retaliate even when provoked but to go to the meeting in the Maidan. It was only when the bounds of toleration were broken, when reports of large scale murder and massacre spread to the *mahallas* and wards of Calcutta that the Muslims began to defend themselves.

Things would not have come to the dreadful pass they did had the peace mission that went out early in the day on the 16th been able to exercise influence on the people. While the Muslims listened to Mr. Suhrawardy and carried out his instructions, the Congress leader Mr. D. N. Mukherjee was hooted down by his followers and even threatened with assault. I wish he would relate his experience for the benefit of the House. The Hindus cannot with any justification say that they were not protected or were denied the assistance they sought. Muslims on the other hand were most justified in pleading on these lines. I was in Lalbazar on the 17th morning and I saw how few Hindus went away without getting what they wanted. Mr. Mohan Lal Shah will corroborate the statement.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it will come as a shock to the House and to the public at large that Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose declined to join the Chief Minister in taking peace processions round the city till the 20th August. I will not say that they did so out of fear. It must however

be noted that had these processions gone round, the carnage on the 17th and 18th would in all probability have been averted. It was a repetition of the policy adopted by the Congress after the earlier disturbances when Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy and his colleagues in the house of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose declined to affix their signature to an appeal to the citizens if there was any signature of a Muslim on the same document. (MR. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: That is not true.) Much as I would like to absolve the Commissioner of Police from the blame for not having taken, on his own initiative, as he is bound to by virtue of his office, necessary precautionary measures for the protection of life and property on the 16th of August, I cannot honestly do so. The Commissioner of Police should have had before him reports of meetings held, particularly on the 13th, 14th and 15th of August, in various parks and public places, meetings that incited Hindus to action, meetings that told them to prepare themselves and show how Pakistan could be buried once and for all. If he received such reports and did not act, he has failed in his duty. If reports were not placed before him, then an immediate inquiry is indicated into the workings of the I.B. Department—a department that is entrusted with the duty of keeping the Commissioner fully informed of the activities of political, legal and illegal, organisations in the city. If the Commissioner did not know, then, it is obvious that the Home Minister was kept equally in the dark of the preparations and plans of the miscreants, high and low. In the light of this I would like an explanation from the Hon'ble Chief Minister when he replies as to why and how information of the mass murder, loot and arson that Muslims were subjected to in Sovabazar, Baghbazar, Nimtolla, Hatkhola, Beadon Street and a portion of the Shambazar did not reach Lalbazar Control. Can the Hon'ble Chief Minister deny that he was not aware of the happenings in North Calcutta until he undertook a tour of the city with the Governor? What explanation can he offer for the complete blacking out of these tragic happenings where Mussalmans—men, women and even children—who were in a minority of 5 per cent. to 10 per cent., and were completely surrounded by a militant majority, were mercilessly butchered? When news came through, there was nothing to be done because those who were caught were silenced for ever.

I will also welcome an explanation from the Hon'ble Chief Minister why, the Police on the 16th and 17th August allowed murder and loot to take place within their sight. How could a well-known Watch Company within a few yards of the Lalbazar police station, have been looted in broad daylight on the 17th morning when hundreds of policemen were driving in and out of Lalbazar at the time?

Sir, the enemies of Muslims have learnt the art of propaganda to perfection. When a deep laid plan fails to fructify an attitude of injured innocence is expected to pay well. Mr. Dhiren Datta talked of the Ripon College incident. Muslim students hoisted the League flag in accordance with the agreement between the Hindu and Muslim occupants of the Hostel. The Hindu young men broke their pledge and pulled down the League flag. An honourable member of this House was present on the occasion. It has also been said that Mr. Suhrawardy presided over the Maidan meeting. Could falsehood be uttered in a more brazen faced manner?

Members have pleaded from the Opposition for a Congress-League Coalition in Bengal. No one would welcome such an arrangement more than I but they will agree that similar arrangements will have to be made simultaneously in the other provinces and at the Centre as well.

Sir, the sooner intrigue and conspiracy cease the better for us all. Their virus has spread over the whole body civic of Calcutta. Members of the medical profession has not remained uncontaminated. Officers of Law and Order have also shown discrimination and withheld assistance and protection. The Press and the politicians appear to be determined to down the

Muslims. Unless there is change of heart on the part of our opponents things are not likely to improve. A motion of no-confidence is not the right remedy.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHERJI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on this motion of necessity, not by choice. The Chief Minister has mentioned my name and in a light which is but a half-light. I feel myself honour-bound therefore to give you briefly a complete picture of that unfortunate day so far as I saw it.

At 9 in the morning, 16th August, I came to learn that hooligans were already abroad, looting shops in Manicktola and Garpar, and it all began in forcing shops to close down for *hartal*. My leader, Mr. K. S. Roy, when communicated by me, advised me to contact the Chief Minister. I phoned the Chief Minister and was asked to come without delay. I reached his place at about quarter to 10.

We discussed the situation and decided to go out to pacify the mob. We went out in the Chief Minister's car, driven by himself, and started through Corporation Street.

We found there a very large number of Muslim League volunteers, wearing League badges, some in full uniform, some only with green caps with badges on, everyone armed with a *lathi* of a standard shape and size. As soon as we reached them, those volunteers surrounded the car. The Chief Minister told them not to crowd the streets, to get on to the pavement and set about their work. “ আপনা আপনা কামমে চলা যাও। ” We moved on and met a Hindu crowd near Free School Street headed by Mr. J. L. Shaw, the Corporation Councillor, who reported to the Chief Minister that Muslim League volunteers had been forcibly closing the Hindu shops and threatening them. He wanted police protection. The Chief Minister told him that the police would be coming shortly.

We proceeded through Corporation Street, crossing Wellesley. The goldsmiths' shops were closed, and there was no sign of any loot at the time. At the Moula-Ali corner, we met a large Muslim crowd with League volunteers, all armed with *lathis* and in uniform. We proceeded further, and both at Dixon Lane and Serpentine Lane corners advised groups of Hindus collected inside to disperse. They told us that League volunteers armed with *lathis* were threatening them and preventing free movement. I actually found on the Circular Road, one gentleman's car held up by League volunteers who on my persuasion allowed it to pass. The Chief Minister was also asking the crowd to be peaceful.

We moved on to Sealdah corner and found there a large crowd collected on the Bowbazar Street and another on Circular Road opposite Railway Station. The Chief Minister first drove the car towards the crowd on to Circular Road and asked them to disperse. There were some fruit shops owned both by Hindus and Muslims looted by that time, and the people there were in a fighting mood, and this crowd was a Muslim crowd. After our approach there was just a lull, but the crowd did not disappear as the Chief Minister stated in the Upper House.

We turned towards the Bowbazar Street but could not proceed far, as the other crowd blocked the way. I got down and tried to persuade them to disperse. There was an Assistant Commissioner of Police with a lorry-load of policemen, some of them armed with rifles, but they merely looked on. As the crowd was in no mood to listen to him the Chief Minister decided to leave, and while the car was turning back, brickbats were thrown at it. The picture given by the Chief Minister in the Upper House about the violent mood of the crowd, has been too much overcoloured and had he stayed on, I am sure his courage and sincerity would have been eventually appreciated even by a Hindu mob. I stayed on, tried to pacify the crowd, and was successful.

While there, I learnt that some *bustee* at the corner of Bowbazar Street and Amherst Street had been set on fire. I rushed there, and arranged to bring out the Fire Brigade by using a phone from Bandhab Bastralaya. The police were patrolling the streets but not helping to disperse the crowd or stop the fire. At the corner I was persuading a large crowd to disperse; while doing so a police lorry came, and a European officer pointed a gun at me and fired a shot. Immediately the whole crowd melted away. It was tear gas, and I asked the officer why he fired without warning. He said he wanted to disperse the crowd and I pointed out to him that as the crowd was already on the point of dispersing at my persuasion, the tear gas would only irritate them and might have resulted in a shower of brickbats, and retaliatory shots fired by sergeants. I complained that patrol police merely looked on making no attempt to stop the fire. The officer, Mr. Barnes, a Deputy Commissioner of Police, then left. The altercation with him gave me an advantage—the police must have thought me a person of importance. I managed to restore peace in the locality and at 1 o'clock I was told there that rioting has broken out at Sealdah corner. I hastened to the spot and found fighting going on between Hindus and Muslims inside Baitthakkhana Bazar. I was successful in putting a stop to it. Just as I came out on the Bowbazar Street, I found a wine shop in the Circular Road-Bowbazar corner ablaze, and both Muslims and policemen in uniform busy taking away the bottles. Some of the bottles I found stored in the Police lorry. I caught hold of a policeman carrying away two bottles from the shop, and dragged him before the Police Sergeant, but no action was taken and the man ran away.

I saw that a very big Muslim procession had come to the Sealdah corner from the Upper Circular Road side. They were carrying sword, *lathis*, etc., and wanted aggressively to pass through Bowbazar Street. I moved towards them and suggested, they might go to the Maidan, by continuing through the Circular Road and Dharamtalla Street instead of forcing their way through Bowbazar. All on a sudden, some of them began to break open the shops on the Circular Road and loot them. Some rushed and surrounded me and began to beat me. One young Muslim, apparently a student, gave me a blow, declaring he would break my teeth. Another brandished his long knife shouting that he was thirsty for my blood. Further mischief was prevented by some who must have appreciated my motives. Just then, one of the Sergeants who had been with Mr. Barnes rushed with two armed policemen into the crowd and brought me back to comparative safety. Anyway, the processionists changed their mind and passed on through Circular Road, as I had suggested, instead of trying to force their way through Bowbazar. Meanwhile, another armed and a more violent crowd came up from Beliaghata side and wanted to force their way through Bowbazar. Policemen, both ordinary and armed, about 50 in number were there in two lorries under the direction of Sergeants. I suggested to the Sergeants that the two lorries might be placed blocking the entrance to Bowbazar Street, and the police should fire to prevent the clash between the two crowds. The Sergeants paid no heed. The Beliaghata crowd looted the aerated-water shop at the corner and began to hurl the bottles and rushed in to the Bowbazar Street, and proceeded two to three hundred yards. I could not prevent them forcing in, nor could I persuade them to get back. Instead, I got *lathi* blows on my arms. This crowd was prevented from passing through Bowbazar Street by a shower of brickbats.

I learnt that processionists passing through Circular Road were rushing inside the lanes leading to west, and assaulting the local residents. I went round and saw at Dixon Lane one gentleman lying dead on the street with his throat gashed, blood still spouting up. He was a Hindu, who was coming through Circular Road, and had been chased by the *goondas*. This was about a hundred yards from Circular Road.

While standing there I saw the processionists at the junction brandishing swords, sticks, etc., and challenging the crowd inside the lanes to come out. I found them rushing into the lanes also in a fighting mood. From there I moved on towards Dharamtalla Street, walking through the lanes, and reached Indian Mirror Street at about 3-30 p.m. There I learnt that already Muslim crowds in procession had been making attempts at Wellesley-end and Corporation Street-end to get inside the Indian Mirror Street. I saw the processionists passing through the Corporation Street, shouting slogans, brandishing swords and sticks. The looting of the jewellery and goldsmiths' shops had started. I rang up Mr. K. S. Roy, informed him of the situation, suggesting that the Governor should be apprised, section 144 promulgated, and the police instructed to fire on unruly crowds, irrespective of community.

Mr. Roy asked me to communicate with the Chief Minister, the Police Commissioner, and the Private Secretary to the Governor, whom he had already rung up. The first two I could not get; when I informed the Private Secretary and told him my forebodings that the crowd now going to the Maidan would be looting on their way back, he promised to communicate all this to the Governor and said that action would be taken about military help, promulgation of section 144, etc. I rang up also Mr. Gladding, Leader of the European Party, and requested him to use his influence to bring out immediately the Military. He told me that he would also inform the Governor. This was about 4-30 p.m.

The processionists began to return with great "hulla". They began to sack every jewellers' shop on Corporation Street. Three or four times they rushed into Indian Mirror Street, checked only by showers of brickbats. They set fire to a shop on the Indian Mirror Street-Corporation Street junction (Puranchand Avenue). The Fire Brigade was called but could not reach the place, prevented by the hooligans. The disturbance continued up to 2 a.m. increasing in volume. They set fire to a three-storeyed house at the corner of Corporation Street and Taltala Lane, just opposite Y.M.C.A.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Mukherji, your time is up.

MR. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHERJI: Sir, may I have a few minutes more?

MR. SPEAKER: All right, you may have two minutes more.

MR. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHERJI: The inmates shouted for help. Taltala police-station, about 200 yards off, was informed over the phone, but no action was taken. The Fire Brigade was called up twice but chased away. Finding the people absolutely helpless we organised a rescue party and tried to reach the spot. By this time another Fire Brigade came up at our call and emboldened by our support, it could function this time, and put out the fire. The situation eased a little, so far as attacks went, but the whole locality remained insecure. Time does not permit, and I must stop.

I have given you my own experiences on the 16th only. I will not linger over them nor discuss if the Deputy Commissioners of Police in Calcutta were Hindus or Muslims. I will not attempt to argue with our Chief Minister to convince him that a Minister's, let alone the Chief Minister's, duty is to see also that they are obeyed, and to make for conditions which favour their being obeyed. As the Chief Minister's supporters have pointed out that he ordered firing on the 16th afternoon, I only want to ask him how many rounds of ammunition were issued on Friday to the armed police, and how many of them used on that date by the armed police, who, I understand, are about 1,000 in number.

The motion before us could have been left in cold neglect if it only related to the past, it might have been considered nothing but a dream. But it is not that. Every past has a future to carry on. The air is still thick with rumours. The atmosphere is still full of distrust. People ask us "What about East Bengal?" The want of confidence in the present Ministry has already been declared by the closed shops in Mullick Bazar, Park Circus, and Wellesley Street, the furtive looks and hurried steps of the few men that walk. The want of confidence has already been recorded silently by the clerk of the times. It now remains for this Legislature to reflect that judgment and to move want of confidence in a Ministry which has either wilfully shirked its job or failed to do it through utter inefficiency subjecting thousands of Hindus and Muslims to death or deathlike misery, and dangerously wrecking the ship of State committed to their care.

I appeal to all parties to cast their verdict on the issue whether law and order failed, and whether persons responsible for their maintenance did their best. Let not a single member sit neutral.

With these words, Sir, I press this motion before the House for adoption.

Mr. D. GLADDINC: Mr. Speaker, Sir, myself and the members of my party have listened to this debate with deep sympathy for the Hindu and Muslim communities and, if I may be permitted to say so, with admiration for the general restraint with which both have spoken, having suffered, as they did, so terribly, and being furthermore aligned in this House in opposite parties. Belonging as I do to a community which was mercifully spared, I feel that it is almost a presumption for me to intrude at all, but I speak in the hope that I may be able to say something helpful.

Public opinion, Sir, as soon as it could make itself heard after the war between the two communities which broke out on August the 16th, immediately demanded a public enquiry into the whole matter by a disinterested judicial body. Congress leaders joined in this demand and the Chief Minister, immediately associating himself with it, promised that such an enquiry would be instituted. A highranking judicial commission has since been appointed and is about to begin its work. This was eminently the correct course. The charges and counter-charges that will have to be investigated are so very grave, and so wrapped up with politics, that public opinion would be content with nothing less than a judicial enquiry outside the range of politics. Apart from this a judicial enquiry is less likely to revive ill-feeling than an enquiry in any other forum. The fact that this enquiry is coming has, I think, undoubtedly eased the tension that might otherwise have characterised this debate. My party, Sir, goes a step further and thinks that, in view of this impending enquiry, it is premature, if not actually useless, to subject the matter to the arbitrament of a vote in this House; which vote, after all, would, as we all know, prove nothing except the mathematical alignment of the two main parties which is already public knowledge. Nobody here knows all the facts or is in a position to say where the truth lies. On one of the issues, which I may call the impersonal issue whether the Administration did all it should have done to prevent the catastrophe; and all that it should have done to check its growth, my party see reason, *prima facie*, to doubt whether it did. But because this Commission has been set up, we hold that the proper course, both logically and in the interest of peace, is for everybody to suspend judgment on this and all other issues until its findings are available; and this, Sir, is the course which we propose to adopt.

But what an anxious public does look for in this debate—an anxious public not merely in Calcutta but throughout the towns and villages in Bengal—is assurance for the future; assurance of peace between the two communities; of action to produce it, and of action to maintain it. Peace Committees have already been doing their admirable work. To supplement

this, in the sphere of law and order, the Armed Police in Calcutta and of the Province should immediately be brought far above the inadequate strength at which they stood a month ago. In addition to this, learning the lessons of a month ago, Government should give assurances that in future military help will be called upon more timely than, if I may say so, it appears to have been called upon a month ago. It should be remembered that the Military have to be called in before they can function; no blame attaches to them if they are not called upon early enough. It was the men of Indian and British Regiments after they had been called in who saved the situation. The task that fell to them was outside the normal duty of soldiers and repugnant to their feelings. We acknowledge on behalf of the city the debt which we owe to them. The Chief Minister must indeed have thanked God for their presence, when he stood in his terrible predicament.

In the field of politics what public opinion immediately demanded was that the model of the Peace Committees should be copied in Government itself by the formation of a Cabinet embracing the Hindu and Muslim parties. Here again we agree with public opinion, and think that it should have been acted upon immediately. We favoured a Coalition when this Ministry was being formed, because we thought that a Coalition would be able, better than any other Government, to advance the welfare of the province, to frame and carry out a plan of Post-War Reconstruction and to compel the Centre to give the Province the fair financial deal that it has not yet seen. To those reasons is now added the certainty that a Coalition Government, better than anything else, would allay the present fears of the people and constitute an insurance against a recurrence of trouble. In terms of Bengal alone, under the shock of the recent calamity there is, I feel sure, sufficient willingness to bring this about; but the Chief Minister tells us that politics outside this province constitute an obstacle. If this is so, we greatly deplore it and sincerely hope that the endeavours to remove that obstacle which are now in progress will be crowned with success. It seems to us that a prosperous and peaceful administration of this province (I refer not merely to the Government but also to the services) will never emerge so long as the two leading communities remain in opposite camps. We pray for a consummation which will bring them together, and we trust that the Chief Minister, when he comes to take part in this debate, will give us more grounds for hope than he appears to have done in the Upper House. None better than he knows that I speak the truth. The responsibility that lies upon him in this connection is both heavy and glorious.

I cannot sit down, Sir, without referring to two calumnies against my own countrymen that have fallen from the lips of a few previous speakers—a few only, I am glad to say. One of them was to the effect that the Cabinet Mission came out with the deliberate intention of creating a quarrel between Hindus and Muslims, so that, instead of India gaining her freedom, England might maintain her domination over this country. Whatever grievance the League may have about the way in which the negotiations went, they should in fairness abstain from such gross perversion of the truth. I thought that, if one thing had been made clear beyond doubt, it was the *bona fides* of His Majesty's Government and its good will indiscriminately toward both communities. The other allegation was that the members of my community in Calcutta chuckled over the horrors of last month because they did not want Indians to get self-government and because they thought that here was proof that they would never get it. Speaking for myself, and for all other members of my party, and for every European outside the Party whose confidence I enjoy, I deny this charge on my word of honour. The truth is precisely the opposite.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, since yesterday we have been discussing the motions of no-confidence under circumstances which perhaps have no parallel in the deliberations of any legislature

in any part of the civilised world. What happened in Calcutta is without a parallel in modern history. St. Bartholomew's Day of which history records some grim events of murder and butchery pales into insignificance compared to the brutalities that were committed in the streets, lanes and bye-lanes of this first city of British India. We have been discussing, Sir, as to the genesis of these disturbances. Time will not permit me to go through the detailed history and course of events during the last few years. But let me say this that what has happened is not the result of a sudden explosion, but it is the culmination of an administration, inefficient, corrupt and communal, which has disfigured the life of this great province. But so far as the immediate cause is concerned, rightly reference has been made by members belonging to the Muslim League and also to the Opposition that we have to look to the resolution that was passed at Bombay at the all-India session of the Council of the Muslim League. Now what happened there? It is said, on behalf of the Muslim League that the Cabinet Mission proved faithless to Muslim interests and thereby created a situation which had had no parallel in the history of Anglo-Muslim relationship in this country. What did actually the Cabinet Mission do? The Muslim League, the spoilt and pampered child of the British imperialists for the last thirty years, was disowned for the first time by the British Labour Government (loud noise from the Government benches)...I know it that members, when they hear the bitter truth, can hardly repress their feelings. Sir, the fact remains that the old policy of the British Government of no advancement without a Congress-Muslim League agreement was for the first time given up in 1946...(loud cries from the Government benches) I have only stated the fact and I do not make any comment on it and still my friends become impatient immediately. Now, the fact remains that the Muslim League was by-passed and the Interim Government has been formed at the Centre. Supposing Mr. Jinnah had been asked to form the Interim Government without the Congress, would my friends belonging to the Muslim League have then blamed the Government for having betrayed the interests of the Hindu community?

Sir, what happened after the Bombay resolution? I have before me a summary of the speeches delivered by distinguished spokesmen on behalf of the Muslim League in every part of India and although it was said that the Direct Action Day itself was not the day for commencing direct action, it was at the same time pointed out that the war had begun, the days of peace and compromise were over and now the *jehad*. (A MEMBER FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: Against whom?) War against everyone who did not accept Pakistan. That has been made abundantly clear.

I would ask my friends not to misunderstand me. I am trying to put in brief their point of view as I would ask them also to appreciate our point of view. We are like poles asunder. You say you will plunge the country into civil war if you do not get Pakistan and we say you shall not get Pakistan by any means whatsoever. These two points of view are irreconcilable and what I am now telling the House is this that the members speaking on behalf of the Muslim League did not mince matters. Muslim leaders want civil war. Only a pattern of civil war, according to Mr. Jinnah, was witnessed in this very city of Calcutta, but whether civil war will ultimately help Muslims to get Pakistan or not is a matter that remains yet to be seen. It is said that British Imperialists are against the Muslim League. Why talk rot in this way? Who gave you separate electorate and communal award. Who is helping the Sind Ministry to remain in power? Is not the Governor a British Governor? Are not the three European members of the Sind Assembly British members of that House? Are they not trying their level best somehow to keep the Muslim League in power and not allow the Congress to go to office although among the Indian members they are in a majority.

Now, Sir, I shall leave this aside. I shall not refer to the detailed speeches which have been delivered by the Muslim League leaders barring

one or two illustrative remarks. When Mr. Jinnah was confronted at a press conference in Bombay on the 31st July and was asked whether direct action involved violence or non-violence, his cryptic reply was "I am not going to discuss ethics". (The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Good.) But Khwaja Nazimuddin was not so good. He came out very bluntly in Bengal and he said that Muslims did not believe in non-violence at all, Muslims knew what direct action meant and there were one hundred and one ways in which direct action could be achieved in this province. Now, Sir, speeches like this were made by responsible League leaders. One said in the Punjab that the zero hour had struck and that the war had begun. All this was followed by a series of articles and statements which appeared in the columns of newspapers—the *Morning News*, the *Star of India* and the *Azad*. If you read those documents, particularly I would ask my friend Mr. Ispahani, if he reads those documents, I do not know whether he has learnt Bengali yet, if not, for his benefit a translation can be made of the Bengali articles in the *Azad* he will be able to find out that there was nothing but open and direct incitement to violence. Hatred of Hindus and *jehad* on the Hindus were declared in fire-eating language. That was the background. I am not going to quote the papers, for I have not the time. You have read them and the general Muslim public have acted according to the instructions.

Now, so far as the later events are concerned, what happened on the 16th? What were the preparations made? Mr. Ispahani says that they were taken unawares. In the *Morning News* on the 16th there appeared an announcement on behalf of the Pakistan Ambulance Corps and there full instructions were given as to how the Ambulance Corps was to act—mind you, Sir, this was done before the troubles started. This Pakistan Ambulance Corps was to be utilised in different parts of the city, they were to go out in batches, cars and officers would be available and from the 17th morning announcement was to be made every hour as regards the patients which were to be found in the different hospitals of Calcutta. This was announced before any trouble started in Calcutta and Mr. Ispahani says there was no preparation. Of course, it was by the sheerest bad luck that you allowed the notice of this one among many kinds of preparation to be published in the newspapers.

Now, Sir, what happened on the 16th? I shall not refer to the detailed speeches of other members, but I shall certainly hold responsible the Chief Minister of this province who so lost his mental balance as to have made that statement from Bombay saying that he was going to declare Bengal to be an independent State. A Minister who cannot control his British underling—the Commissioner of Police—is going to make Bengal an independent State! A Minister who comes forward and says "I am helpless, I could not save the people of the city because the Commissioner of Police would not listen to me" will declare Bengal an independent State! Now, that was Mr. Suhrawardy. He said he was going to carry on a no-rent campaign in this province. He was going to disobey law and order. His speech before the Legislative Council goes to show that he knew fully well that troubles were ahead. If you analyse his speech it will appear that he knew that troubles were brewing and he said he wanted to be as careful as possible.

I am not raising the question in this debate as to how many Hindus were butchered and how many Muslims were butchered. Bhawanipore, Taltolla or Watgunge is not the main question in issue. The question in issue today is, did Government succeed in protecting life and property, no matter to which community that life and property belonged? Why did Government allow so many Muslim lives to be butchered if you look upon Mr. Suhrawardy as the great Muslim champion? Why did he allow the entire administration of law and order to collapse in the city? I shall say, Sir, it was a diabolical plan. I say, Sir, there was a well-organised plan that there was going to be a blitz attack on the city and Hindus were going to be taken by surprise, properties were going to be looted and lives were going to be lost. Then Mr. Suhrawardy found that he was caught in his own trap,

when he and others were hit back in their own coin, he could not regain his lost ground and failed to do what his Muslim brethren asked him to do in agony and distress.

On the 16th, our case is that provocation came from the other side, their case is that provocation came from the Hindu side. That also I am not going to discuss today. Let us leave that for the time being, but let us proceed to the next stage. Mr. Suhrawardy said, by 12 noon he realised the situation was very bad. Was he not still the Chief Minister of Bengal? What did he do at that time? Why was not the military called out at that time? I have got here a circular issued by the military for the information of its officers and employees in which clear information is given that the military was ready to come out on Friday noon but it was not asked to do so. The civil police failed to protect the life and property as it was expected to do and whenever the military was asked to come out, it came out and it did whatever it could do. But, alas, thousands had been killed meanwhile and crores of rupees looted!

On Friday Mr. Suhrawardy knew that trouble had broken out—no matter whether the Hindus were the aggressors or the Muslims were the aggressors. Why did he not immediately proclaim section 144? Why did he allow the whole city to be placed at the mercy of goondas, dacoits and murderers? Why did he allow the meeting at all to be held at the maidan in the afternoon over which he presided? He stands charged with the deliberate offence of having played havoc with the life and property of the citizens of this great city, no matter whether they were Hindus or they were Muslims. On Friday night he gives a message to the Associated Press that the condition in the city had improved. Does he remember it? It seems he has forgotten it. He is looking like an innocent child. I have got here the Associated Press news from the next day's newspapers. I would ask my friends to forget for the time being that they belong to the Muslim League. On Friday night the Chief Minister announced—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Me?

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Yes.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: No, no.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: If Mr. Suhrawardy says "no", here, Sir, is the statement of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal—I suppose that is the gentleman sitting over there (Laughter) interviewed by the Associated Press of India to the effect that *the situation was improving*. (Uproar.) (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: What paper?) Every newspaper. (Renewed uproar.) I would ask my friends that they must observe the rules of the game and fairplay even in a discussion like this. Why don't you ask the Chief Minister to explain this?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: On a point of order, Sir, these papers must be submitted to you for perusal by members.

know that this is no point of order.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Mr. Fazlur Rahman should

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Yes, it is a point of order. A member cannot read from a document in this House and if he uses it he must submit it to you for perusal by the members.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Mr. Speaker, you can certainly look into it. I am not afraid of the truth. Now, Sir, section 144 is supposed to have been promulgated on Friday but never enforced—

Mr. SPEAKER: You have to produce the paper, Dr. Mookerjee.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Yes, Sir. (Sent the paper to Mr. Speaker.) I can produce it to anyone who wants to see it.

Then on Saturday the curfew order was inaugurated, but neither section 144 nor the curfew order was enforced. How is it that in spite of section 144 and the curfew order people were moving about committing loot and plunder and murder even? How is it that within a stone's throw, as Mr. Ispahani has pointed out, from Lalbazar police-station shops were looted, people were murdered and all sorts of offence were committed without the police moving an inch?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Am I responsible for that?

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Of course, you are responsible. If you have got the guts to say that you are not responsible, let us know that. Now, Sir, that was on the 16th and 17th August. Later on what happened? Mr. Suhrawardy knows it very well that he was speaking with a double face. On the 23rd he issued a broadcast message, a message of peace, for the people of Bengal and within half an hour of that he sent out a special message for foreign press through foreign correspondents and the things which are mentioned in that document are entirely different from the broadcast message which he issued to the people of Bengal. Can he deny that? (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: That is obvious.) He has stated that the Hindus have started the riot. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Certainly.) He has said that it is the Hindus, who are to blame. He said it was the British Government which was to blame. Say "certainly" (laughter) and, lastly, he said that he cannot yet tell what will happen in future if the Interim Government continues in office. Now, Sir, if that is the remark which he wanted to make on that day what was the use of his appealing to the people of Bengal for peace and harmony and saying "I have kept an open mind and I would like Hindus and Muslims to work together". Can history give us a better example of a double-faced Minister?

Sir, there are two matters here which may be mentioned. Mr. Suhrawardy said that he could not control the Commissioner of Police because he was not under his order. I shall give you, Sir, one instance out of many which are available from which it will appear how Mr. Suhrawardy interfered with the administration of the police offices in a manner which was unworthy of any Home Minister of any province. In the Park Street police-station about seven *goondas* were taken by a European Inspector on Sunday evening.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am sorry, but you are a *goonda* then.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, that is the remark which Mr. Suhrawardy has made, namely, "I am sorry you are a *goonda* then".

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I resent very much that any Muslim gentleman should be characterised as a *goonda*.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: I do not know who they are. These persons were found with looted properties. If Mr. Suhrawardy says that Muslim gentlemen took away looted properties I shall bow down my head to him, but if he says that I am a *goonda* then I too can say that he is the best *goonda* that is available not only in this province but throughout the world. (Uproar.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Mookerjee, that is not a very desirable expression in respect of an honourable member of this House.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, I shall withdraw it as soon as Mr. Suhrawardy withdraws what he has said about me. (Cries of "withdraw, withdraw" from the Government benches.) Let him withdraw first what he has said about me.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: It is quite true that I can never think of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee as a *goonda* and I certainly withdraw that remark.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: I withdraw too. Now, Sir, let me pass on. So far as the Park Street incident is concerned, the important point is that *goondas* or gentlemen whoever they were, seven Muslims who were found in possession of looted properties were brought into Park Street police-station by a European Inspector. Within ten minutes Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy appears on the scene. He gets these persons released. It is on record. Let him deny that. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes.) (Cries of "shame, shame" from Congress benches.) Then he comes back and charges the police officer for stealing a basket of eggs! (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Oh! no.) This is the way, Sir, in which Mr. Suhrawardy has behaved. This is one instance I am giving. (Cries of "you have cooked it" from Government benches.) No, I have not cooked it. He has admitted it.

Then, Sir, the Muslim League party wanted 500 gallons of petrol from the Bengal Government. That was not granted, but petrol coupons were issued in the name of individual Ministers—general coupons, 100 gallons being issued in the name of the Chief Minister. Evidence is available that these coupons were used by lorries moving in the streets of Calcutta on those fateful days. That is how arrangements were being made under the very nose of the Home Department over which Mr. Suhrawardy was presiding. Can Mr. Suhrawardy deny that he himself went to Howrah accompanied by some Muslim League leaders, met local officers in authority there, and had chastised and taken them to task because Muslims were not protected there? Can he deny that? Did Mr. Suhrawardy give in any place or at any time the same sort of protection to the suffering Hindus? (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Certainly.)

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: You have allowed, Sir, 10 or 15 minutes to other members, but how is it that you have allowed Dr. Mookerjee to speak so long. He is not the Leader of the Opposition. (Cries of "Ha, ha" from Congress benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Chaudhury, please do not waste the time of the House in this way.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Now, Sir, it is quite clear that at least I have said some home truths which have made my friends opposite angry and impatient.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They are not truths at all.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, my point is that it is not a Hindu-Muslim question. The real trouble is that today Mr. Suhrawardy and the gentlemen who are with him are playing a most dangerous game. They are, in fact, playing a dual role.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: You are.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, they, these Ministers, have taken oath of allegiance to the British Crown and they are responsible for the life and property of all alike. My friend, Mr. Mohammed Ali, admitted this very candidly when the adjournment motion was not allowed to be taken up in this House. Mr. Suhrawardy is a great Muslim League leader and he owes his allegiance to the Muslim League. The Muslim League, rightly or wrongly ordered that if something does not happen to its liking, it was going to resort to direct action. One cannot serve two masters. Sir, it has been proved beyond doubt that Mr. Suhrawardy and his other Ministers are unable to administer the affairs of this Province impartially and efficiently. They have failed hopelessly and wretchedly and on that ground alone they are not fit to occupy offices for a single moment. (Interruptions.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, it is not in Calcutta alone that atrocities were committed in a large scale, but we find that troubles are spreading now in the whole of Bengal. The information which is coming from different parts of Bengal would make one shudder to think as to what will happen to this Province. These gentlemen, the Ministers over there, should not remain in charge of the affairs of this Province even a day longer. (Interruptions.) If they remain in office the future will be still darker. (Interruptions.) The Council of Action of the All-India Muslim League has ordered that preparations have to be made for giving effect to the Direct Action programme. Already Muslim League leaders from the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and also Sind have openly declared that they are ready with their scheme which can be put into operation at 24 hours' notice. Am I to believe that the Muslim League in Bengal which is a stronghold of Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League is not similarly prepared to give effect to the order of the Muslim League when the occasion demands it? In other words, my charge is that the present Ministry is utilizing the Governmental machinery for the purpose of launching upon a Direct Action scheme. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRWARDY: No, no.) The consequence will be far more serious than the brutal scenes we have already witnessed in the streets of Calcutta. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRWARDY: No, no.) Mr. Suhrawardy is playing a dual role and this dual role of Mr. Suhrawardy and those who are supporting him has got to be exposed and brought to an end in the interest of peace and tranquillity.

Why does not the Chief Minister get the reports of the Commissioner of Police through the Criminal Investigation Department as regards some meetings which took place in the city? Mr. Suhrawardy has perhaps got the proceedings confidentially of the meetings which were held in the city where League leaders were invited to attend for the purpose of preparing a scheme for direct action. If he has got any report about what happened on the 16th, he will find that even when the Calcutta Maidan meeting was being held, over which Mr. Suhrawardy presided, disturbances had broken out in several places. Now what happened in that meeting? Was there any C. I. D. officer present taking down notes? Where are those notes?

Sir, it was an astonishing fact that a gun shop within 2 minutes' walk from the Government House had been looted. Not a single policeman turned up in the streets to control the situation in any part of the city. It will not help merely making the Commissioner of Police a scape-goat. It is suggested the city had been ablaze in so many places that the Commissioner of Police did not know how to act. But surely Mr. Suhrawardy knew how and when to act. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRWARDY: "Yes, yes"). Mr. Suhrawardy says that he knew and we also know when he acted. If he had failed without making any effort, then he is charged with criminal negligence and if he failed in spite of efforts, he is certainly inefficient and worthless and he should not be kept in that position any longer. There is no place for him in the Ministry.

Sir, there is one point which I would like to say with regard to the Britishers in this House. My friends are remaining neutral. I cannot understand this attitude at all. In a situation such as this they must say if the Ministry was right or the Ministry was wrong. If the Ministry was right, support them and if the Ministry was wrong, you should say so boldly and not remain neutral. Merely sitting on the fence shows signs of abject impotence. (Laughter.)

My friend, Mr. Gladding, said that luckily none of his people was injured. It is true, Sir, but that is a statement which makes me extremely sorry. If a single Britisher, man, or woman or a child, had been struck they would have thrown this Ministry out of office without hesitation but because no Britisher was touched, they can take an impartial and neutral view! Are they so sure they will be left untouched next time? There is no

question of partiality or impartiality here. The present administration has failed and it must come to an end. Anyone who remains neutral is an aider and abettor.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Then why did the Congress ask them to remain neutral during the Constituent Assembly elections?

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: That is a different point altogether. I would ask my friends, what about the future. Pakistan will not be accepted under any circumstance. (Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: It will be accepted.) Mr. Suhrawardy said in Bombay after the 16th of August "When a nation fights against another nation I cannot guarantee civilized conduct". If you are a nation fighting against us, another nation, if that is the attitude of my friends on the other side, then they cannot remain in office any longer. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) Mr. Suhrawardy must realise that his office is meant for the good of the entire people of Bengal irrespective of caste, creed and religion, and not for his own so-called nation. I would say, Sir, that is an abject treachery to the great responsibility that rests on Mr. Suhrawardy, as Premier. (Interruptions.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order order. Dr. Mookerjee, your time is up.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: May I have two minutes more? I would say this very seriously before I conclude that——

Dr. A. M. MALIK: এবার কিছু ডান কথা বলুন।

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Apparently I said many good things; otherwise my friends would not be so jubilant. The Chief Minister was dancing the other day on the polished floor of a Delhi Hotel and I have made my friends dance on the floor of this House. I will now say a few words in connection with the future. What about the future? My friends, the Muslims, say that they constitute 25 per cent. of India's population, and that is so big a minority that they will never agree to live under Hindu domination. Now if that is their honest and genuine point of view how can they expect that 45 per cent. of the Hindu population of this Province will ever agree to live under a constitution where that particular nation represented by Muslims, constituting only 54 per cent., will alone dominate? (The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: That is how the trouble began.) I will not today enter into controversies as regards the real population of Bengal. I claim it that if a proper census is taken even to-day the Hindus will not be in a minority. That question cannot be settled by argument from one side or the other. My Muslim friends who are well-organised under the banner of the Muslim League have got to realise that if Bengal is to be ruled peacefully it can be done only with the willing co-operation of the two communities. I am not talking of all-India politics for the time being. (The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Why not? What has happened to all-India politics?) I would make this appeal to my friends that a choice has to be made by the Hindus and the Muslims together. There is no way out of it because what we witnessed in Calcutta was not an ordinary communal riot; its motive was political, but things may become even far more serious and drastic in the days, weeks and months to come. Now, if the Muslims of Bengal under the leadership of the Muslim League feel that they can exterminate the Hindus, that is a fantastic idea which can never be given effect to: three and a half crores can never exterminate three crores nor can three crores exterminate three and a half crores—— (At this stage the red light was again on.)

Mr. SPEAKER: For three times I have given you extra time.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: But I have been interrupted four times.

Now, Sir, if it is said that civil war will break out throughout India. will that help anyone, will that help, in particular, 25 per cent. Muslims throughout India as against 75 per cent. of Hindus and other non-Muslims? It is not a question of threat at all; it is a question of facing a stern reality. Either we have to fight or we have to come to some settlement. That settlement cannot be reached so long as you say that one community will dominate over the other, but it can only be reached by a plan which will enable the vast majority of Hindus and Muslims to live under circumstances which will give freedom and peace to the common man. After all, forget not who suffered most during the Calcutta Killing. It was mainly the poorer people, both amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. Ninety per cent. of them were poor and innocent and if the leaders lose their heads and go on creating a situation which they cannot ultimately control, the time will soon come when the common man will turn round and crush the leaders instead of being themselves crushed. It is therefore vitally necessary that this false and foolish idea of Pakistan or Islamic rule has to be banished for ever from your head. In Bengal we have got to live together. We say as a condition precedent this Ministry must go. Only then can we create a state of affairs which will make it possible to build a future Bengal which will be for the good of all, irrespective of any caste, creed or community.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Mr. Speaker, it has been my lot during my parliamentary career—longer perhaps than that of any other Indian now living—to be faced with awkward political situations but I confess that I have never felt so embarrassed as I do at the present moment in rising to say a few words on the motions before the House. Sir, for more than three years and a half I have been closely associated with the Opposition. To-day I am in the thick of the great phalanx on which the Ministers rely for support and even for self-preservation. But this is only the objective aspect of the question. There are other things, Sir, far more important and far more embarrassing.

Sir, during the dark days or nights of the Great Killing I watched events from the point of view of a member of the Opposition. The news that came to me trickling down from various sources was unfavourable to the Ministers in power. I was very deeply impressed with the fact that during the whole of these disturbances the machinery of Government had completely broken down in this city. Sir, I pondered deeply over the situation, and if I have risen to say a few words on these motions I wish to tell my comrades in this Assembly what I feel very strongly and which I think ought to be raised before the people of Bengal, if Bengal is to be saved at all from utter extermination. There have been Hindu-Muslim quarrels in the past all over India. In many of these quarrels when cases had been started I had the privilege of defending the Muslim accused almost all over the country. But, Sir, I have never in the whole course of my life seen anything like the purely fiendish fury with which both Hindus and Muslims have murdered not merely men or women but even small children. I do not know to satisfy what impulse,—human or devilish,—which seems to have possessed the Bengalees for those fateful days and nights that my countrymen indulged.

Sir, so far as the Ministers are concerned, I am going to obey the Party mandate and I will cast my votes against the motions before the House. But that is only because I feel constitutionally that we cannot, when a motion like this is tabled, leave the Ministers of our choice to the tender mercies of the Opposition. But if that is so as regards the Ministers, the guardians of law and order who control the police force in Calcutta can claim no protection from us.

Sir, I will not take much time of the House, but I will refer to a few instances which have been an eye-opener to me. I have felt that the greatest disturbances did not rise in a moment out of the moon but seem to

be the result of a well-planned action—may be on one side or may be on both sides. I do not know—God alone knows. The future alone will disclose what is the truth.

Sir, on Friday morning I received telephone messages from various parts of the city from both Hindus and Muslims that troubles had broken out. I thought it was one of those unfortunate affairs which have shown to the world that although the Bengalees or Indians generally are amongst the most intellectual races of the world, they do not know the virtue of toleration. But, then the situation worsened gradually. I advised those who were telephoning to me, to seek police protection. It was then I came to know that the police were being appealed to and in some cases the police said that they had received no orders. Wonder of wonders! What are the police here for, what are they being paid for, if they do not know that whenever there is a disturbance of the public peace and tranquillity, their first duty is to jump into the situation, if necessary, and to defend public peace and tranquillity with their lives?

Then, Sir, in the afternoon of that day the Mallick Bazar was looted. It is within about half a mile of my house. I was then standing on the verandah and I found people in great glee and merriment rushing all sides with booty in their hands and police *paharawalas* accompanying them. Everyone was very happy as if they were members of a marriage procession!

Then, Sir, that night the Park Circus market was looted. I sent one of my nephews and Mr. Khairul Anam, Editor of the "Mohammadi", to the Park Circus outpost. Will the House be surprised to hear that the Officer-in-charge was there and he said that he had no time to go and see what was happening. Certainly some change had come over the Calcutta Police!

Then, Sir, the next day, I believe it was the 17th, the Mahisadal Raj House was looted. That building is about 40 yards from my house and in front of that building on the other side of the road there was a Traffic Police Outpost where there are at least 100 police officers. The House will be surprised to hear—and I am an eye-witness—that the whole of that house was ransacked. It took two hours to clear that house of all its belongings and the police were looking on. I sent one of my clerks to interfere and stop because the Raja was not in the house; he had left previously. The reply my clerk got was "those people are taking to whom the property belongs" and, Sir, people came out with all their booty and I received a report that a member of a certain Provincial Service went home with a silver tea tray as a part of the loot.

I am not here concerned with the details of this nauseating event. I do not wish to discuss how these disturbances began, who was responsible, but I certainly want the House to consider why is it that the trouble was allowed to grow to gigantic proportions till within 24 hours the entire situation was out of control. Now, Sir, I have not been an eye-witness of everything that occurred but one who has suffered most. I am not a young man with a stout heart but, Sir, I am supposed to have something like that sort of grit which can face unpleasant situation, but this time my nerves completely broke down. We could not sleep, batch after batch of ruffians knocked at our doors and every moment seemed to be our last. It seemed, Sir, that not only had British rule ended but that some modern Nadir Shah had come upon Calcutta and had given up the city to rapine, plunder and pillage. Sir, each time I tried to get into touch with police officers I was told that I was to contact the Control Room. I do not know, Sir, who was controlling the Control Room, but whenever I wanted some kind of help the reply came that my complaint has been noted and will be attended to in proper time. Then, Sir, I sometimes tried to get into touch with high officials of Government House. I was told that none but Government servants were allowed to use the telephone to get into touch with the household of His Excellency the Governor. Police officers would not listen, the control office would not control, the Government House would not listen. Sir, in these circumstances

the great killing went on and it is undisputed that this thing would never have happened if the police and the military had taken strong measures on Friday, the 16th, when the trouble began. It would have been nipped in the bud that very day, and therefore the conclusion is inevitable that although the police may not be responsible for the origin of disturbances, they are directly responsible for the great loss of human life and if an impartial enquiry is held and these police officers can be spotted, my opinion is that they deserve to be hanged, drawn and quartered publicly on charges of murder and abetment of murder.

Sir, I was deeply distressed on seeing what was happening in the Assembly House this afternoon. These tumultuous scenes were not befitting a solemn occasion like this. Already, Sir, we have blackened our faces before the whole civilised world and have demonstrated to satisfaction that the Hindus and the Muslims cannot live together. It would be a tragedy if a debate of such importance cannot be carried on in an atmosphere free from passion and prejudice and calm judgment should not be allowed to get the better of any racial, communal or other considerations.

Sir, I will not take up the time of the House. Much of what I wanted to say as regards the police has been said by my friend Mr. Ispahani. There is one point about police inactivity to which I should refer because a passing reference has been made to it by Mr. Ispahani but he did not give the details. Quite within a stone's throw of Lallbazar, the Scotland Yard of Calcutta, Limton Watch Company at the junction of Bowbazar and Dalhousie Square was looted. The whole ceremony of looting took about 2 or 2½ hours. Police officers came but only to take part in the loot. One of my friends who somehow managed to see what was going on told me that half an hour after the loot people were seen rushing out with wrist watches and other articles of value and most of them were policemen. Now, Sir, these are matters which require explanation. Possibly the Chief Minister will not be able to reply, because he has not got all the materials before him. But these are matters which require to be carefully looked into, in order that any future recurrence of what has taken place may be effectively prevented.

As regards these motions I think, Sir, they have been somewhat inopportune and if I may be permitted to say so somewhat ill-advised. As has been pointed out already by some of the speakers we are going to have a Commission to sit and investigate into all the matters connected with these disturbances. We are discussing here practically many of the important issues which are *sub judice* before that Tribunal.

Secondly, Sir, I feel that while we are discussing these affairs in this House issues of far greater moment and importance are hanging in the balance in the talks that are going on in Delhi. While we are shouting here, the fate of India is going to be decided not by resolutions here and there, but in White Hall and in Delhi. It would have been better if we had waited and seen what would be the upshot and the result of the talks which are now going on between the Viceroy and the party leaders. I am optimistic in this respect. I feel, Sir, that all will end well. If there is a Coalition Government at the Centre, there is no reason why there should not be a Coalition Government in all the Provinces. (Cries of "hear, hear" from the Government Party Benches.) Sir, I have been a great believer in Coalition Government. In March, 1943, only a week before I resigned, I wrote two letters to Sir John Herbert and I told him that Bengal was faced with a critical situation and if Bengal was to be saved, there should be in office not a Cabinet of one Party or other but a Cabinet represented by all the parties in the country. I also said that if for any reason I am a hindrance to the formation of that Cabinet, I am not only prepared to resign but to guarantee that I will not ask for any seat in that Cabinet. To that opinion, Sir, I adhere. I will work ceaselessly now that I am a member of the only representative political organisation of the Muslim for the formation

of Coalition Governments. I want to see peace established in the country. I am not for war; I am for peace. I will do my best to restore friendly relations between the various communities. I have not joined the Muslim League for self-advertisement or self-aggrandisement. The Muslim League cupboard is now empty. They can offer me nothing. The most opportune moment to join the the Muslim League would have been before the election. I might have had an easy entry into this House followed by an honoured place in the Cabinet. I have now come at a time when the future of the Muslim League is enveloped in darkness. The whole Muslim League army, if I may call it so, are waiting for a clarion call and if the bugle is sounded, we shall be marching to a terrible doom. I have not come here for personal gain. When the news came that I have joined the Muslim League some of the newspapers said that it was a sort of somersault. Some said I have betrayed the confidence of my erstwhile colleagues. I have done nothing of the kind. My colleagues, new and old, may rest assured that I will do nothing to betray not merely the interests of the Muslims but the interests of any community. Least of all I hope I will do nothing which will hinder the march of India towards freedom and liberty. I shall hope for peace, I wish for peace and I shall strive for peace. If I cannot establish peaceful relations between the communities, even with the help of the organisation to which I belong, even with the tremendous influence which that organisation wields in the Muslim community in India, if I fail, it is my resolve to retire entirely from politics. I will take no part in bickering. I will not forget those happy days when I used to work with the members of the Opposition. I am looking forward to happy days of close contact, and co-ordination with the members of the Muslim League. It is my desire so to conduct the meetings and discussions in my party that all attempts to bring about peace relations between the parties may prevail. After all even these disturbances have shown that Indians especially Bengalees, are not so bad as a mere contemplation of that holocaust may lead one to think. There have been golden deeds which do honour to any race or any nation or tribe of any part of the world. There is an example of Judge M. N. Banerjee, one of the advocates of our Court, who gave up his life in order to save a Muslim youth. There is the story of a Muslim woman in whose house Hindus had taken refuge. The mob came and knocked at her door and asked her to open the door. She refused. She stood at the door and barred the entrance of these ruffians, something like Catherine Douglas of Scottish history. These ruffians broke open the door and trampled upon her body. That took sometime, meanwhile the Hindu refugees escaped. While men and women exist who will suffer and thus die, hope for our future cannot be lost. Let us remember that in the presence in India of so many races, tribes and religion, there is something of the divine, that there is a divine purpose behind every thing. Let our endeavour be for the achievement of a more prosperous country and a much happier people.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir. In the heat and passion of the debate there is a danger of our forgetting and confusing the real issue before the House. Now that we are nearing the end of this debate, I would like to remind the House of the issue which we are discussing and the issue on which we shall be called upon to vote. Putting it negatively, it is not, who or what started the riot. The issue before the House is not, which of the two communities suffered most. The issue before the House is certainly not, whether more Muslims than Hindus, or more Hindus than Muslims were killed. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it has been said that this vote of censure is inopportune. That a Commission of Enquiry has been appointed and we should have waited for the verdict of that Commission. We, Sir, on this side of the House, strongly differ from that view. The vote of censure is a political action by which we are seeking to remove this Ministry, which we consider is responsible for the terrible tragedy that took place in this city, and is even now threatening the entire province of Bengal.

No Commission of Enquiry can do that. After all, what can this Commission of Enquiry do? The utmost the Commission of Enquiry can do is to say that such and such steps should have been taken or that such and such a thing should not have been done. I ask the Hon'ble Members to remember what political or practical benefit did we get out of the Dacca Riot Enquiry Commission. Does anybody remember that as a result of that Commission a single officer was found guilty of negligence of duty, or was any officer dismissed because he failed to do his duty when the Dacca Riot took place? I think not. Coming nearer, Sir, consider the Great Famine Enquiry that took place the other day. As a result of that enquiry, is the Government showing more forethought as regards supplies? Is there less corruption in the administration? Have the persons who were guilty of wastage, of corruption, of nepotism been punished? I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not mean that we are opposed to this kind of enquiry, but a Commission of Enquiry can after all give a judicial verdict. What we require to-day is a political action for the remedy of this evil. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am saying this only because I am surprised to find that a political party chooses to remain neutral on an occasion like this. If ever there was an occasion to pass a judgment, to give a verdict, this was the occasion. If you are really convinced that there was no breakdown of law and order in the city of Calcutta then please say so. If you think that the Police did their duty and did it adequately, then you should say that. If you think that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister in charge of law and order, is not really responsible for the Law and Order of this Province, then it is your clear duty to vote for the Government. But neutrality on such an issue shows utter political vacuity and callousness. It is a clear dereliction of your duty as a member of this Legislature. Now, Sir, what is this issue? The issue is simple. The issue is, was there, or was there not, a total breakdown of law and order in the city of Calcutta? If so, do the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and his colleagues, who are responsible for the maintenance of law and order, deserve censure for this breakdown which caused the loss of property worth crores of rupees, injury to 20,000 and death to 5,000 Hindus and Muslims of this city, or do they not? It is not necessary to devote much time to convince the honourable members, especially those who were in Calcutta at the time, that there was no law and order in Calcutta from the 16th of August for several days; that Government had completely ceased to function; that shops were looted—gunshops—shops in Dalhousie Square within a stone's throw from Lalbazar Police Headquarters—houses were set on fire, mass murders were committed, communal groups fought in the streets with lethal weapons. Many members were eye-witnesses to incidents, horrors of which will haunt them throughout their lives. I personally witnessed two mass attacks and attempts at arson. This was on the 17th morning. One was a house next to ours and the other on a house within two minutes' walk from my house. But, Sir, it is not necessary to mention incidents. When 5,000 persons are killed and 20,000 injured in a city within the course of 4 days no description of incidents, and no argument is necessary to prove that there was no law and order in Calcutta for those days. It is I hope admitted on all sides of this House that there was a complete breakdown of law and order.

That brings us to the next question—whether those who are responsible for law and order took any step to prevent the rioting. But before I go into that I would like to deal briefly with the background of this disturbance, because that will prove that the police should have known that celebration of the Direct Action Day was not going to be a peaceful one. The Muslim League had been preparing for this day. It had issued an appeal to all Muslims to observe the day. It had organised a Volunteer Corps. But, I am afraid, Sir, we did not see any appeal from any responsible leader of the League asking the Muslim public not to interfere with those who did not agree with them in this matter. On the contrary, there were highly exciting articles in the Muslim League papers preaching unrestrained hatred of other

communities. Even my friend Khwaja Nazimuddin, whom we all have known as an upholder of law and order, hinted that the League was not restricted to non-violence. It was also obvious that there was an organisation behind this hooliganism. They shouted the same slogans, they acted in the same way. It was obvious that they were obeying orders. They had sufficient supply of petrol. They had numerous lorries. In Beniapukur area they compelled Hindus to sign Pakistan pledges which were later on published in the "Azad". They forcibly converted persons to Islam.

Now, what was the Police doing all the time these preparations were being made? We would like to know, if the Criminal Investigation Department had made any report regarding preparations that were being made for armed procession. Every member in this House, every person in Calcutta knows that no precautionary measure was taken. There was not a single police man anywhere in Calcutta. Even the ordinary precaution which is taken during the Moharrum or the Puja procession of sending some policemen with the procession was not taken. Even after looting and assault began on the morning of the 16th, even after the gun-shop in Chowringhee was looted, the police did not make any effective move. All appeals for help from the police proved useless. Looting, murder, arson took place before them without their making any arrest. Everybody who approached the police got the same reply—"No orders". On occasion hundred times less serious—we have seen machine-guns in the streets of Calcutta. Military or police petrol—I do not know which came out in the evening of the second day, but they drove along the main roads at 40 miles an hour without stopping to arrest hooligans or rescue those who were in danger.

Now, how can one explain this? It cannot be mere inefficiency. There must have been some deep-laid conspiracy somewhere. If the Hon'ble the Chief Minister was no party to it, then he should throw some light on this mysterious affair. We had been told that the police was not strong enough to deal with the crowd. They had not, it is said, sufficient number, sufficient resources. That explanation, we believe, is false. Everybody saw that even the most murderous crowd ran away at the sight of half a dozen armed policemen. A single sergeant was able to effect a rescue from among a number of hooligans. As a matter of fact any uniform was respected. During all these riots not a single policeman, not a single officer, had suffered any injury. The real fact is that the mob knew somehow—I do not know how—that they would not be interfered with, and I do not think that they were wrong. Had not their own leader, the Chief Minister of Bengal, given the marching order? Was not their own Government in power in Bengal? Were they not promised during the election that Pakistan would be established and that the houses and properties of the Hindus were at the disposal of the Faithful? Even their lives were at their mercy. Did not the League Government forgetting its duty to other communities declare the 16th of August a public holiday? Why?—even the Commissioner of Police helped to make the celebration successful by persuading the bus drivers not to ply their buses. Mr. Speaker, is it any wonder then that the hooligans, when they are arrested for loot and carnage, murder and arson, exclaim in surprise that they had done all these under instruction, and it was understood that the police would do nothing to them. So much for the police.

Now, Sir, let me in passing examine the machinery, I mean the administrative machinery of Bengal, which is expected to deal with the communal situation. We have a suspicion that the posting of officers has been made in such a way that in some districts all the administrative officers from the District Magistrate to the thana officers are Muslims. I would like to know how many District Officers to-day are Muslims, how many Hindus, and how many Europeans. I would like the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to tell us the number of Superintendents of Police, and how many of them are Muslims, how many Hindus and how many Europeans. I would also like him to state the number of thanas of Bengal, and how many thana officers are Muslims,

and how many Hindus. I do not wish to cast any reflection on all Muslim officers that they are all communal nor am I foolish enough to claim that Hindu officers are all non-communal but it is undeniable that the canker of communalism has affected the services. No Hindu feels safe, if the officer is a Muslim, and I believe that a Muslim feels the same if the officer is a Hindu. But unfortunately for the Hindus, with the advent of the League Ministry most of the key positions not reserved for Europeans have gone to the Muslim officers. Even during the riots in Calcutta, Hindu officers have been transferred and our protest was of no avail. Therefore, Sir, this conspiracy of crushing the minority community in Bengal began not with the Direct Action Day. It began much earlier. It began from the first day the League Ministry took office. It was their deliberate plan to fashion the administrative machinery in such a way that the minority community would be reduced to utter helplessness. One of the worst things that the League Government has done is to introduce communalism into the state machinery. It has totally corrupted the Government machinery, and God knows if we would ever have an administration which would deal fairly and honestly with all communities. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to deal with all the points one would like to within the short time at our disposal but the tense situation in East Bengal cannot be ignored. Stories of looting and murder in the rural area have appeared in the press. In some parts of East Bengal travelling by railway or boats has been extremely unsafe. The situation in the city of Dacca has deteriorated. Mass attacks, looting, arson, stabbing are taking place unchecked by the police. To add to all this, discrimination in imposing fine has been alleged. I beg to draw the special attention of the Government to this disturbing feature.

Now, Sir, if the House is convinced as it is bound to be convinced that law and order did break down, if it is convinced that those in charge of law and order did not take any timely step to prevent the terrible events of August, we come to the final issue,—who is responsible for this terrible calamity? We come to the inevitable conclusion that the responsibility must fall on the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and on his colleagues. It is not that they are guilty of acts of omission only, they are guilty of acts of commission also. They played the dual role. They with others organised the demonstration of the Direct Action Day. They delivered speeches inflaming the ignorant mind. They and their lieutenants roused communal frenzy to the utmost limit. That is one side. On the other side, being at the head of the Government of the province—being responsible for law and order—they remained inactive as a matter of policy. I say they went further—they used the Government machinery for communal purpose—they sabotaged law and order from inside.

Mr. Speaker, the prospect of Bengal is utterly gloomy. I see no prospect of return of confidence—no establishment of communal harmony, no good and honest Government if this Ministry continues to be in power. I charge this Ministry being solely responsible for the arson, looting, murder and rape that took place during those unforgettable days. I charge them with corrupting the entire administration of Bengal with communal bitterness.

I know it is easy to maintain oneself in power by a communal majority. But Bengal is not limited to this House. The verdict of the people—the verdict of all decent-minded people of all communities will be on our side.

Mr. Speaker, I support both the motions that have been moved in this House.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me as I begin, pay on behalf of every single member in this House and of the House itself our humble tribute of penitence and regret to those innocents who lost their lives in the terrible carnage that beset Calcutta on the 16th of August and the subsequent days, and our sympathies and condolences to the members of the bereaved families, to the widows and the orphans, the

fatherless and motherless sons and the sonless fathers and mothers who live to mourn their loss. Let this terrible thing which has happened be a lesson to those who may still think that we are playing politics, with Ministries, with no-confidence motions, with the battle-door and the shuttlecock of power under the shadow of the British *Raj*. Today politics is much more earnest and real. Today it is not merely the transference of power which is involved but the lives of the people. It is not merely a question of forensics and fulminations, of debating ability, of making a point here or there. It is not a matter of tactical victories, of gloating over advantages won by shabby trickeries. Today politics is real, vital and earnest. I will hence not attempt to make points but to narrate before the House the factual position as I understand it. I am doing so in the hope that all of us will draw a lesson from what has happened and gone before, and so mend our hearts and our minds and our ways that there may be no repetition of those horrible days which will haunt us as a nightmare till the end of our lives. May it come to pass that those who have died have not died in vain, and on their graves let us build a memorial of abiding peace and co-operation and strive to work for the common welfare of the various peoples that inhabit this sub-continent.

A terrible catastrophe has occurred, the most terrible in the annals of India within recent times, and the blame must naturally fall on the Government of the day until it can prove that it did all in its power and within the limits of its resources. I feel that when passions still run high, when political affiliations govern votes, it is only an impartial tribunal that can ever arrive at the correct facts and give a proper appreciation of the incidents, and hence I lost no time in taking steps to set up a Commission of Enquiry of unimpeachable judgment and integrity. I, however, do not seek that refuge in placing the facts before the House as I see it, for I owe an explanation to the House itself and the members of the public outside.

It seems to me that the incidents which took place were the bounden results of a chain of circumstances in various fields of life, results indeed the magnitude of which no one could foresee and which was outside the experience of everyone. The first and the most important link in the chain are undoubtedly those factors which produced political tension between the Hindus and the Muslims of an unimaginable and unforeseeable degree. The differing ideologies of Pakistan and Hindusthan were being asserted by Muslims and by Hindus in their separate camps with unyielding vigour and determination backed by threats of civil war. Each party went to the polls in the last election and appealed for support to the electorate on this issue. The Muslims almost unanimous voted for Pakistan. Even those who defeated the Muslim League candidates went to the polls with Pakistan on their lips, nay, often as greater protagonists of Pakistan than the Leaguers themselves. The Congress won its victories on the issue of undivided Hindusthan. I leave aside the poor Scheduled Castes and the Adibasis who vainly struggled for self-expression but were overwhelmed by the Caste Hindu votes or deemed it expedient to accept the Congress tickets and Congress benefactions. But all this remained academic until firstly the Parliamentary Party and subsequently the Cabinet Mission came out to frame a plan for evolving a new constitution and for installing an Interim Government. This is not the time or the place to go into the details of the labours of the Cabinet Mission but the background of the tension between the Hindus and the Muslims cannot be complete unless I touch upon some of the aspects. The Congress met immediately after the long-term proposals were announced. Mr. Gandhi first gave his blessings to the proposals and the very next day found them full of blemishes and pitfalls. The Muslim League allowed the proposals to be properly digested and then convened a meeting of its Working Committee and of the Council in the beginning of June. The Congress promptly adjourned its sitting till after the dates fixed by the Muslim League. Believing in the good faith of the Cabinet Mission, believing that it meant to implement its assurances and

pledges, the Muslim League accepted the long-term plan, and the statesmanship of Mr. Jinnah was immediately acclaimed throughout the world. The Congress met and put constructions on the long-term plan widely different from the constructions put by the Cabinet Mission, and with its own reservations and constructions pretended to accept the long-term plan which was no acceptance at all. I need not go deeper into the story, for the manner in which the Muslim League was betrayed by the Cabinet Mission on the very last day, viz., on the 25th of June, is now established history. Muslim India was thunderstruck at this shameless betrayal. We were under the belief that those days had passed when politics was a game of chicanery and treachery. Britain had travelled far from the days of Clive, it had increased in moral stature and had sacrificed the lives of its children in two world wars in defence of treaties and of solemn pledges. Politics was now more open. Negotiations were taking place before the very eyes of an anxious world, and no Muslim at least dreamt that his nation would be betrayed so brazen-facedly by three of Britain's most eminent ambassadors, and yet this did come to pass. I have not met one single Englishman who has not hung his head in shame at the manner in which the Muslim League was betrayed by the Cabinet Mission. And so in the end the great panjandrums of Britain decided to hand over power to the Congress and to exclude the Muslim League, and in the end the Muslims in desperation decided rather to tread the thorny path of sacrifice, even of annihilation, through direct action than bury for ever their cherished goal of Pakistan. So, on one side the Muslims were burning with resentment against the British Government for its signal betrayal. It is true that the Congress had allied itself with the British Government and had accepted an Interim Government to the exclusion of the Muslims. But the Muslim League, so far as I know its mind, though resentful of the Congress attitude, still deemed British Imperialism its chief foe for having played fast and loose with the Muslims. But what of the Congress? Alas! they took their position too seriously! Or seriously their conscience was troubling them for having accepted office through devious means to the exclusion of the Muslims. They deemed that their entry in the Interim Government as Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council had given them unlimited power; if the Muslims raised their heads, they would be crushed and crushed easily. Direct action they considered as directed against them and not against the British power whose successors they fondly imagined themselves to be. I believe they feared that if direct action would succeed, it might induce His Majesty's Government to modify their offer of power to the Congress and they would lose the throne which they had captured and which in their imagination far outshone the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind. And such indeed was their panic that they considered the shadow of direct action to be direct action itself. August 16 was declared by the Muslim League as a day for explaining the viewpoint of the Muslim League and that the Muslims should prepare themselves to pass from constitutional to unconstitutional action in defence of the Muslim cause when the call came. Some mischievous persons—I am sure that this was not done by the Muslim League as I have had it from the Quaid-e-Azam himself—designated that day as Direct Action Day giving the impression that on that day direct action would be undertaken. Indeed, Sir, some of the speeches of the honourable members opposite prove that they are still labouring under the impression that the Muslims intended to resort to direct action on that day and that they did so and some even think that that day was observed only in Bengal. It is a thousand pities that the Hindus of Bengal and of Calcutta were determined to see that August the 16th should not be a success under the mistaken belief that if the Muslims made that day a success Pakistan would be established. The 16th August had been declared by me a holiday. That was done for the purpose of minimising conflicts, but the Hindu newspapers and leaders deliberately interpreted it in a different light and exhorted their young men to oppose it in all possible ways. I knew that the feeling was running so high amongst the Muslims that holiday or

no holiday, they were determined to leave their work and attend the demonstration and meetings convened on that day throughout Bengal. It was not proclaimed, as some suggest, to make the demonstration a success so as to enable the Muslims to join it without difficulty. They would have joined the demonstration in any event. I knew what had happened in previous hartals. I shall have occasion to refer to this later. When one section called a *hartal*, other sections, even though anxious to go about their work, had been compelled to observe the *hartal* by violence and intimidation. If a holiday was proclaimed, there would be no necessity or occasion to compel any section to leave work and there would be no need for violence and intimidation. I felt that however much we may ask the Muslims to keep to themselves and we did ask them to do so, there would be an inclination on their part to appeal to Hindus to observe *hartal* with them, for had they not observed *hartal* on previous occasions along with the Hindus against their inclination and could they not, therefore, expect similar co-operation? I hoped that if I proclaimed a holiday, the Hindus in their turn would gladly avail themselves of the facility thus offered and would close their shops without being persuaded to do so by Muslims. On the previous day I appealed to the Hindu leaders for sympathy and co-operation. Alas! the Hindu leaders could not see eye to eye with me. Alas! on the 14th and the 15th August they exhorted the Hindus, to keep their shops open and not on any account to listen to the Muslims. Alas! the Hindus were charged to resist the slightest appeal to keep their shops closed. Alas! the Hindus were made to consider that if they had kept their shops closed, that would be equivalent to observing *hartal*. It would mean supporting the demand of the Muslims; it would mean admitting the demand of Pakistan. I need not refer to the reports of the speeches made by the top leaders. The translation of a leaflet widely circulated by the Hindu Mahasava will be sufficient evidence to enforce my point. I give a complete translation of the leaflet:

"16th August. Beware!"

"The Muslim League has declared the 16th of August as the 'direct Action (Sangram-War) Day' and on that very day public has been asked to observe *hartal*. That day has been proclaimed as such for the Muslim League to attain Pakistan.

That was far from the mind of any Muslim. The Bengali Hindus and every non-Muslim is opposed to Pakistan. Under these circumstances to observe *hartal* on the 16th as proclaimed by the League or to help them in any way would mean supporting their demand. The Bengali Hindus can never do that.

The League Ministry had the audacity to declare that day as a holiday. The aim of it is very clear. By this method that day Government Hindu employees will be forced to observe *hartal*. The Hindus will have to give a clear reply to this high-handedness of the Muslim League. It is the clear duty of every Hindu that he will do his usual normal duty and no Hindu, non-Muslim or anti-League Muslim shall observe *hartal* nor will he allow anyone to observe *hartal*, and for this they must unitedly try. We appeal to the general public that on that day they will normally work and not bend their heads and stand up to any forcible compulsion that may be tried against them.

Remember that to observe *hartal* means to admit the demand of Pakistan."

It is an extraordinary leaflet and gives political incitement to the young men of that community.

The signatories are—

Shri Satish Lahiri, General Secretary, All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

Shri Narendra Nath Das, Joint President, Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha.

Shri Makhan Lal Biswas, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha.

Shri Dharendra Kumar Ghosh, Secretary, Provincial Hindu Shakti Sangha.

Shri Sankari Rai, President, Provincial Hindu Student Federation.

It is not necessary for me to say more other than emphasize the following sentences, "nor will the Hindus, non-Muslims, or anti-League Muslims allow anyone to observe *hartal* and for this they must unitedly try". This is clearly directed against the Muslims observing *hartal*, and remember this must have been so considered by the young Hindus in whose hands the leaflets were distributed and later "Remember that to observe *hartal* means to admit the demand of Pakistan."

This was the political background on the 16th of August, 1946, a background which would never have seen the light of the day had not the Cabinet Mission betrayed the Muslim League on the one hand, installed the Congress on the other without the Muslim League and sowed the seeds of dissension between us two and quietly slipped away to watch the results. I do not blame or charge the Cabinet Mission with *mala fides* when they came out in this country, but I certainly do say that before they left, what they left behind divided the Hindus and Muslims into such warring camps that for a long time to come until the Hindus and Muslims sit together and settle the differences amongst themselves, the sore will not be healed and we may find ourselves continuously fighting with each other with the most deplorable prospect. (A VOICE FROM THE CONGRESS BENCHES: You accept joint electorate.)

The second series of links in the chain which was responsible for the catastrophe was the general spirit of lawlessness in the Province. Immediately after the general elections in Great Britain, that is to say, after August, 1945, when the Labour Party gained an overwhelming victory at the polls, certain important decisions were taken at the very highest levels in this land and outside regarding the interference of the police with political demonstrations. On the one hand, the Labour Party's policy with regard to India had been clearly defined in the Party's election manifesto where complete independence was assured as soon as it could be contrived after a settlement between the Indian groups; on the other hand, the political leaders within the country refused to believe in the sincerity of the British Government, and inflammatory public speeches were made from all platforms. It would appear that the Government did little either to defend itself or to stem the rising wave of lawlessness. In fact this decision formed the beginning of a series of lawlessness which swept this country and paralysed all the demoralisations which overtook the authorities of law and order. It is quite clear that a policy of non-interference with political demonstrations was pursued and civil liberties were made co-terminus with lawlessness. The propaganda in favour of the Indian National Army followed on Government's action against certain of its members. We still remember vividly the incidents of November, 1945, when students were utilized to enter the prohibited area, and these attempts were repulsed in Dharamtolla Street by the police with the use of firearms on the 20th of November, 1945, and a second attempt also by the use of firearms on the 21st November for which use they were subsequently pilloried and condemned by the local public opinion. On both occasions the police were attacked by riotous members of the assemblies. Public sympathy was all in favour of the students, and the persons killed or wounded by the firings were proclaimed martyrs. Soon after violence and arson broke out in various parts of Calcutta directed mainly against the military and the police personnel. The Bhowanipore police-station in South Calcutta was attacked by a mob and a Deputy Commissioner was injured, and scores of military vehicles were burnt. As the police were the target for most of the attacks, the official policy was framed during the section 93 regime of not allowing police personnel on the streets in troublous times,

except in parties sufficiently numerous or adequately armed to defend themselves, and this was the policy which was apparently followed in dealing with the situation of the 16th of August. Then after that came the February disturbances. Two processions of students entered the prohibited area on the 11th of February, 1946, and were dispersed by police *lathi* charges. A subsequent procession was taken out and although it is admitted that the processionists had nothing to do with the violence which followed, no sooner had the processions dispersed than the military and Government lorries were burnt commencing in Central Avenue area, and attacks were made on Anglo-Indians. For the next two days violent attacks continued on Government and European institutions and on the persons of Government officers in uniform and on Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Attacks were made on police-stations and post offices and on several institutions. The riot which followed received general support from the public. The military were brought out some days after the riots had commenced, and the disturbances were quelled by the combined efforts of the military and the police. Then there was the R.I.N. mutiny where for the first time one section of the armed forces had shown the tendency, already exhibited by the general public, of losing all discipline and respect for authority. The mutiny was succeeded by further instances of disaffection in the army and the police. The political leaders by openly encouraging disaffection in the armed forces and the police were thus subverting and rendering impotent and inefficient the forces which would have to be relied on in the event of any internal disorder. This is a matter which I would like the House to appreciate. Another species of lawlessness that appears to have taken root in Calcutta was that aroused by the rash and lawless driving by the military. No amount of orders by the superior authorities or of cajolery by Government, no amount of rules and regulations could control the high and dominant spirits of the military drivers until the people themselves took the law into their own hands and became lawless themselves, and whenever a pedestrian was knocked down thrashed the driver and burnt the vehicle. Undoubtedly this action was most reprehensible, but it worked and rash driving abated of itself; and lawlessness found itself at a premium. The general wave of unrest found expression also in labour strikes. The first big post-war strike was the Tramway strike of September, 1945. The strike fever grew in 1946, and there were countless industrial stoppages and an astronomical number of lost working days. Each major strike was eagerly supported by the more extremist political parties, and attempts were made to distort it into a freedom struggle. Large mobs of workers ran loose in the streets of Calcutta. Public transport services were interrupted on the slightest provocation. A threatened railway strike in June was averted by the Government of India acceding to a great many of the workers' demands. The postal workers then put forward a list of demands. The right and possibly the justification for these workers to strike is not the point in issue, but the effect on the public as a whole was to increase the feeling of disregard and disrespect for authority which had been engendered by the November and February disturbances. On the 29th of July, 1946, a general strike was organised by the All-India Trade Union Congress to give support to the postal workers. In general the strike proceeded peacefully, but the picketing indulged in at Writers' Buildings and the Clive Street mercantile offices was decidedly forcible, and varying degrees of force were used to persuade loyal workers—Anglo-Indians, Hindus and Muslims—from attending to their duties. At the All-India Radio Station women were employed as picketers, and for a short time they overran the station, dislocated the wireless programmes and attempted to blockade the entrance into the building and to attack the police party. This incident is significant in that it is the first concerted effort to mobilise women in an effort to subvert the authority of the forces responsible for law and order. Women were subsequently utilised as picketers at the office of the Imperial Bank of India where a strike of employees commenced on the 1st of August, and this strike was actually in

operation on the fateful 16th of August at 10-30 a.m. when the Chief Secretary and the Commissioner of Police went to the Imperial Bank to examine the position created by these women picketers. There were also incidents at the Assembly when crowds came within the Assembly buildings on various occasions and defied the authority of the Police. There were frequent *hartals* for the slightest cause and for political reasons. A *hartal* was suddenly proclaimed on receipt of a report that Pandit Pawaharlal Nehru had been wounded in Kashmir. In most of these cases violence was used by the mob on people going about their ordinary vocations. They were made to walk, military and private motor cars were smashed and burnt, ties and hats were taken off, persons were assaulted, people were forced to close their shops, offices were picketed and the police looked on helplessly. It will be realised that the Police can hardly take action where the entire community adopts a lawless spirit and its representatives favour that spirit of lawlessness. It is inevitable that one day the community will have to pay the penalty for such a course of conduct. As the *Times of India* has put it on the 19th, "These Congress-inspired demonstrations of a violent character since the end of the War have engendered a contempt for authority, the bitter harvest of which Calcutta is reaping to-day."

These factors inevitably had their repercussions on the morale of the Police force. Police officers were chary of dealing with political disturbances. They were chary of using force through fear of being pilloried by the public. They were chary in using any but the minimum force for any specific occasion. It is said that if they had used the sufficiency of force and showed their preparedness and power early in the morning the other occurrences might not have occurred. Police cannot use force on any one occasion with a view to the future and the requirement of the future. It can only use force to suit an occasion.

It is with this background that the fateful 16th of August dawned. No reports were to hand of any preparedness on the part of either the Hindus or the Muslims. *Hartals* had taken place before the *hartals* had passed off fairly peacefully with only minor troubles. As has been given evidence of by no less a person than Mr. Fazlul Huq when he first got information of the occurrence on the morning of the 16th he thought that it was a minor occurrence similar to those which previously took place in Calcutta. Apparently that was the kind of feeling on Friday. The people all co-operated with each other in observing *hartals*. I had intended to avoid any narration of the incidents which might tend to place the blame for the origin of the riots on one or the other section of the people but the charges that have been levelled against me and the Muslims compel me to say a few words. I am grateful to many of my friends who have spoken on the other side who have spared me the charge of engineering these riots or so acting as to allow the disturbances to continue from day to day but some others have had not so spared me, and though, not directly have sufficiently insinuated that I was responsible for the riots. I think that it is necessary that I should say something about myself. I have stated in another place that ever since the assumption of power I have worked hard, in fact I have not spared myself in any way for the welfare of the province and those who have come in contact with me and have seen me working in the Secretariat will fully bear this out. I have been charged by Muslims time and again for being partial to the Hindus. Read the various papers, you will see that everything which I am saying is true. For myself, I have attempted to hold the scales even and I have resisted all efforts which might even remotely be considered unfair or victimisation. Amongst the Hindus I have very dear friends, friends regarding whom I may say that for their safety and their happiness even my life is forfeit. As for the Muslims they have done me the honour of electing me the Leader of their party. I love the Muslims of Calcutta who look upon me even as their father. I know them intimately and I have been brought up amongst them. Would I ever consciously bring

about a clash between the two? It is not suggested that I desire that the Muslims should be decimated. It is insinuated that I wanted to get the Hindus assaulted. If it had been so, would I have chosen Calcutta where the Muslims are in a minority? Would the Muslims have been left unprepared and unprotected so that their houses may be looted and burnt to the ground? Would I have asked them to come to the maidan leaving their women and children behind? Would I have allowed their *bustees* to be burnt and their women and children murdered? Would I have declared a public holiday on the 16th of August which would mean that while I would draw the Muslims from their homes leave behind the Hindus in their homes to look after themselves and if they so wish, to attack the unprotected residences of Muslims. Do the honourable members realise what would have happened to the Hindus had the offices remained open and had there been a major communal conflict as actually did take place? Hindus coming to work in their offices from their distant homes would have all been in peril. May I say one word too on behalf of the Muslims? I am a Muslim and I know their mentality. I can definitely and categorically state that the Muslim was not prepared for a conflict. He had not the slightest indication that so much antagonism and so much hatred had been stored up against him. He did not realise, being largely illiterate and not reading the Hindu papers, that the Hindus were determined not only not to observe *hartals* but to resist and defy any attempts, indeed any requests to close their shops. Elated perhaps by the observance of the day, hopeful perhaps that the Hindus would observe the *hartal* along with him as he had done along with them he made preparations to have a grand holiday and to come to the maidan and congregate there with lakhs of his brothers. Little did he know what was in store for him. Little did he know that his processions will be stoned, that his shops will be burnt and looted that he would be waylaid and mobbed and killed and stabbed, that he would be prevented from going to the maidan.

It has been suggested by some members that the Muslims started the affray. A very ingenious defence is put forward by Mr. Kundu to explain the undeniable fact that the first casualties that came to the hospitals were Muslims. Based on the apocryphal story of a Muslim rickshaw-puller, he suggests that all these Muslim casualties were inflicted by other Muslims. Is it really seriously suggested that Muslims would have ever dared to attack shops of Hindus in Harrison Road, Clive Street, Bowbazar Street, College Street, Bhowanipore, Rash Behari Avenue, or any of the great Hindu localities where Muslims were obstructed and killed on the very first day? Processions coming from Howrah were obstructed at the junctions of Harrison Road and Strand Road, and as far away as Tollygunge a small procession of Muslims coming from Tollygunge under the protection of a Deputy Commissioner of Police at 3 p.m. on the 16th was obstructed by huge crowd of Hindus on Russa Road near the Bridge and had to return.

I will not dilate on this matter further. It is with great reluctance that I have stated what I have. I wonder if there is any one present here who could have visualised what was in store. I wonder if the honourable members opposite when they were playing with the fiery impetuosity and political idealism of their young men and were charging them to resist the *hartal* realised what a fearful amount of hatred they were conjuring against the Muslims and what a tremendous conflagration it would cause. Police precautions were taken. Instructions were given to the Civil Supplies Department to keep all their vehicles in their depôts until such time as it might be known whether disturbances would take place or not. Similar advice was given to the Oil Companies in view of the high vulnerability of their oil tankers and our opinion was conveyed to the military that their vehicles should not run unless under escort.

On the 15th August, the Commissioner of Police informed all police officers that the Emergency Action Scheme, which had been prepared

before this Ministry took office, would be brought into operation with effect from 8 a.m. on the 16th. It was decided that this time should not be made earlier as it was likely that all ranks would be on duty throughout the day and it was desired that they should be able to get their meals before coming on duty.

The "Emergency Action" scheme involved the following:—

(i) The mobilisation of all available men of the armed police and the sending of 200 sepoys to Lall Bazar, with the remainder being held in their barracks ready to be sent out at a moment's notice.

(ii) The withdrawal from the streets of all traffic police with half being sent to Lall Bazar immediately and the other half held in readiness in their barracks.

In connection with the traffic police it was decided that those traffic points which are manned on public holidays should continue to be manned on the 16th, as it was considered that the complete withdrawal of these men from the streets might create nervousness and also that such withdrawal might be construed into a belief that the police were also observing *hartal*. The number of men involved was small and these were all in fact withdrawn from the streets for emergency duties at midday.

(iii) The setting up of the Control Room at Lall Bazar with all telephones manned by officers previously selected.

(iv) The manning by Intelligence Officers of all police-stations and District Headquarters telephones.

(v) The attendance in the Control Room of Deputy Commissioners, Special Branch, Security Control (I), Security Control (II), Public Vehicles Department, Detective Department and Headquarters together with certain Assistant Commissioners who could be spared from their duties.

(vi) The sending out from police-stations constables in plain clothes for the purpose of collecting intelligence.

(vii) The bringing into headquarters of all Inspectors and sergeants from Security Control and Public Vehicles Department.

(viii) The sending out of mobile patrols on routes where experience has shown trouble was likely, for the purpose of reconnaissance.

There were in readiness at 8 a.m. either at headquarters or standing by in barracks approximately 16 Inspectors, 114 sergeants, 400 armed police and 150 traffic police. (MR. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Only they appeared nowhere.)

It will be seen therefore that the police force such as it was was fully mobilised on the morning of the 16th. Incidents were reported as early as 7 o'clock, but they were of a minor nature, and the two parties were kept apart by the local thana police. But the situation rapidly developed and grew from bad to worse. It was however localised, and although obstruction was offered to processions passing through Hindu areas—several processions which passed through purely Muslim and European areas or had come early found their way to the Maidan. I hope it will be appreciated that the police force of Calcutta or for the matter of that any city, is not recruited to cope with a general communal conflagration in every part of the city. They have been found generally sufficient to deal with normal disturbances, and on previous occasions even under section 93 régime the military have been called out days after the disturbances broke out. Many persons have criticised me for attempting to divest myself of responsibility for law and order in Calcutta, for making the Commissioner of Police, the scapegoat, for being so ungallant as to shift the responsibility upon him. I want to state categorically that I have no such intention. The Commissioner

of Police, to my knowledge, put the Emergency Scheme into operation early in the day, as I have told you, at 8 o'clock. He utilised the forces at his disposal to the best of his ability. He accepted all the calls for assistance that were made to him at Lall Bazar. He and his officers worked unceasingly.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Are you satisfied with the action of the police?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I will come later on to the various charges which have been made against the police.

Now, as I was saying, the Commissioner of Police himself remained on duty until the early hours of the 17th and he and his officers took it by turns to attend at Lall Bazar throughout. But if he and his police force were overwhelmed, it is not his fault, for as I have repeatedly stated, the police force of Calcutta have not been engaged in sufficient numbers to take charge of a general communal conflagration when fighting goes on in every street, lane, by-lane, when human beings commit acts of cruelty and bestiality without any precedent in the annals of Calcutta or of this sub-continent.

It has been stated that generally speaking the police stood idle and allowed assaults and lootings to take place under their very eyes. It is stated that when the police were asked to intervene, they said they had no orders or they had orders not to interfere. I have been solemnly asked by some people to ascertain from the Commissioner of Police, if he gave such orders. I am amazed that such a request could have been made, that it could possibly have been conceived that such orders could have been issued by any reasonable human being, and I can categorically state that no such orders were issued. Now, I ask you, can I or the Commissioner of Police be held responsible if in some place or places, the police at hand does not intervene and does not perform its duty in preserving law and order. I think, however, that at this stage honourable members should know what the statutory position is regarding the direction and control of the police force in Calcutta. I refer the honourable members to section 9 of the Police Act:—

"The Police Force shall be under the exclusive direction and control of the Commissioner of Police, who may, from time to time, subject to the control of the said Provincial Government, frame such orders and regulations as he shall deem expedient, relative to the general Government of the force, the places of residence, the classification, rank, distribution, and particular service of the several members thereof; their inspection; the description of arms, accoutrements, and other necessities to be furnished to them; and all such other orders and regulations relative to the said Police Force as the said Commissioner shall from time to time deem expedient for preventing neglect or abuse, and for rendering such force efficient in the discharge of all its duties."

I place below the opinion of the Advocate-General himself, so that there may be no cavil regarding interpretation:—

"In vesting 'the direction and control of the Police Force' in the Commissioner of Police, the Legislature has used the word 'exclusive' to emphasise the position and to make it clear that the Police Force is under the 'exclusive' direction and control of the Commissioner of Police."

In contrast to this exclusive power of direction and control, the power to frame orders and regulations given to the Commissioner is made subject to the control of the Provincial Government.

The words "subject to the control of the Provincial Government" cannot obviously qualify the "exclusive direction and control" of the Police Force given to the Commissioner.

It will thus be seen that so far as the direction and control of the police force is concerned in Calcutta, the Commissioner of Police is vested with the statutory responsibility, and what I stated in another place that neither I nor a higher power can intervene is strictly correct. Apart from that, administratively it would be wrong on the part of any one to interfere with his dispositions without his consent. When this is so, I am asked, why did I go to the Control Room, and what I was doing there? I am certain that such is the perversity of human nature, had I not been there I would have been charged with dereliction of duty. As far as I remember regarding the incidents of that crowded day, I entered the Control Room at about 2 p.m. after having visited several localities and having ascertained for myself that the tension was rising and the conflagration was likely to be general. At that time the compound of Lall Bazar was flooded with armed police and lorries. Some had gone out on urgent calls. I gave to the Commissioner of Police my appreciation that the military should be called out. At 2-45 p.m. a warning was communicated to the military authorities to be in readiness as their services might be required. At 4-30 p.m. decision was taken and communicated to the military authorities requesting them to come to the aid of the civil power, and for this purpose to concentrate a force at Sealdah in order to keep open certain important thoroughfares, such as Canning Street, Colootolah Street, Mirzapore Street, Lower Chitpur Road from its junction with Colootolah Street to its junction with Vivekananda Road, Vivekananda Road from its junction with Upper Chitpore Road to its junction with College Street, College Street from its junction with Colootolah Street to its junction with Vivekananda Road; Harrison Road; Central Avenue from its junction with Vivekananda Road to its junction with Colootolah Street.

I went to the public meeting for a few minutes and returned from there about half-past five after having ascertained from personal inspection that no Muslim was safe in Bhowanipur. I do not hold Mr. Syamuprasad Mookerjee liable for the incidents that took place there. (DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: But I hold you liable for the incidents in the whole of Calcutta.) Reports of incidents were coming into the Control Room and were being dealt with by the Commissioner of Police. In the Control Room where calls were pouring in unceasingly I too took down reports and passed them on to the Commissioner of Police for action. I was thus able to watch the course of the disturbances and how the reports were dealt with and action was taken on them, and I have no doubt that not being entirely dumb I offered suggestion when I deemed it expedient. Members of the public were flocking in asking for assistance in various ways. I ascertained from them their requirements, passed them on to the Commissioner of Police, and attempted to help them in every possible way. I insisted that very evening on curfew being proclaimed and on the military being put into position. The report from Howrah not being satisfactory, arrangement was made for troops to be brought down to the Howrah Rest Camp from Barrackpore. It was clear as time passed that the calls were increasing, that the disturbance was spreading and that the police would be fully extended.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: And you said that the situation was improving.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I do not recollect to have said so.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, frequent interruptions are coming from that aide. That is not proper.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, it has been the practice in this House. Occasional interruption has not been out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Not occasional, it is frequent.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: It is not frequent. It is just a helpful interruption.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I do not remember, Sir, that there was a single interruption from this side when the Leader of the Opposition was speaking.

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee referred to a statement that I am alleged to have made to a press representative on Friday night. I do not remember having made that statement because during those three or four days when I was pestered by newspapermen, I told them the whole time that I refused to make any statement.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: You must have done that. It has been printed.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: It might have been so; I do not recollect. There was definitely a lull in the reports received in the Control Room, I think, between 9 and about 10-30 p.m., as one could realise there was a crescendo and a maximum and a minimum throughout.

I must repeat what I stated at another place, that according to the statements of the Viceroy himself and according to what the military themselves understand as their obligations they do not feel inclined to come to the aid of the civil power unless and until it is certified to them that the police cannot cope with the situation or, to use an expression which is perhaps technical, are overwhelmed. I point this out in particular to the Leader of the European Party, who desires that we should call the military whenever a disturbance is brewing. I have had talks with the high military authorities here and they have definitely stated that they will not take up the duties of the police until it is certified to them that the police are unable to deal with the particular situation. These are the instructions which have been sent to them by no less a personage than the Viceroy. If the honourable Leader of the European Party has sufficient pull with the Viceroy and the military authorities to induce them to alter this policy, nobody would be gladder than myself. (Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: How did the Bombay Ministry do?) They did not. In the evening of that day I insisted that the military should not only be called out but should be placed on the ground. What they could do, what were their numbers and resources, how much ground they could cover, how many troops they were prepared to commit—I am giving you a technical expression that is used by them—what would be the extent of their operations, were all matters which were thrashed out between the Chief Secretary, the Commissioner of Police and the military authorities. At 11 o'clock it was decided that the military would patrol the area already designated and to which I have referred to above. About noon the next day, the military made preparations to take over the area which was bordered north by Vivekananda Road, east by Lower Circular Road, south by Bowbazar Street and west by the Hooghly. They chose to employ three battalions for this purpose and started combing that area. All along a Deputy Commissioner of Police was in liaison with them, that is to say, from the 16th. On the 17th during their operations they asked for the assistance of three Deputy Commissioners, 45 policemen of officer's rank and 210 armed police, which further depleted the resources of the Commissioner of Police. The operations ended at 8 p.m. On the same day at about 4 p.m. arrangements were made for military patrolling during the evening in the Garden Reach, 24-Parganas area, from the Docks to the end of the

Garden Reach Municipality; and on that same day the military were also asked to take over or to maintain order in the area from Surendranath Banerjee Road down Free School Street, Wellesley Street, Park Street, Marquis Street, Elliot Road, Royd Street and then on to the Park Circus area. On the 18th the military extended their operations further north of Vivekananda Road.

On the 17th at about 12 noon, the leaders of the various parties including Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition were good enough to meet me in my room in the Assembly. Although I had had an unfortunate experience the previous evening regarding the behaviour of a Hindu crowd, I requested them earnestly to come out with me or without me and address the people in the interests of peace so that the evil might cease before it spread further.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: What was their suggestion?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They expressed their inability to do so.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Chief Minister kindly tell the House what suggestion was made at the meeting which the Hon'ble Chief Minister referred to he had had with the Leader of the Opposition and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They expressed their inability to do so. I want to make it clear to the House that I do not blame them. Perhaps the position was such that no amount of peace parleys on our part would have eased the situation. I only state facts. They asked that armed pickets should be placed throughout Calcutta. I conveyed the opinion so expressed to the Commissioner of Police, who expressed and demonstrated his inability to comply with the request with the forces at his disposal. This is a matter of administration in which I felt I could not interfere. The Honourable Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Sarat Bose and several others were apprised of the fact. They even conveyed their suggestion to His Excellency the Governor and yet we could not see pickets on the scene. (**Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR:** The Leader of the Opposition wanted to go to the Governor along with the Chief Minister and the Chief Minister did not agree.) The Commissioner of Police had his own method of dealing with the disturbances and he utilised what he had, and I repeat that what he had was clearly not enough for the task that he had to cope with. He utilised what he had in a manner which he considered most suitable and most likely to yield results.

The lack of personnel indeed was so great that he could hardly deal with the innumerable requests for armed escorts to rescue people from marooned areas. In the Control Room I was overwhelmed with such requests. I knew that in the second phase of the riots, after the first flush of conflict, efforts should be made to rescue people from hostile or marooned areas. I believe the local thanas assisted as best as they could. But it was difficult to provide armed escorts from central headquarters. I find it insinuated—an insinuation damnably false, but on a par with many of the charges freely bandied against me by a section of the Press and by people who had worked themselves into a hysteria and a panic—that in the Control Room, I utilised my position to provide escorts to Muslims only and not to Hindus. I say this is damnably false, and many a Hindu gentleman, if he cares to speak the truth and to brave the wrath of his fellow-countrymen who would not like to hear anything said in my behalf, will give evidence before you that I treated all alike and when armed guards were available and could be provided by the Commissioner of Police or by his very able lieutenant the Deputy Commissioner, Headquarters, they were assigned

to whosoever wanted them. When the requests became too overwhelming and Lalbazar was besieged by persons clamouring for armed guards, and when I found that the Commissioner of Police was at his wit's end to provide such guards, I conceived the idea of calling upon the military to help us with lorries and guards. An organisation was set up immediately at the Car Park near the Ochterlony Monument, which rendered most valuable service. If the records are looked into, it will be found again that the vast majority of the voiceless are utilised by the Hindus.

I again met the leaders on Sunday, on Monday and finally on Tuesday when at my most earnest request they agreed to come out with me on a peace mission. We covered a considerable portion on the 20th and the balance on the 21st, and I thank the Almighty with a full heart that he condescended to bestow on us his kindness, and the mission was able to achieve its end and to bring about almost a complete cessation of the loot and the carnage which had kept Calcutta in its grip for four days.

In this effort for the restoration of peace, I must thank all those leaders who went out with me in the procession and gave us their support, but my special thanks are due to some members of the Communist Party—I must give them their due—who were pressing for this Peace Mission from the very beginning. One word more, Sir, regarding what I did in those nightmarish days. I was either in the Control Room or out in the streets making efforts to allay the disturbance or met in consultation with the leaders of the various parties. A paper which, I think, honourable members will recognize as "Statesman" picked upon me as a chief culprit from the very beginning and held me responsible for the breakdown of law and order, for clearly there was such a breakdown, where so many people could have been massacred or butchered by their fellow country-men. This cannot be denied by anyone. At first I thought that this charge was not really serious and that it had been levelled against me to avoid the obvious culprit, namely, the Cabinet Mission which had produced such a terrible tension between the Hindus and the Muslims and which had created a situation where the Hindus felt that any agitation by the Muslims was directed against them and was directed against their assumption of power in the Interim Government, but when I found later on that in one or two of its articles or sub-articles it charged me with inactivity, I understood that this paper was deliberately out to malign me and to find every possible excuse for doing so. Whoever was the author was obviously working in his *sanctum sanctorum* sheltered from the cataclysm which had overtaken Calcutta and drawing his own conclusions from those same fantasies which troubled the Hindu Press. He wished to know where I was. Probably he thought that I had disappeared from the scene. He wished to know where I was when it was stated that His Excellency the Governor had already been twice round some areas in the city and why I was not present at the routine Press Conferences which were being held to apprise the Press of passing events. The "Statesman" is still on the war path. It will not be satisfied until it sees me out of office. Perhaps, its hopes will be fulfilled, but I shall never forget the attack on me which it initiated at a time when I was not in a position to meet it, an attack no less violent in its nature than the bludgeonings by 50 goondas on one defenceless head, or an assassin's knife in the back.

There is very little for me to add except to clear further points that have been made in the various speeches through clear misconception. It has been stated that I cannot remain in office if I call upon the people to break the law. I agree with this proposition, but the point which I would like to emphasise is that the 16th of August was not a day on which Direct Action was to be launched, nor was it a day indeed on which the people were called upon to break the law. It was a simple

day for demonstration and for listening to the speeches justifying the policy of the Muslim League. Muslims were not ready for Direct Action and up till now they do not know what form the Direct Action will take. Reference has been made in this connection to the speeches of Maulana Akram Khan and Khwaja Nazimuddin. Those speeches, I am sure, had not the slightest effect on Muslims on this occasion, for they were speeches delivered in support of a future Direct Action which has not yet been placed before the Muslims. Not one Muslim was labouring in the belief that on that day, which the Quaid-e-Azam had called upon the Muslims to observe as a peaceful day, that on that day any Direct Action was being contemplated. Reference has been made to a statement which I am obliged to have made in Delhi regarding independence and running a parallel Government. Surely, I have never conceived that I could declare independence while remaining a Chief Minister under the Act of 1935. I still maintain—perhaps I may be permitted to do so—that Bengal one day shall be an independent sovereign state. (Cries of “Hear, hear” from the Government Benches.) Many honourable members have offered me advice to form a coalition. They say that there never will be peace in this province unless a coalition is formed. Honourable members know my views regarding a coalition, but I ask them how can there be a coalition in this province with the Congress when elsewhere there is no co-operation and coalition. Are there not riots going on in Bombay, in the United Province and elsewhere? What attempts are being made by the Congress Ministries to take any Muslim Leaguers into their Ministry? Has not Sardar Vallabhai Patel spoken in no uncertain terms, “That it is absurd to talk about a coalition between the Congress and the Muslim League; their ideologies are too wide apart.” I refer to this statement which came out in the papers here not so long ago as the 3rd of August this year. Let us all wish ardently that the disputes between the Congress and the Muslim League may be settled at the centre in a real spirit of co-operation and friendliness motivated by the earnest desire to see that peace prevails in India. Let us stop talking about civil war as the only other alternative. You cannot have civil war in a country where either the Hindus or Muslims are closely intermingled or one section is in a desperate minority and is perfectly defenceless. That will not be civil war. That will be insensate brutish butchery and we must avoid it if you do not want to make a political game of the lives of the people, if you do not think that Hindusthan or Pakistan can be achieved by murdering your neighbour, if you are determined to see that whatever the ideologies local peace is maintained throughout and an earnest effort is made to preserve peace without having to call in the military.

And here I make an offer to the Leader of the Opposition and to any gentleman of good will to join me in a peace committee for which I have been working all this time. We have appointed an officer to form peace committees in various parts of Calcutta. This officer is doing extremely good work and the tension has been greatly eased through his efforts. Peace committees are being formed in various parts of Bengal and we are encouraging them. As I have said in several places not even 10 armies can stop the carnage in Bengal, if the people are determined to murder each other. The only hope that there is, is that we must agree to live side by side and let Pakistan and Hindusthan work out its own destiny, but in Bengal we shall not fight with each other. If a Central Peace Committee is formed it will have its repercussions in other parts of Bengal as well and even if we may not be able to come forward as a coalition in the Government, we must be able to work with each other in co-operation and harmoniously within the province.

I have been asked certain question today from various parts of the House. I have been asked why no reports have been received in Lalbazar

regarding the murder of all Muslims in Sovabazar, Baghbarar and other parts of North Calcutta.

It is difficult for me to give an answer at this stage. Surely this will form a very important subject-matter of the Commission of Enquiry. If it is a fact that carnage went on in Hindu areas for eight hours at a stretch, and that no police was available, and that there was no report either in the Control Room or elsewhere, these require a very serious enquiry, and no doubt an enquiry will be taken up.

I am asked to give an explanation as to why the Police looted, or looked on while shops were being looted and people were being massacred, and why they did not intervene? On the other hand, they were found with wrist watches after Limton Watch & Co., in the Dalhousie Square, was looted. It is difficult for me to give an explanation, but I may state that with the political background which I have just stated, and the paralysis which has overtaken the Police as a result thereof, they did not feel that they could meet the situation. I am perfectly certain that so far as the Commissioner of Police and other officers are concerned, they must have been fully alive to the situation, and they could never pass such orders; but it is impossible for the Commissioner of Police, for instance, to be everywhere in every part of Calcutta, or for myself to be in every part of Calcutta to see if the Police were carrying on their duties or not.

I have been asked to inform the House, why no shots were fired on the 16th of August. I have taken a report, and I may state that on the 16th of August 485 tear-gas shells and 200 rounds of musket and revolver shots were fired on the mob.

One can quite understand the intensity of feeling that had been aroused when in spite of all these attempts the police could not bring the situation under control.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee has referred to several incidents—one with reference to the Park Street thana. It happened that while I was going to the Control Room some persons came upon me and told me that they have been conveying foodgrains to the *musafirkhana* in Lower Chitpore Road for the purpose of feeding the refugees, and that a sergeant had taken them away; they said that they wanted the foodgrains very badly, otherwise these refugees would starve. I went with them and to the thana and enquired what the matter was. They could not say that they were looted from any shop. All that they said was that there was some looted *dal* was lying somewhere. If they were actually looting surely rice is the thing which they would have looted, but they had no rice in their possession. On the other hand, they proved that they had purchased some vegetables and eggs, and that was true. This is the only case in which I intervened, because I felt that these persons were arrested for no rhyme or reason. As soon as I came out they got on the lorry and pointed out that a basket of eggs which they have purchased for Rs. 150 was missing. Nobody in the police-station could say where it went.

Dr. SHYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE: Under what authority you could get persons released?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They were not found with looted property and there was no charge against them.

I must confess that after this incident I decided not to intervene in any case. Now, Sir, I think I have been able to place before the House the resources at the disposal of the police, and the general background

as it existed at the time. I am not afraid of the charges, but I do object that I should not be charged with crimes which I did not commit. I have already explained to the House the background with which the incident took place, and it has been voiced from the various parts of the House and agreed that the set-up of the police is not of such a nature that they can cope with the general conflagration; that the Commissioner of Police, who is in charge of the police in Calcutta, put into operation the Emergency Scheme which was in existence at the time and which had been worked during disturbances in Calcutta. He did his best with the police at his disposal, but failed, and undoubtedly they have failed to a large degree. An enquiry will be gone into. I do not think personally any one is to blame. There is no necessity to assure the House that there is no power and there is no one yet born who can regard with equanimity the murder and massacre of all these innocent persons, and there is no one so heinous, so Satanic who could be charged with such a crime.

The motion of Mr. Dharendra Nath Datta that this Assembly expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—87.

Acharjee, Mr. Shitangshu Kanta.
Adhikari, Mr. Amulya Chandra.
Bandopadhyaya, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerjee, Mr. Gobindlal.
Banerjee, Mr. Susil Kumar.
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra.
Barman, Mr. Mohini Mohan.
Basu, Mr. Hemanta Kumar.
Bhandari, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharjee, Mr. Ganendra Chandra.
Bhattacharjee, Mr. Munindra Nath.
Bhattacharyya, Mr. Shyamapada.
Birsha, Mr. Bir.
Biswas, Mr. Gayanath.
Bose, Mr. Satish Chandra.
Chakraborty, Mr. Benode Chandra.
Chakravarty, Mr. Satish Chandra.
Chatterjee, Mr. Haripada.
Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Mihir Lal.
Chowdhury, Mr. Annada Prosad.
Das, Miss Bina.
Das, Mr. Brojomadhab.
Das, Mr. Jogendra Chandra.
Das, Mr. Radha Nath.
Das Gupta, Mr. Khagendra Nath.
Das Gupta, Mr. Suresh Chandra.
Dass, Mr. Kanailal.
Datta, Mr. Dharendra Nath.
De, Mr. Kanai Lal.
Dhar, Mr. Manoranjan.
Dolui, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Sukumar.
Dutt-Mazumdar, Mr. Niharendu.
Ganguli, Mr. Bepin Behari.
Gayen, Mr. Arabinda.
Ghose, Mr. A. K.
Ghose, Mr. Bimal Comaf.
Ghose, Mr. Jyotish Chandra.
Ghosh Chowdhury, Mr. Haran Chandra.
Gomes, Mr. D.
Guha Roy, Dr. Protap Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. J. C.
Gupta, Mr. Manoranjan.
Gurung, Mr. Damber Singh.
Haldar, Mr. Kuber Chand.

Jalan, Mr. Iswar Das.
Khaitan, Mr. Debi Prosad.
Kundu, Mr. Nishitha Nath.
Lahiri, Mr. Provas Chandra.
Mahanty, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Mahtab, Sir Uday Chand, K.C.I.E.
Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan
Maiti, Mr. Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Mr. Nishapati.
Majumdar, Mr. Bhupati.
Mal, Mr. Iswar Chandra.
Mallick, Mr. Ashutosh.
Mandal, Mr. Annadaprasad.
Mandal, Mr. Bankubehari.
Mandal, Mr. Krishna Prosad.
Mookerjee, Dr. Syamaprasad.
Mukherji, Mr. Dharendra Narayan.
Murarka, Mr. Basantlal.
Nandy, Maharaja Sris Chandra, c
Cossimbazar.
Naskar, Mr. Ardhendu Sekhar.
Naskar, Mr. Hem Chandra.
Panja, Mr. Jadabendra Nath.
Podder, Mr. Anandlal.
Pramanik, Mr. Purna Chandra.
Pramanik, Mr. Rajani Kanta.
Raikut, Mr. Prasanna Deb.
Ray, Mr. Kamal Krishna.
Ray Barman, Mr. Rajani Kanta.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy.
Roy, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar.
Roy, Mr. Ram Hari.
Sarkar, Mr. Bijoy Krishna.
Sarkar, Mr. Rajendra Nath.
Sarker, Mr. Pratulisa Ranjan.
Sen, Mrs. Ashalata.
Sen, Mr. Debendra Nath.
Sen, Mr. Satindra Nath.
Sen Gupta, Mrs. Nellie.
Singha, Mr. Arun Chandra.
Singhi, Mr. Narendra Singh.
Sinha, Mr. Bimal Chandra.
Thakur, Mr. Pramatha Ranjan.

NOES—131.

Abdul Ahad, Dr.
 Abdul Awaiz, Mr.
 Abdul Aziz, Maulana Md.
 Abdul Aziz Munshi, Khan Sahib.
 Abdul Haiz, Mr. Mirza.
 Abdul Hal, Maulana.
 Abdul Hakim Mia, Mr.
 Abdul Hakim Vikramপুরi, Mr. Md.
 Abdul Halim, Mr. Molla Mohammad.
 Abdul Hamid, Mr.
 Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
 Abdul Hannan, Mr.
 Abdul Karim, Mr.
 Abdul Khaleque, Mr.
 Abdul Mannan, Mr. Fakir.
 Abdul Momin, Mr.
 Abdullahel Bagul, Mr. Md.
 Abdur Rahman, The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M.
 Abdur Rahman Khan (*alias* Nurul Mia), Mr.
 Abdur Raschid Mahmood, Mr.
 Abdur Rashid, Maulana Khondkar.
 Abdus Sabur Khan, Mr.
 Abdus Salam, Mr. Md.
 Abidur Reza Choudhury, Mr.
 Abul Hashem, Mr.
 Abul Kalam Shamsuddin, Mr.
 Abul Masud, Mr. Kazi.
 Abul Quasem, Mr.
 Ahammad Ali, Mr. Mir.
 Ahmed Ali Mridha, Mr.
 Ahmed Hosain, The Hon'ble Mr.
 Ahmed Kabir Chowdhury, Mr.
 Akbar Ali, Maulvi.
 Ali Ahmed Chowdhury, Mr.
 Ali Ahmed Khan, Mr.
 Anwara Khatun.
 Arif Choudhury (Dhanu Mia), Mr. Md.
 Asan Ali Muktear, Mr.
 Aulad Hossain Khan, Mr.
 Azizur Rahman, Mr. Syed.
 Badruzzaman Muhammad Ilias, Mr.
 Safatuddin Talukdar, Mr. A. K. M.
 Barman, Mr. Haran Chandra
 Barury, Mr. Dwarka Nath.
 Biswas, Mr. Bhoia Nath.
 Ebrahim Khan, Mr.
 Emaduddin Ahammad, Mr.
 Eskandar Ali Khan, Mr.
 Farid Ahmad Chowdhury, Mr.
 Fazlul Huq, Mr. A. K.
 Fazlul Karim, Mr.
 Fazlur Qadir, Mr.
 Fazlur Rahman (Dacca), Mr.
 Fazlur Rahman (Mymensingh), Mr.
 Fazlur Rahman (Noakhali), Mr.
 Gomes, Mr. R. A.
 Habibul Huq, Mr. Syed.
 Hafizuddin Choudhuri, Mr.
 Hamiduddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Hassan Ali, Mr.
 Hatem Aliy, Khan Sahib.
 Husan Ara Begum.
 Ilias Ali Molla, Mr.
 Ispehani, Mr. M. A. H.
 Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Jonab Ali Mia, Mr.
 Kabir Ahmed Choudhury, Mr.

Kazem Ali Mirza, Shahibzada Kamen
 Jah Salyid.
 Kheirat Hossain, Mr.
 Khuda Bukhah, Mr. Md.
 Khurram Khan Panoo, Mr.
 Lutfar Rahman, Mr.
 Lutfar Rahman, Mr. Dewan.
 Madar Sux, Mr.
 Mahzuddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Mahammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur Syed.
 Mahammad Owais, Mr.
 Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Mr.
 Majibar Rahman, Maulvi.
 Malik, Dr. A. M.
 Mandal, The Hon'ble Mr. Jagendra
 Nath.
 Maniruddin Akhand, Mr.
 Martuza Reza Chowdhury, Mr.
 Masiuddin Ahmed (*alias* Raja Miah), Mr.
 Mazharul Haque, Mr. Abu Talyab.
 Mobarak Ali Ahmed, Mr.
 Mohammad Sharif Khan, Mr.
 Mohammed Ali, The Hon'ble Mr.
 Mozammel Hossain, Dr.
 Mudassir Hossain, Mr.
 Muhammad Habibullah Chaudhury, Mr.
 Muhammad Idris, Maulvi.
 Muhammad Ishaque, Mr.
 Muhammad Israil, Mr.
 Muhammad Quasem, Maulana Hajj.
 Muhammad Qumruddin, Mr.
 Muhammad Raheque, Mr.
 Muhammad Rukonuddin, Mr.
 Muhammad Siddique, Dr. Syed.
 Mullick, Mr. Mukunda Behary.
 Musharruff Hossain, Nawab, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Muzaffar Rahman Choudhury, Mr.
 Nasarulla, Nawabzada K.
 Nawajesh Ahmed, Mr.
 Nawab Ali, Mr.
 Nazir Hossain Khandkar, Mr.
 Nooruddin, Mr. K.
 Nurazzaman, Mr.
 Osman Ali, Mr.
 Osman Gani, Mr. Md.
 Paniruddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Pentony, Mr. L. R.
 Piatel, Mr. R. E.
 Ray, Mr. Nagendra Narayan.
 Ricketts, Mrs. E. M.
 Salim, Mr. S. A.
 Serajul Haque, Mr. Syed.
 Serajuddin Ahmed, Mr. (Midnapore).
 Serajuddin Ahmed, Mr. (Gaibandha).
 Serajul Islam, Mr.
 Shamsuddin Ahmed, The Hon'ble Mr.
 Shamsuddin Ahmed Chowdhury (*alias*
 Badsha Mia), Mr.
 Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar, Mr.
 Shamsuddin Sikdar, Mr. Md.
 Sharifuddin Ahmad, Mr.
 Suhrawardy, The Hon'ble Mr. H. S.
 Tafazzal Ali, Mr.
 Tafazzel Hossain, Mr.
 Wilks, Mr. G. C. D.
 Yusuf Hossain Chowdhury, Mr.
 Zahur Ahmed Choudhury, Mr.

The Ayes being 87, and the Noes 131, the motion was lost.

The motion of Mr. Bimal Comar Ghose that this Assembly express its want of confidence in the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister and the Minister in charge of Law and Order, was then put and division taken with the following result:—

AYES—85.

Acharjee, Mr. Shitangshu Kanta.
Adhikari, Mr. Amulya Chandra.
Bandopadhyaya, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerjee, Mr. Gobindalal.
Benerjee, Mr. Susil Kumar.
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra.
Berman, Mr. Mohini Mohan.
Basu, Mr. Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharjee, Mr. Ganendra Chandra.
Bhattacharjee, Mr. Munindra Nath.
Birsha, Mr. Bir.
Biswas, Mr. Gayanath.
Bose, Mr. Satish Chandra.
Chakraborty, Mr. Benode Chandra.
Chakravarty, Mr. Satish Chandra.
Chatterjee, Mr. Haripada.
Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Mihir Lal.
Chowdhury, Mr. Annada Prasad.
Das, Miss Bina.
Das, Mr. Brojomadhab.
Das, Mr. Jogendra Chandra.
Das, Mr. Radha Nath.
Das Gupta, Mr. Khagendra Nath.
Das Gupta, Mr. Suresh Chandra.
Dase, Mr. Kanailal.
Datta, Mr. Dharendra Nath.
De, Mr. Kanai Lal.
Dhar, Mr. Manoranjan.
Dolui, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Sukumar.
Dutt-Mazumdar, Mr. Niharendu.
Ganguli, Mr. Bopin Behari.
Gayen, Mr. Arabinda.
Ghose, Mr. A. K.
Ghose, Mr. Bimal Comar.
Ghose, Mr. Jyotish Chandra.
Ghosh Chowdhury, Mr. Haran Chandra.
Gomes, Mr. D.
Guha Roy, Dr. Protap Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. J. C.
Gupta, Mr. Monoranjan.
Gurung, Mr. Damber Singh.
Jalan, Mr. Iswar Das.

Khaitan, Mr. Debi Prasad.
Kundu, Mr. Nithitha Nath.
Lahiri, Mr. Provas Chandra.
Mahanty, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Mahtab, Sir Uday Chand, K.C.I.E
Maharajahdhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan
Maiti, Mr. Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Mr. Nishapati.
Majumdar, Mr. Bhupati.
Mal, Mr. Iswar Chandra.
Mallick, Mr. Ashutosh.
Mandal, Mr. Annadaprasad.
Mandal, Mr. Bankubehari.
Mandal, Mr. Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, Dr. Syamaprasad.
Mukherji, Mr. Dharendra Narayan.
Murarka, Mr. Basantlal.
Nandy, Maharaja Sris Chandra, C
Cossimbazar.
Naskar, Mr. Ardhendu Sekhar.
Naskar, Mr. Hem Chandra.
Panja, Mr. Jadabendra Nath.
Poddar, Mr. Anandilal.
Pramanik, Mr. Purna Chandra.
Pramanik, Mr. Rajani Kanta.
Raikut, Mr. Prasanna Deb.
Ray, Mr. Kamal Krishna.
Ray Barman, Mr. Rajani Kanta.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy.
Roy, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Senkar.
Roy, Mr. Ram Hari.
Sarkar, Mr. Bijoy Krishna.
Sarkar, Mr. Rajendra Nath.
Sarker, Mr. Pratulla Ranjan.
Sen, Mrs. Ashalata.
Sen, Mr. Debendra Nath.
Sen, Mr. Satindra Nath.
Sen Gupta, Mrs. Nellie.
Singha, Mr. Arun Chandra.
Singhi, Mr. Narendra Singh.
Sinha, Mr. Bimal Chandra.
Thakur, Mr. Pramatha Ranjan.

NOES—130.

Abdul Ahad, Dr.
Abdul Awal, Mr.
Abdul Aziz, Maulana Md.
Abdul Aziz Munshi, Mr.
Abdul Haq, Mr. Mirza.
Abdul Hal, Maulana.
Abdul Hakim Mia, Mr.
Abdul Hakim Vikramপুরi, Mr. Md.
Abdul Halim, Mr. Molla Mohammad.
Abdul Hamid, Mr.
Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
Abdul Hannan, Mr.
Abdul Karim, Mr.
Abdul Khaleque, Mr.
Abdul Mannan, Mr. Fakir.
Abdul Momin, Mr.
Abdullah Saqui, Mr. Md.
Abdur Rahman, The Hon'ble Mr.
A. F. M.

Abdur Rahman Khan (alias Nur
Mia), Mr.
Abdur Raschid Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rashid, Maulana Khondkar.
Abdus Sabur Khan, Mr.
Abdus Salam, Mr. Md.
Abdur Reza Chowdhury, Mr.
Abul Hashem, Mr.
Abul Kalam Shamsuddin, Mr.
Abul Masud, Mr. Kazi.
Abul Quasem, Mr.
Ahmed Ali, Mr. Mir.
Ahmed Ali Mridha, Mr.
Ahmed Hossain, The Hon'ble Mr.
Ahmed Kabir Chowdhury, Mr.
Akbar Ali, Maulvi.
Ali Ahmed Chowdhury, Mr.
Ali Ahmed Khan, Mr.
Anwara Khatun.

Arif Choudhury (Dhanu Mia), Mr. Md.
 Asan Ali Mukteer, Mr.
 Aulad Hossain Khan, Mr.
 Azizur Rahman, Mr. Syed.
 Sadiuzzaman Muhammad Ilias, Mr.
 Safatuddin Talukdar, Mr. A. K. M.
 Bermani, Mr. Haran Chandra.
 Sarury, Mr. Dwarka Nath.
 Siswas, Mr. Shola Nath.
 Ebrahim Khan, Mr.
 Emaduddin Ahammad, Mr.
 Eskandar Ali Khan, Mr.
 Farid Ahmed Chowdhury, Mr.
 Fazlul Huq, Mr. A. K.
 Fazlul Karim, Mr.
 Fazlur Qadir, Mr.
 Fazlur Rahman (Dacca), Mr.
 Fazlur Rahman (Mymensingh), Khan
 Bahadur.
 Fazlur Rahman (Noakhali), Mr.
 Gomes, Mr. R. A.
 Habibul Huq, Mr. Syed.
 Hafizuddin Choudhuri, Mr.
 Hamiduddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Hassan Ali, Mr.
 Hatem Aliy, Khan Sahib.
 Husan Ara Begum.
 Ilias Ali Molla, Mr.
 Isaphani, Mr. M. A. H.
 Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Jonab Ali Mia, Mr.
 Kabir Ahmed Choudhury, Mr.
 Kazem Ali Mirza, Shahibzada Kawan
 Jah Saliyd.
 Khairat Hossain, Mr.
 Khuda Bukhsh, Mr. Md.
 Khurram Khan Panoor, Mr.
 Lutfar Rahman, Mr.
 Lutfar Rahman, Mr. Dewan.
 Madar Bux, Mr.
 Mahzuddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Mahammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur Syed.
 Mahammad Owais, Mr.
 Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Mr.
 Majiber Rahman, Maulvi.
 Malik, Dr. A. M.
 Mandal, The Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra
 Nath.
 Maniruddin Akhand, Mr.
 Martuza Reza Chowdhury, Mr.

Masluddin Ahmed (alias Raja Miah), Mr.
 Mazharul Haque, Mr. Abu Tatyab.
 Mobarak Ali Ahmed, Mr.
 Mohammed Sharif Khan, Mr.
 Mohammed Ali, The Hon'ble Mr.
 Mozammel Hossain, Dr.
 Mudassir Hossain, Mr.
 Muhammad Habibullah Choudhury, Mr.
 Muhammad Idris, Maulvi.
 Muhammad Ishaque, Mr.
 Muhammad Israil, Mr.
 Muhammad Quasem, Maulana Hajji.
 Muhammad Qumruddin, Mr.
 Muhammad Raheque, Mr.
 Muhammad Rukonuddin, Mr.
 Muhammad Siddique, Dr. Syed.
 Mullick, Mr. Mukunda Behary.
 Musharruff Hossain, Nawab, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Muzaffar Rahman Choudhury, Mr.
 Nasarulla, Nawabzada K.
 Nawajesh Ahmed, Mr.
 Nawab Ali, Mr.
 Nazir Hossain Khandkar, Mr.
 Nooruddin, Mr. K.
 Nurazzaman, Mr.
 Osman Ali, Mr.
 Osman Gani, Mr. Md.
 Paniruddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Pentony, Mr. L. R.
 Platel, Mr. R. E.
 Ray, Mr. Nagendra Narayan.
 Ricketts, Mrs. E. M.
 Salim, Mr. S. A.
 Serajul Haque, Mr. Syed.
 Serajuddin Ahmed, Mr. (Midnapore).
 Serajuddin Ahmed, Mr. (Gaibandha).
 Serajul Islam, Mr.
 Shamsuddin Ahmed, The Hon'ble Mr.
 Shamsuddin Ahmed Chowdhury (alias
 Badsha Mia), Mr.
 Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar, Mr.
 Shamsuddin Sikdar, Mr. Md.
 Sharfuddin Ahmad, Mr.
 Tafazzal Ali, Mr.
 Tafazzel Hossain, Mr.
 Wilks, Mr. G. C. D.
 Yusuf Hossain Choudhury, Mr.
 Zahur Ahmed Choudhury, Mr.

The Ayes being 85 and the Noes 130, the motion was lost.

(The result was greeted with tumultuous cries of "Muslim League zindabad, Suhrawardy zindabad" from the Government benches.)

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-30 p.m. till 10 a.m. on Saturday, the 21st September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under
the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Saturday, the 21st September, 1946, at 10 a.m.

Present:

Mr. Deputy Speaker (Mr. TAPAZZAL ALI) in the Chair, 7 Hon'ble Ministers and 203 Members.

Enquiry about short-notice questions.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, perhaps the House remembers that more than a month ago I gave notice of an adjournment motion regarding the firing incident at Narayanganj and we had an assurance from the Government side twice in this House that they would shortly give an answer to the short-notice question tabled by Mr. J. C. Gupta on that subject. But most unfortunately Government have not given any answer to that short-notice question as yet. I want information from the Government side and your decision in the matter as to whether answer to this short-notice question which the Government assured us will be given or not?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I would request the honourable member to kindly meet me in my Chamber, so that we may have a discussion with the Hon'ble Minister concerned about it and find out what is the position.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for your suggestion. I should also like to remind you again that some questions I tabled in the month of June, perhaps on the 24th as far as I remember. Another short-notice question I also gave notice of, but unfortunately the Government have not given an answer to any of the questions which are of a very important nature.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Will the honourable member please see in my Chamber with a list of his questions, so that I may send a note to the Department concerned to expedite the answers?

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: মাননীয় Deputy Speaker মহোদয়: বাস গেল, অবশ্যই জুন মাসে, জুলাই মাসে আগষ্ট মাসে সেপ্টেম্বর পড়লো। তবু কোন খবর হ'ল না।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will make the same request to all the honourable members whose questions are remaining unanswered for a long time.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

The Titus river in Brahmanbaria subdivision.

***47. Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Irrigation aware—

- (i) that the river Titus in the Brahmanbaria subdivision is drying up at a place where the Anderson *khal* has fallen into the river Titus;
- (ii) that the silting up has been due to the carrying of silt by the Anderson *khal*; and
- (iii) that the silting up has already affected the cultivation of *boro* paddy in large areas lying to the south of that place?

(b) Do the Government consider the desirability of taking immediate steps for preventing the silting up?

(c) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take?

MINISTER-IN-CHARGE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF IRRIGATION (the Hon'ble Mr. Abul Fazal Muhammad Abdur Rahman): (a) (i) A *char* has been formed in the middle of the river Titus at the place where Anderson *khal* falls into it.

(ii) The matter is under investigation.

(iii) No.

(b) and (c) The matter will be taken up for consideration after the investigation is complete.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether a definite policy is being followed by Government in the matter of excavation, resuscitation and removal of silt of Titus, Goomty, Silonia, Karnafuly and other rivers of Chittagong?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Government have got a definite policy about them.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that agriculture in Brahmanbaria and Tipperah is being seriously affected due to the indifference of Government in not regulating the courses of these rivers in this subdivision?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Government is now contemplating to have a definite scheme about resuscitating all these rivers.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that flood is becoming a normal and annual affair in Comilla, Feni and Noakhali due to the silting up of rivers and, if so, whether Government is prepared to thoroughly investigate the river problem of the Chittagong Division?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Government are investigating thoroughly the river problem in the Chittagong Division and for that purpose they have opened up a special division in Chittagong.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the rivers Sitalakhya and Buri Ganga in the Dacca district have been silted up and if immediate action is not taken to clear the silt, not only the health but the business of that district also will suffer very much?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: I shall take note of that.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: When will the investigation be complete?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: It is very difficult for me to give the exact date. If the honourable member wants definite information, I shall ask for notice.

Mr. NIHARENDU DATTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether at the time the Anderson Khal was constructed any arrangements were made by dredging or otherwise for the removal of the sediment that was deposited in the river bed giving rise to this *char*—whether any arrangements for dredging were made in order to keep the mouth of the khal open throughout the year?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: It is difficult to answer the question off-hand. I would ask for notice if the honourable member wants detailed information.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the scheme for the construction of the khal also includes plans for dredging in order to maintain the khal in proper order?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Yes, of course that has been done.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: What has been done?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Proper arrangement for dredging has been done.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: If proper arrangement for dredging was done at the time the khal was constructed, how is it that so much silt was allowed to be deposited in the river bed which has resulted in drying up of the river and the khal itself?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Government has no such information.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister replied that proper arrangement was made for the purpose of dredging. Basing on that information may I know whether the arrangement was carried out regularly so as not to allow the silting up of the mouth of the khal and consequently the river to dry up?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: I shall look into the question.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Do I take it then that the Hon'ble Minister is not in a position to tell the House as to what precise arrangement for dredging and for maintaining the khal after construction was made at the time the khal was constructed?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: The khal was constructed by the Canal Subdivisional Officer and, as such, Irrigation Department have not got any information available here.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ? Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the khal was completed and what was the total expenditure that was made to complete the khal?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: I ask for notice?

Mr. GANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: With reference to answer (b) and (c) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when this investigation will be completed?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: It is difficult for me to give the exact date when the investigation will be completed. If the honourable member wants that information I shall ask for notice.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Next question.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, this is a very important question.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have already called the next question. You have taken enough time to put supplementaries.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: The whole communication line of your division is in danger, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am personally interested in the question, and I would have myself taken part if I were not to preside over today's meeting. You already had ample opportunities to put supplementary questions.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: With regard to his answer that the matter is under investigation, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, who are the investigating authorities and what experts have, if any, been employed for the purpose of investigation into the matter of a technical nature, which will also require some amount of skill and engineering knowledge?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: The Engineers of the Irrigation Department are making investigations.

Yarns for fishermen.

*48. **Mr. HARAN CHANDRA BURMAN:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Fisheries be pleased to state—

(i) how much quantities of yarns of different counts for each district have been allotted, monthly and yearly, for the fishermen and how they are being distributed;

(ii) what higher counts of yarns are allotted for the fishermen; and

(iii) how they are ascertained for the fishermen's nets?

(b) If no higher counts of yarns are allotted for the fishermen, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason thereof?

MINISTER-in-charge of the DEPARTMENT of FISHERIES (the Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain): (a) (i) and (ii) The total monthly allotment of yarn for fishermen in Bengal from the Provincial quota is 182 bales of 16—40 counts and an unspecified additional supply of lower counts. An allotment chart has been prepared by the Fisheries Directorate on the basis of ascertained requirements of the different districts, but as the supply available is inadequate it has not been possible to follow this chart although every attempt has been made to make the distribution on a *pro rata* basis. The yarn is distributed by the Subdivisional Officers with the assistance of the officers of the Fisheries Directorate.

(iii) The requirements of fishermen were ascertained in several districts by the officers of the Fisheries Directorate by a house to house survey. For the districts which have not yet been covered by such a survey, the reports of the Subdivisional Officers are accepted.

(b) Government recognise that the present supply of high count yarn to fishermen is inadequate but the quota available is the most that could be earmarked for fishermen from the Provincial quota with due regard to other requirements. A request to the Government of India at the highest level for an additional *ad hoc* quota of yarn for fishermen did not meet with a favourable response, but the matter has been taken up afresh with the Central Government.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: With reference to answer (a) (i) and (ii) that the allotment of yarn for fishermen prepared by the Fisheries Directorate, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government ascertained the number of fishermen in the different districts of Bengal when they prepared the allotment?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Certainly, the number of fishermen was ascertained when Government made a survey.

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: বাদনীর Deputy Speaker সাহেব যাত্রী মহাশয় এ প্রশ্নের উত্তরে বলেছেন “The matter has been taken up afresh with the Central Government”. বাদনীয় যাত্রী মহাশয় দয়া করে বলবেন কি যে বর্তমান Central Government-এ সক্ষে এ সম্বন্ধে আর কৰাবাদ? চালাবেন কি?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: হাঁ, চালাবেন?

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: তা’হলে এই যে দরিদ্র ভেলেরা তাদের জাল তৈরি করার কি উপায় হবে এবং কি স্থির করলেন বাদনীয় যাত্রী মহাশয় দয়া করে জানাবেন কি?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I have already said that the matter has been taken up with the Central Government.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon’ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the districts which have not yet been covered by the survey of the Fisheries Directorate?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Surveys in the district of Faridpur, Dacca, Howrah, Hooghly and Tippera are expected to be finished shortly. Surveys in the districts of Rajshahi, Nadia, Burdwan and Rangpur will be taken up next.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon’ble Minister be pleased to state when was request made for an additional *ad hoc* quota of yarn for fishermen and what was the reply when the matter was taken up afresh with the Central Government?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: In 1946; I am unable to give the exact date. They expressed their inability to supply special quota.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: With reference to his answer (a) (i) and (ii) “the supply available is inadequate”, will the Hon’ble Minister be pleased to give an idea of the quantity of yarn that will meet the full requirement of the fishermen of this Province?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I want notice.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Will the Hon’ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that there are many complaints from fishermen that in the matter of distribution of yarn, there is much corruption?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I am not aware of any such allegation of corruption.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon’ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that some of the officers in charge of distribution indulge in favouritism, nepotism, bribery and corruption?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: No such instance has been brought to the notice of Government.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: With reference to answer (a) (i) and (ii) that the yarn is distributed by the Subdivisional Officers with the assistance of the officers of the Fisheries Directorate, will the Hon’ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that in Kishoreganj the yarn is being distributed by the Multi-purpose Co-operative Society instead of by these officers?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I don’t think so. Government gives the quota to the Subdivisional Officer and I do not know how it is distributed by him.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think this question ought to be held over because it has not been answered properly. The question asked for a statement of the allotment for each district. The answer merely says "the total monthly allotment of yarn for fishermen in Bengal from the Provincial quota is 182 bales of 16-40 counts". It does not give the allotment for the districts, and to the supplementary question put by my honourable friend Mr. Muhammad Habibullah Chaudhury, the Hon'ble Minister is unable to give a reply and has asked for notice. The whole crux of the problem is the allotment for each district to find out whether it is adequate, or whether it is being actually distributed proportionately. I, therefore, suggest that it is a very important question and it may be held over and a proper reply given. I would also say that the necessity of putting a fresh question on this point may be waived so that we may not have to waste our time. The Hon'ble Minister might be pleased to reply to the first part of the question, namely, that how much quantities of yarn of different counts for each district have been allotted, monthly and yearly, for the fishermen and how they are being distributed. I submit that this question has yet to be answered.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: A good number of supplementary questions were put and the question was almost over. At this stage the question cannot be held over.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have read the answer to the question (a) (i) and (ii). I am reading out the answer again "An allotment chart has been prepared by the Fisheries Directorate on the basis of ascertained requirements of the different districts, but as the supply available is inadequate it has not been possible to follow this chart". So the answer shows that the whole thing is in a nebulous state. I do not think that any useful purpose will be served by holding over this question. Therefore, I do not propose to hold over this question.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, the position is this, the intention of the question is to ascertain, out of the available quota of yarn that the Government of India is giving to the Provincial Government what quota is being allotted to different districts, to find out whether they are being misused or being proportionately used. Therefore, in the absence of any answer to that effect, the question is not really answered. Therefore in the absence of any answer given to that effect the question is not really answered only by saying that the Fisheries Department had made a chart. The Fisheries Department may make an imaginary chart, but that is neither here nor there. My question is—What is the allotted quota, district by district, out of the available stock supplied by the Central Government to the Provincial Government.

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Government makes some allotment but in this case they could not follow the principle of making allotments out of that quota. Even if you, Sir, hold over the question, the information required cannot be furnished within the current session.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There is some point in the question that Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar has raised. He wants to know the actual allotment, district by district of the yarn, and to that question no answer is forthcoming. In view of what the Parliamentary Secretary now says, do you, Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, want this question to be held over?

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I would suggest that the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to make an attempt to give us the actual allotment made, district by district, because it raises a very grave question of life and death to the fishermen community of Bengal.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: On a point of order, Sir. Are you allowing a debate at this stage on a supplementary question?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, a question has been put and answer given, and I submit with due respect that it is not for the Chair to suggest in what form and manner the answer should be given. If the honourable member is not satisfied with the answer, it is up to him to ask fresh questions or seek remedy in any other way. But he cannot suggest that the answer should be given in a certain prescribed form.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: (On a point of privilege, Sir. My point is that it is my privilege as a member to ask questions and get answers. Now my point of privilege is that no answer has been given to my question, and that therefore the question be held over.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The Chair cannot help you in the matter.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: It is for the Speaker to decide whether the question has been answered or not answered.

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Sir, Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar wants to know, district by district, how much yarn has been allotted for each district. Government have stated that they could not keep up to the allotment and that they had to distribute on a *pro rata* basis. I do not think any useful purpose would be served by giving the allotment made to each district on a district by district basis.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Then yarn is being black-marketed, and that is why allotment could not be given, district by district.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: On this question I will give my ruling later on. At the present moment I do not find it possible to agree with the statement made by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, will you allow any more supplementary questions on this question?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Enough supplementary questions have been put and answered, and no useful purpose would be served, I think, by allowing further supplementary questions today. If, however, I decide to hold over the question, you will have another opportunity later on.

Construction of a drain in the Maidan in front of the Museum.

*49. **Mr. AHMED ALI MRIDHA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Works and Buildings be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact—

(i) that a drain in the Maidan has been provided along the Chowringhee Road in front of the Museum, and

(ii) that work for the same has been partly done;

(b) what are the specifications for such work;

(c) what has been the rate of work;

(d) what is the length of such work;

(e) whether any of the authorities supervised the work;

(f) who is the authority;

(g) whether the work is going to be rejected or approved; and

(h) the reasons for rejection or approval as the case may be?

MINISTER-in-charge of the DEPARTMENT of WORKS and BUILDINGS (the Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal): (a) (i) and (ii) Yes.

(b) Concrete 6:3:1 with brick *khoa* rough finished and without any soling.

(c) Labour cost is annas 12 per r. ft. excluding materials supplied departmentally.

(d) About 500 ft.

(e) Yes.

(f) Executive Engineer, City Division.

(g) The work is in progress. Question of approval or rejection does not arise at this stage.

(h) Does not arise.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Appointment of non-Bengalee Muslims in the Agriculture Department.

13. Mr. SHYAMAPADA BHATTACHERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture be pleased to state—

(a) how many non-Bengalee Muslims have been appointed during the tenure of the present Director of Agriculture and how many of them are Punjabis;

(b) why Bengalees were not selected for such appointment; and

(c) what is the procedure that the present Government are following in the matter of appointing men from outside the Province in so far as such appointment requires an expert and in so far as it does not require an expert?

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: (a) Four; only two of them were from the Punjab. One of them, however, resigned the post soon after joining as he did not find the service conditions attractive enough. The other Punjabi Muslim is holding only a temporary post.

(b) Bengalees with the requisite qualifications were not available. More non-Bengalee non-Muslims than Muslims have been appointed during the period under question.

(c) Non-technical jobs are given exclusively to Bengalees. It is only in technical jobs that non-Bengalees are taken when Bengalees with the requisite qualifications are not available.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps Government have taken to give proper training to Muslim young men of the province so that technical jobs in the Agriculture and the Fisheries Departments may be filled by them?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: An agricultural College is soon going to be started.

Mr. PROVASH CHANDRA LAHIRY: With reference to answer (b), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he meant by the word "Bengalees" appearing at the beginning of the answer? Does he mean by that word "sons of Bengal" or was the word used in any other restricted sense?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Sons of Bengal.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: What are the special qualifications of the present incumbent to the post of Director of Agriculture?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I want notice.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: What is the percentage of cows that are annually purchased from the Punjab?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I submit that that question does not arise.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: How many Bengali non-Muslims have been appointed during the period under question?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Eleven.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that more than 50 per cent. of the cows purchased from the Punjab die in the first year, that at least 30 per cent. die in the second year, and that 25 per cent. die in the third year?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Then the deaths come to more than a hundred per cent. of the total number! (Laughter.)

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: In view of the fact that mortality of the Punjab cows is so serious and so many, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if other sources of securing cows for this province will be tapped?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I have only to say that Government do not employ cows as employees of the Government.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: In view of the fact that the Agriculture Department is gradually going to be expanded and the Muslims have vital interest in agriculture, does not the Hon'ble Minister feel that a large number of Bengalee Muslims should be trained up as agricultural experts so that in future they may take charge of the Agriculture Department? If the answer is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister please state what steps Government took to train Bengalee Muslims and how many agricultural scholarships have been earmarked for them?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: So many questions have been put together.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If you want to put this question, will you kindly split up your question into two or three?

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: In view of the fact that the Agriculture Department is gradually going to be expanded and Muslims are vitally interested in agriculture, does not the Hon'ble Minister feel that a large number of Bengalee Muslims should be trained up as agricultural experts so that they may take charge of the department?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Chaudhury, I do not think I can allow this question. It is merely a suggestion made to the Government. It is no question.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: I want to know how many scholarships were earmarked for Muslims for proper training in the Agriculture and Fisheries Departments?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I do not think this supplementary question arises out of the present question. It is a question on employment and appointments. Regarding scholarships, I want notice.

Mr. PROVAS CHANDRA LAHIRI: With reference to the latter portion of answer (b) that more non-Bengalee non-Muslims than Muslims have been appointed during the period under question, will the Hon'ble Minister please explain the relevancy of this to the question?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: The relevancy is that sometimes my friends opposite want to impress upon the Muslims that we always import non-Bengalee Muslims as if we have nothing to do with the non-Bengalee Hindus. To make this position clear, the answer has been placed here for the information of the House that we take both non-Bengalee Hindus and non-Bengalee Muslims.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Reduction of improvement levy on Damodar Canal.

***50. Mr. ANNADAPRASAD MANDAL:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Irrigation be pleased to state whether he has considered the desirability of reducing the improvement levy on the Damodar Canal which was raised from Rs.2-9 per acre to Rs.3 in 1943-44 and again to Rs.5-8 in 1945-46?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state to what amount it has been reduced?

(c) If the answer to (a) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the reason thereof?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MOHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: (a) and (b) The rate has been reduced to Rs.4-8 per acre for the year 1945-46.

(c) Does not arise.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister please give us the reason why the original rate was not adopted when the revision of rate took place, viz., Rs. 2-9?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: The rate was raised to Rs. 5-8 and Government considered that Rs. 5-8 was justified, but in view of the representation made by the people of Burdwan, Government just reduced it to Rs. 4-8 for the year 1945-46.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister please give the reason or basis on which Government thought that Rs. 4-8 was reasonable and not Rs. 2-9?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Government considered that Rs. 5-8 was quite reasonable, but in order to meet the wishes of the non-official representatives, Government reduced it to Rs. 4-8.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the second increment from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5-8 was made, that is, whether it was made during the regime of section 93 administration?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: It was raised during the section 93 regime.

Mr. JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why the rate of Rs. 2-9 per acre should have been raised to Rs. 4-8 when there is surplus every year in the Damodar Canal budget?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Because of increment in the cost of maintenance and rise in the price of agricultural produce.

Mr. JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Was there any loss of revenue in net receipt for Damodar Canal in any year?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: The question of loss does not arise.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: In view of the answer just given by the Hon'ble Minister, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he considers the ability of the tenants to pay a sufficient reason to increase the rate of taxation?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Definitely. The tenants are in a position to pay Rs. 5-8, not to speak of Rs. 4-8.

Mr. ANNADAPRASAD MANDAL: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the then Minister-in-charge Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy assured the people of Burdwan that the rate will not be enhanced from Rs. 2-9 per acre?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: I am not aware of any such assurance given by the then Hon'ble Minister.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if certificate proceedings have to be taken recourse to for realising these rates?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: I am not aware whether any certificate procedure will have to be taken recourse to but probably people have been thinking that by their agitation they will be able to reduce the rate and that is why they are withholding payment.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there was any default, how many of the tenants defaulted, what is the amount of default and for how many years they were defaulting?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: I am not in a position to give the reply offhand. If the honourable member wants a reply, I ask for notice.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the percentage of income in the earnings of the people there so as to justify an increment in the improvement levy from Rs. 2-9 to Rs. 4-8?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: The price of paddy has increased cent. per cent. The tenants are quite in a position to pay. As I have already said, they are in a position to pay not to speak of Rs. 4-8 but Rs. 5-8 and people were paying Rs. 5-8 and their average income has considerably increased probably 5 or 6 times.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us if his answer that the tenants are able to pay is based on any investigation made by Government or he is making a guess?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: It is based on investigation during the crop-cutting experiment.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us the receipts from the tax and the expenditure thereon in the year in which the tax was raised from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 5-8?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: I ask for notice.

Mr. BANKUBEHARI MANDAL: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that a Canal Enquiry Committee was formed consisting of members of this Legislature and high officers and they reduced the rate to Rs. 2-9 in 1939?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: It may be.

Mr. BANKUBEHARI MANDAL: May I know why after proper enquiry by the Committee Government increased the rate?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: The committee might have thought it fit to reduce the rate then.

Mr. BANKUBEHARI MANDAL: Soldiers were appointed to realise the rate which after proper enquiry was reduced. What is the reason for raising it now? Is it profiteering?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Because the prices of agricultural commodities have gone much higher than what they were in 1939. So Government was amply justified in raising the rate to Rs. 5-8. In view of representations made Government have reduced it to Rs. 4-8.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the rate of increase in the yield of paddy crop per acre in the Damodar Canal area as a result of construction of the canal?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: I ask for notice.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the question of rate of increase of the yield of crop per acre was taken into account while assessing the tax on acreage of the land in that area?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Certainly it was taken into consideration.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the cost of other necessities of life has increased?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Oh! yes.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell us having regard to the increased cost of other necessities of life and of cultivation whether there is any justification for increasing the tax?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: We have just reduced the rate from Rs. 5-8 to Rs. 4-8. So the question of increase does not arise.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: In view of the fact that there is a great feeling against increase of tax, will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability.....

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: On a point of order, Sir. I think the questions that are being put are not relevant in the sense that there has been no increase. On the other hand as the Hon'ble Minister has stated, this Ministry, after assumption of office, has reduced the rate from Rs. 5-8 to Rs. 4-8. Therefore the question that there is an increase and all other questions put in that line are out of order.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of reducing the rate?
(No reply.)

Incident in front of the Calcutta All-India Radio Station on 29th July, 1946.

***51. Mr. SATISH CHANDRA BOSE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to newspaper reports relating to the incident which happened in front of the Calcutta All-India Radio Station on the 29th July, 1946;
- (b) whether a number of girl students belonging to the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation were posted for peaceful picketing in front of the said station on that day when a general strike had been declared in support of the postal employees on strike;
- (c) whether the said girls requested the officers in charge of the said station to close down the said station for that day;
- (d) whether a well-known officer in charge of programmes sent for the police although the said girls behaved with commendable restraint throughout and there was no occasion for police action or interference;
- (e) whether European sergeants charged the said girls with batons and a jeep containing European sergeants was driven straight on to the said girls;
- (f) whether seven of the girls were badly hurt and all of them received injuries;
- (g) whether Government propose to make a sifting enquiry into the matter and take action against the Sergeants if found guilty; and
- (h) if not, why not?

MINISTER-in-charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (a) Yes.

(b) A number of girl picketers posted themselves in front of the All-India Radio Station.

(c) Certain women volunteers went into the building and demanded that broadcasting should cease for the day.

(d) The police intervened when they came to learn that crowd of picketers had invaded the headquarters station of the All-India Radio and were preventing the staff from performing their duties.

(e) No.

(f) No. One woman picketer is reported to have been slightly grazed by the mudguard of a police car owing to her having misjudged the distance between herself and the gate as the car drove in.

(g) and (h) I am satisfied that the police handled the difficult situation in a tactful manner and that no blame attaches to them.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government will consider the desirability of appointing women police to deal with women volunteers and picketers?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: At present no such proposal is before Government.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Who sent for the police?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The Police learnt of the incident and was there at the All-India Radio Station.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: How could the police know of the incident?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: It is the business of the police to keep information.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: With reference to answer (c), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the women volunteers requested an officer of the Radio Station to close down work for the day?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir; and the officer-in-charge of the Station also informed the picketers that it was not possible for them to close down the radio because at that time due to the prevalence of the postal strike the All-India Radio Station was maintaining a link between Delhi and Calcutta and it was proved to be the only means, i.e., radio transmissions by which news was supplied from Delhi and other places. In view of this fact the authorities of the All-India Radio expressed their inability to close down the business, because they were maintaining an essential link of communication.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: With reference to answer (d), will the Hon'ble Minister make it clear as was asked in the question whether one officer of the Radio Station called for the police to intervene in this matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot state that offhand, but the police learnt that there was a large crowd before the All-India Radio Station not only at the gate, but that they had crossed the barrier and had gone into the studio and the engineering room. That is why the police went to the spot.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how they knew that it was the girl picketer who misjudged the distance between herself and the gate and not the police Sergeant who intentionally misjudged the distance?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir. If the honourable member is aware of the topography of the place he will know that the gate leading to the All-India Radio Station is very narrow and when the car was proceeding very carefully the women volunteers were not visible, and when the car was entering the Station the women volunteers thought that if they came near the gate itself there would not be sufficient margin of space left for the car to proceed any further but they misjudged the distance. The driver of the car could not see the girl picketer who was behind the gate post and she suddenly appeared in front of the mud-guard.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if that information is obtained from the girl picketer herself? Who made that information available?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Due investigation was made and it was also reported by impartial passersby not connected with the Radio...

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Who are they?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot give the names offhand.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: With reference to answer (b) is the Hon'ble Minister aware that a woman volunteer who was supposed to be slightly hurt had to be picked up by ambulance and taken to the headquarters of the Communist Party?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am not aware of that.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that women volunteers entered the building of the All-India Radio Station although no one is allowed to enter without a pass?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: That is the position, but they rushed past the persons posted at the gate and because they were women picketers it was not possible for the durwan or the caretaker to prevent their entrance into the building.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: On how many occasions did women volunteers picket in front of different offices in Calcutta during the last two years?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot say. I think women volunteers were also employed in connection with the picketing of the Imperial Bank of India.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: With reference to answer (c) did the jeep drive in without a warning when the girl picketers were standing there?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: My information is that the vehicle was proceeding very slowly, and sufficient warning was given to the persons that the vehicle was going to get inside the premises.

Acquirement of land in Kalimpong for a cattle-breeding farm.

***52. Mr. D. S. CURUNG:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Land and Land Revenue be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

- (i) that there is a proposal for acquiring 100 acres of *khasmahal* land in the Dungra block in Kalimpong subdivision in the district of Darjeeling for starting a cattle-breeding farm;
 - (ii) that the land is close to the town of Kalimpong;
 - (iii) that there are more than 60 families of the military personnels who are still in the military service within the area proposed to be acquired;
 - (iv) that the elevation of the proposed land is less than 4,000 feet which is quite unsuitable for the *siri* bulls which are found in a place higher than 7,000 feet; and
 - (v) that the public of Kalimpong held several meetings protesting the proposal and submitted the representation to the Government?
- (b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what decision the Government have arrived at in the matter?

MINISTER-in-charge of the DEPARTMENT of LAND and LAND REVENUE (the Hon'ble Mr. Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hossain):...(a)

(i) The land is proposed to be acquired not only for a cattle-breeding farm but also for a multi-purpose agricultural farm and an agricultural headquarters for the training of Gurkha ex-servicemen.

(ii) and (v) Yes.

(iii) There are some families of military personnel and some retired military and civil officers in the said area.

(iv) The elevation of the land being round about four thousand feet is not considered unsuitable for *siri* cattle.

(b) It has been decided to acquire the land after providing alternative accommodation for the persons who will be displaced as a result of the acquisition.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in consideration of the feelings of the people of the locality, Government is prepared to revise their decision?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: No, because that is the only suitable area where *Siri* cattle-breeding can be established.

Mr. D. S. GURUNG: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Subdivisional Officer and the Deputy Commissioner also protested against the selection of that site?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: No.

Mr. D. S. GURUNG: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there is 75 acres of Government land which will be quite sufficient for agricultural headquarters and for the training of Gurkha ex-servicemen?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: That is not suitable for Siri cattle-farming.

Mr. SYED MUHAMMAD AFZAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many multi-purpose farms have been established in the Province of Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: As far as I am aware, there is one at Dacca.

Mr. SYED MUHAMMAD AFZAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason which actuated Government to start a training centre exclusively for Gurkha ex-servicemen?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Because they are ex-military men, and after being disbanded they require some sort of training.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he has made any enquiry as to whether an alternative site could be found which will be equally suitable for Siri cattle-farming?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Certainly, an enquiry has been made.

Abolition of zamindari system and permanent settlement in Bengal.

***53. Mr. MD. ABDUL HAKIM VIKRAMPURI:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Land and Land Revenue aware that the people of Bengal are very eager and anxious to see that the abolition of the zamindari system and Permanent Settlement of Bengal is given effect to without any loss of time?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when he proposes to introduce a Bill regarding the abolition of the zamindari and Permanent Settlement of Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: (a) Government are aware that there is a very great public demand for abolition of the zamindari system as quickly as possible.

(b) Government have accepted in principle the main recommendation of the Land Revenue Commission to bring the actual cultivators into direct relation with the State by acquiring the interests of all rent-receivers. Necessary proposals for legislation are under consideration. Every attempt will be made to introduce the Bill in the next Budget session.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Bill will cover the whole of Bengal or only a few districts?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Certainly, the whole of Bengal.

Mr. EBRAHIM KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are exactly the circumstances which prevent him from definitely assuring this House that the Bill for the abolition of the zemindary system and Permanent Settlement of Bengal will be positively introduced in the next Budget Session?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Because the Bill has not yet been drafted. The main provisions of the Bill are now under consideration of the Cabinet; owing to abnormal circumstances this could not be considered by the Cabinet Sub-Committee Meeting. But for this the main provisions of the Bill would have been approved by the Cabinet and would have gone to the Legislative Department for drafting.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDER: With reference to his answer (b) where it is stated that Government intend to bring the actual cultivators into direct relation with the State, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether this relationship will be the same as previously in khas mahal areas, or some other system will be introduced?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: In khas mahal areas there are intermediaries, but here there will be no intermediaries. Even in khas mahal areas we will do away with intermediaries.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government contemplate to have a November Session for the purpose of the introduction of the legislation for the abolition of the zemindary system.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: It is not for me to say.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when Government will come to a definite decision about the main provisions of the Bill?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: As I have already stated we have already come to a decision; but for abnormal circumstances we could place it before the Cabinet Sub-Committee. We will now put our heads together and send the Bill to Legislative Department for drafting.

Mr. SYED MUHAMMAD AFZAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any machinery has been set up to take up the preliminary works for the purchase of zemindary rights?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Preliminary work has already been undertaken in the districts of Faridpur and Bakerganj. We have already started work in connection with the revisional records of rights in Sunderbans area in the last cold weather. As regards the actual machinery for the purchase of zemindary rights that has not yet been set up. It will be set up by the next cold weather after we have got the legislative measures through.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he will be in a position to publish the provisions of the Bill within a month or so?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: No, it will take not less than two months to draft.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he considers the abolition of zemindary system with or without compensation?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: That is the matter under consideration.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it will take at least a year to pass such a Bill?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Why, you can pass in a day.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government contemplate to bring the Bill before a Select Committee?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: That is not for me to say, but for the House to say so.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government propose to hold a November Session?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: I have already stated that the Bill cannot be brought in November Session, because it will be a long Bill dealing with a very important matter; besides, it will take at least two months for the Legislative Department to draft the Bill. They have already been given notice to draft the Bill.

Mr. SYED MUHAMMAD AFZAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government contemplate to effect the abolition of zemindary system before the Bill is placed on the statute book?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: I don't think it will be proper.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ISRAIL. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that there is a strong feeling in the country that the acquisition of zemindary rights should be without compensation?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Yes, in certain quarters there is such a feeling.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have any consideration to the fact that the zemindary system should be abolished without any compensation?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Government have got the recommendations of the Floud Commission which sat and deliberated over this matter for full two years. They cannot easily brush aside the recommendations of that Commission.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Wrong payment in the office of the Administrator-General.

14. Mr. ABDUL AHAD: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state—

- (a) whether there was any misappropriation in the office of the Administrator-General recently;
- (b) whether the Government have made any enquiry into the matter; and
- (c) what steps do the Government propose to take against those persons who were found guilty in the case?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal): (a) There was no misappropriation but due to the negligence of some of the clerks of his office a sum of Rs. 400 intended for payment to a beneficiary of an estate under his charge was paid to some fictitious persons.

(b) Yes.

(c) The assistants responsible have been directed to make good the loss and this has been recorded in their Service Rolls and in order to put a stop to the recurrence of such instances in future the Administrator-General and Official Trustee has been directed to exercise stricter vigilance on his staff.

Point of Order.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, we are called upon to vote upon the demand for grants, may I rise on a point of order? Sir, the demand has been quite unconstitutional. It is not permissible for this Legislature to sanction the demands for grants. My point of order is that the demand that we are going to discuss and vote upon is out of order and not admissible under the Government of India Act, 1935, and the rules guiding the procedure of this Assembly and as such it is not within the competence of the Government to present the demand or the Legislature to sanction the demand in the way it has been presented to the House. It is not disputed that in financial matters we must first look up to the Government of India Act, 1935, for authority as also to the rules guiding the procedure of this House. What does the Government of India Act say in this connection? I read the relevant section.....

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Instead of making a speech it would be better if you would kindly refer to the relevant section of the Government of India Act.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I submit, Sir, that I am not making a speech. My point of order is that we must first refer to section 78(1) of the Government of India Act as our authority. First, section 78(1) says—“The Governor shall, in respect of every financial year cause to be laid before the Chamber or Chambers of the Legislature a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the province for that year, in this part of the Act referred to as the annual financial statement.” Sub-section (2) lays down what details should be embodied and shown separately in the annual financial statement. I shall now refer to section 79(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935. There it has been laid down that “so much of the estimates of expenditure as relates to expenditure charged upon the revenues of the province shall not be so submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly”. Sub-section (2) says that so much of the said estimates “as relates to other expenditure shall be submitted in the form of demand for grants to the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Assembly shall have the power to assent or refuse to assent or assent subject to a reduction of the amount specified therein. Now from these sections and sub-sections you will find that everywhere it is laid down that the demands under the budget heads must be estimated expenditure and any actual expenditure must not be telescoped into estimates of future expenditure. Now I draw your attention to the second point that power has been given to the Legislative Assembly to assent or refuse to assent or to assent subject to a reduction of the demand for grant specified therein. Now, Sir, if you look into this year's budget estimates you will find that the financial statement has been split up into three columns. In the first column actual expenditure from a certain date to a certain date has been given. In the next column has been given the estimated expenditure since that date upto the end of the present financial year. My submission is that Government have no power to submit actual expenditure in the name of budget estimates. If the actual expenditure is to be sanctioned, it must come as a motion for excess grant

and not as budget estimates. In this connection I shall also refer to certain rules of procedure. In the Central Legislature on the 16th March, 1929, it was ruled that if there is an excess grant, it must come in the shape of a motion of an excess grant and not as an estimate because it is not really an estimate. This point was also raised some time ago in this Legislature. It was placed before the Deputy Speaker who was presiding over the meeting at that time. He left it for the Speaker to give a ruling, but unfortunately it was not subsequently pressed to a division and no ruling was obtained. On that occasion it was on the 28th February, 1944, the Deputy Speaker observed—"In my view the inclusion of actuals into estimate cannot be possible in any other country than in India where it has become possible under the garb of usual practice". That was his observation. My next submission is that you cannot split up the budget into two parts, one consisting of actuals and the other of estimates. The budget must stand as a whole. In this connection I refer you to the ruling given by the last Speaker on 7th July, 1943. The ruling was that the budget is one unitary document, and cannot be dealt with piecemeal, and that the budget cannot be split up and treated separately. If it is a unitary document, that means that not only the actual expenditure portion is *ultra vires*, but that whole financial statement containing partly actual expenditure already incurred and partly the estimates for the next few months of the year is also *ultra vires*. That is my second point, Sir. It has been laid down in section 79(2) of the Government of India Act, 1935, that the Assembly has got the power to assent or refuse to assent or assent subject to a reduction of the amount specified therein. Now, Sir, suppose, something that has already been spent is presented to this House as estimates. In that case the House has no power to reduce it because it has been actually spent. That, I submit, is a gross violation of the provisions of the Government of India Act and the rules of procedure of this House. In view of this ruling and in view of the above provisions of the Government of India Act and the rules made for the guidance of this House, this demand is *ultra vires* and this demand cannot be presented in the shape in which it has been done and in view of the fundamental right involved, I hope you will give your most careful consideration to this most important question. I appeal to you, Sir, to uphold the rights of this Legislature and especially of the Opposition that have been given specifically and clearly by the Government of India Act, and not allow the Government to trample down our cherished rights and privileges.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I take it that your first point is that the actuals cannot be shown in the budget and that your second point is that the budget being a unitary document actuals of expenditure cannot be shown under budget estimates, and that in view of these powers given by the Government of India Act, the budget cannot come in the shape in which it has been presented.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, so far as the objections that have been raised are concerned, I have some comments to offer. First, these objections should have been made when the budget was first presented and not now when we were voting supplies, and more than half of which have already been voted upon, and only a few demands are left for the sanction of the House. The honourable member has referred to sections 78 and 79 of the Government of India Act regarding the form and procedure of the presentation of the financial statement. If he will look to the rules he will find that we have submitted the estimates for the whole year. In the budget we have got three columns for the budget for the current year. In the first column is shown the expenditure we proposed to spend for the whole year. In the estimates for the financial year 1946-47, we have shown the actual expenditure incurred during the Governor's regime under section 93 as also estimates which we propose to spend after our assumption of office. Therefore we give the estimates of expenditure for the whole year. We give

actuals of 1946-47 up to 24th April, that is, the period of administration under section 93. In column 2 we give the expenditure required from the 24th April, 1946, to 31st March 1947, and in column 3 the actual expenditure incurred during the Governor's administration. As required under the Act we have shown in the first column the estimates for the whole of the financial year and in order to make it clear we have given columns 2 and 3 as supplements. Therefore, the objection raised does not arise at all. All the requirements of the rules and of the Act had been met. The other point was with regard to the procedure for sanctioning the budget which is a unitary whole. I do not want to go into the merits and demerits of the ruling of the Chair given by the last Speaker for I am bound by it. In accordance with that rule we have treated the budget as a unitary whole and this budget has been presented according to that ruling of the late Speaker. Now, Sir, with regard to section 79, when it says that it is within the competency of the House either to reduce the expenditure or reject it *in toto*, it is quite correct. It is up to the House to reduce the grant and we are bound to accept that; it is also up to the House to reject it *in toto* and we should be bound to accept that. So, the question of reduction or refusal at this stage does not arise. It means that the whole budget is a unitary whole as has been placed and if any part of the budget is refused or turned down by the House it will mean also that the total budget has been turned down and we shall have to abide by the decision of the House. So, the question of section 79 does not arise at all. So, I submit that the whole budget has been presented in accordance with the section governing the presentation of the budget and there is no defect or flaw in the procedure that has been adopted.

MR. J. C. GUPTA: With regard to the first objection that was made by Mr. Mohammed Ali that this point of order cannot be raised now I need only say that it can always be moved.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think you need not say anything on the point.

MR. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, I think that the point of order raised by the honourable member is not tenable. Your predecessor, Mr. Nausher Ali, the then Speaker, had laid down certain procedure in similar circumstances and the present budget complies with those directions—how a budget is to be presented if a section 93 period precedes the presentation of the budget and that has been complied with.

Now, I find that the point of order arises from a confusion that actual expenditure cannot be included in the total estimates. But section 93 is a part of the Government of India Act and therefore that administration is contemplated and the budget when it has to be presented must include that expenditure during section 93 period in some form or other. If you are to maintain the point of order raised by the honourable member, then the budget cannot be presented to this House at all. It becomes an anomalous position. The position will become like this. They will say "Well, look here, as it is a Governor's budget during the 93 administration, it should be presented to the House for sanction. If you do not do it, the budget will not have sanction behind it." There was a controversy with regard to the point whether in exercise of the power under section 93 of the Government of India Act the Governor's budget should be considered as a valid budget for the whole year when the section 93 administration is not there, whether the proclamation under section 93 was cancelled, whether the budget was to be considered to be a valid budget. It was then held that you are to submit the budget to the House for its sanction.

Now, Sir, if you maintain this point of order what will happen? You cannot present the Governor's budget under the rule; on the other hand the Governor's budget will not be valid for the whole year when the proclamation under that order was not there. Therefore there must not be a budget

at all before this House. That is a position which cannot be contemplated by the Government of India Act. If there is any such section it should be so interpreted as to resolve that inconsistency. If you accept the well known interpretation of law that sections are to be interpreted so that they are not inconsistent, in that case, Sir, you are to hold that this is out of order. As I have said, the point of order assumes that the actuals cannot be included in the estimates. That is a wrong assumption. Supposing by the 31st March in a normal year the budget could not be got through for some reason or for some circumstances over which the Minister has no control, then some of the actual expenses must necessarily be incurred. This is practical administration, it is not a question of theory. It must be included in the estimates. It is only to help the members that that column was shown that this much of the expenditure was actually spent during the 93 administration, that is not a matter to be voted upon. That was the reason why Mr. Nausher Ali, the then Speaker, ruled that this is the form that should be adopted.

Then, Sir, under the Rules of Business—I cannot refer to the rules offhand—if there is anything vague, if there is no precedent with regard to a matter in that rule, the Speaker can give directions how the business of the House should be transacted. There is a rule like that in our rules and under those rules Mr. Nausher Ali gave that direction and the rule was followed and the directions were complied with.

In these circumstances, Sir, I would say that the point of order is not maintainable.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Mr. Deputy Speaker, you were asking Mr. Sinha to give you the substance of the argument put forward by him in regard to the point of order raised by him. I think one point was not taken down; that has been missed. That is regarding procedure by which where something has actually been spent, that has to have sanction of the legislature by way of motion, and there is a ruling to that effect and my friend quoted that ruling. My friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman raised one point that if there are circumstances over which the Ministry had no control and the budget could not be presented in time, there cannot be any presentation of the budget at all if this point of order is upheld. But, Sir, there is a procedure in parliamentary practice to present such a budget, namely, by way of a motion. So it cannot be argued that if once the budget could not be presented due to circumstances over which the Ministry had no control, the budget cannot be presented. It can be presented by way of a motion. That point may be taken into consideration by you in coming to a decision.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, my friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman contended that because of section 93 government and the expenditure incurred during that regime the budget could not be presented unless the device that the present Ministry adopted was actually allowed. I suggest, Sir, that financial rules and provisions are one of the constitutional safeguards for the rights of this House. It is also an undisputed fact that foolish use of the arbitrary powers of section 93 may lead to anomalies and in the present case an anomaly has arisen. Even in parliamentary procedure the rights of the House in the matter of the purse ensures many healthy conventions and rights of Parliament which otherwise might have fallen within the purview of the prerogative of the Crown, prerogative unlimited and unrestricted. *Mutatis mutandis* in the present case, under the Constitution Act this House has got the constitutional right of actually voting upon estimates and in the budget only items which are charged are separately shown and all other items to be voted must come as estimates. And this House thus ensures its constitutional power over the Government so that no amount is to be spent beyond the charged amounts which are not sanctioned by a vote of this House. Otherwise there will be no constitutional safeguard or restriction in the matter of expenditure of revenue of

the Province. The House stands in the position of a guardian of the revenues of this Province. The House has to sanction the amounts and after the sanctioned amounts have been spent, the accounts have to pass through the Public Accounts Committee and come to this House for scrutiny. If any amount has been spent due to any exigency without the previous sanction of this House that has got to come before the House as a motion for excess grant. After the items of expenditure have been examined by the Public Accounts Committee, they have to come before the House as a special motion for an excess grant. That was the simple procedure left open to the Ministry. The Ministry cannot now take advantage of a clumsy, wrong and unconstitutional procedure they have adopted and plead that unless the Chair is pleased to give them some latitude, the budget cannot be introduced. As you know, as an expert lawyer, everybody must face the consequence of the rights and wrongs of his action, and the Ministry is placed in that precise position. We, on this side of the House, submit that the point of order raised by Mr. Sinha deserves your very careful consideration and this House cannot abrogate its authority as regards its right of first voting the estimates of expenditure before the Government can be enabled to spend any money; I, therefore, submit that this budget, as introduced, is irregular and void and *ultra vires ab initio*. It is at this stage quite in order to point out that irregularity and rectify the position. I, therefore, submit that you will accept Mr. Sinha's point of order and rule this budget irregular, *ultra vires* and void *ab initio*.

Mr. SHARFUDDIN AHMED: I won't take a long time of the House. As regards the point of order raised by my learned friend opposite that from the legal and juristic points of view such objection can be taken at any moment, I respectfully differ from him. From the juristic point of view and from the legal point of view no party can be taken by surprise, provided there was an opportunity to place one's point of view in this House before. Here in this House when the budget was introduced and general discussion was allowed, our learned friends opposite took lot of time and spoke lot of things, but then they did not care to mention about this irregularity of the form of the budget in which it was presented. They reserved their objection for the last minute to take the Government by surprise. That is a position which is not contemplated by rules of interpretation.

Secondly, coming to the merit of the question my submission is that the budget, as presented, can be construed as an estimate of the expenditure, as contemplated by the provision of the section just mentioned. In my opinion these columns taken together can certainly, be construed as such, because these columns showing the actual expenditure of parts of the year are, I think, helpful to the members in coming to their decision. So these three columns 1, 2 and 3 together certainly can be construed and taken as an estimate of the expenditure of the year which is really contemplated by the provision. On this ground the point that the budget is not in form also falls to the ground.

On these two grounds, I submit, that this point of order is really out of order.

Mr. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I think this point of order is out of order. (Laughter and cries of "hear, hear".) You may heartily laugh. You may make yourself merry but the point is this point of order is out of order. (Renewed laughter.) My friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman has cited chapters and verses. My friends over there have also cited chapters and verses, but I do not take shelter. I do not take protection under the chapters and verses. (Laughter.) The budget was introduced and discussed from 20 to 30 days ago and many demands were discussed and voted. Many

papers were read out but no objection up to this date was raised before this no-confidence motion was tabled. It is being done only after the no-confidence motion was lost. (Laughter.)

(Amidst loud uproar the member resumed his seat.)

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have only one word to say. Mr. Sinha, who is new in this House, is not aware of what took place during the last session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. In 1943 also, after section 93 administration for a few days, in April a Ministry was formed and then a budget had been presented. The budget was presented in the House sometime in September or end of August. The then Hon'ble Speaker, the predecessor of the present Speaker gave a ruling and he laid down certain rules which have to be observed, and then the budget had to be represented to this House in 1943 in accordance with the directions given by the then Hon'ble Speaker. This year in presenting our budget, we have followed the ruling of the then Hon'ble Speaker, Mr. Nausher Ali and it is in full conformity to the directions which he gave in 1943. Therefore, the question that the budget has not been presented in accordance with the rules does not arise. I hope you will adhere to the ruling given by the then Speaker and will also see that you will be satisfied that the Budget estimates that we have presented are in full accord to the directions given by the Speaker in 1943.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, in view of what the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali has just spoken, may I submit a few words more? My submission is that although I am a new member in this House, I have gone through the past proceedings of this House and I am fully aware that a ruling was given by Mr. Nausher Ali in a situation that was almost similar to the situation that has arisen today. But, Sir, there is one difference. The point of order raised by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee on that occasion was that the Government had not presented the expenditure incurred during 93 regime. He said that the budget stands or goes as a whole. His words are imprinted on my memory, Sir, he said "I know Z, but I do not know X or Y. If you are presenting the budget in the shape of X minus Y-Z, and if two things are not known out of the whole budget, then the whole budget is not precise and, therefore, the whole budget goes. Now, Sir, on this occasion the question is a different one. The Government have presented the budget, but they have presented it not in the way it should have been presented. It is not a question of not presenting anything but presenting something in a wrong way. They have presented it in the shape of an estimate. I quite realise that the sum actually spent must be presented for sanction of the Legislature. That was ruled by the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Nausher Ali on that occasion. But I also submit that it should have been presented not in the nature of estimates to get the hallmark of this Legislature in this backdoor and surreptitious way but in the shape of excess grants. As is the Parliamentary practice in England and in the Central Legislative Assembly so also it should be in this House—that was also the observation of the Deputy Speaker to which I have already referred.

Mr. J. C. GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Speaker, may I just assist you by directing your attention to the exact point? It is not the defect in form that really matters. Now what is the exact point? The exact point is this: No Government is allowed to make any expenditure for the estimates first being presented and passed by an Assembly. In May's Parliamentary Practice you will also find a point has arisen in different connections. Whenever any expenditure has been made without previous sanction of the estimates that has been considered as a breach of the privilege of the House and therefore there has been separate procedure laid down for such a thing, i.e., it must be scrutinised beforehand by the Public Accounts Committee and after that it must come in by a special motion for sanction of excess

grants. That is what has been sought to be done and why? The reason is this: No Government can ever be allowed to spend a single pice of public revenue without first obtaining the sanction of the House. Of course in this case Government will say that it was not spent by them. It was spent during the 93 procedure. If that was so they should not have shown the estimates from 1st to 24th and asked this House to sanction them because it is opening up a way to serious breach of the privilege of the House. That is, Sir, the point which you will see and give a ruling upon.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Am I to understand that the point of order is only with regard to the estimates from 1st to 24th April?

MR. J. C. GUPTA: The actuals cannot be shown in estimate.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think Mr. Sinha does not mean that. If that was his point this is clearly covered by the ruling of Mr. Nausher Ali and the point of order ceases to have any meaning at all. I think he means the whole thing, that is, from the 25th April to the day of the presentation of the budget.

MR. J. C. GUPTA: That also comes in.

MR. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: My point is that the first thing cannot come, and if the first thing cannot come then the whole thing goes. It stands or goes as a whole.

MR. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Sir, so far as the ruling of the previous Speaker is concerned, you are not bound by that at all. That is only a guidance.

MR. J. C. GUPTA: He is bound.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Have you got anything further to add, Mr. Sinha?

MR. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I think I have stated my points sufficiently fully.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: From what Mr. Sinha has stated, Sir, it transpires that he objects to the delayed presentation of the budget.

MR. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: No, No.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I think he contends that the Governor framed the budget under section 93 and he framed the budget for the whole year. Then section 93 was revoked on 24th April, 1946, and the Ministry was put into office and the Ministry was functioning from the 25th April. Now, the expenditure that has been incurred for the 24 days of April has been entered in the Governor's budget. I think the point raised by Mr. Sinha is that we should have taken sanction of the Legislature to it on the assumption of office by us.....

MR. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: No, No. My point was not regarding the question of time, though I understand that the budget framed by the Governor's rules distinctly lays down the period of time. I do not refer to that time. In view of the ruling given by your predecessor, Sir, Mr. Nausher Ali, my point is that if any expenditure has been incurred, it must come not in the shape of estimates but in the shape of excess grants. That is my first point.

My second point is that if you include actual expenditure in what you term "estimates", then not only the actual expenditure cannot be sanctioned because the budget comes as a whole, but the whole budget also including the period for which you are estimating for the future goes out. My third

point is that it is not a question of the Governor framing the budget under section 93. It has been distinctly ruled by your predecessor that if the Governor framed the budget under section 93 and revoked it later, the expenditure incurred during that period must come to the legislature for sanction. I agree with the Government there, but my point is that it must come to the legislature in another shape. But the shape in which it has been presented not only vitiates the expenditure incurred during that period but also the expenditure that you are going to make and as such the whole budget goes.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, after the position is accepted that the ruling of Mr. Nasher Ali is binding, I think all this discussion do not arise at all because he has said definitely that during section 93 period the expenditure which has been incurred has to be shown separately. Now here the contention that has been raised is this that even after section 93 period there is again a period when a certain expenditure has been incurred.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: That is not the point.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Then what is the point? The honourable member has said that actual expenditure has been included in the estimates. So far as the actual expenditure incurred is concerned it is either the expenditure during the 93 period or after the section 93 period up to today. There can be no other actual expenditure. If that is not the point of Mr. Sinha, there is no point of order at all. Then if that is the position, if the actuals had been included in the budget, there cannot be a third period of actual expenditure. One is actual expenditure incurred during the 93 period and the other is the actual expenditure incurred during the period from the end of section 93 period up to the time of today or the day of presentation of the budget.

Sir, the presentation of the budget has been made in accordance with the ruling given by Mr. Nausher Ali. Now, Sir, the question of sanction of an excess grant does not concern a normal budget. They come after the Public Accounts Committee had gone into the budget. Before the budget is passed the Committee of Accounts do not sit and therefore that point does not arise at all and is not relevant also. Then what Mr. Nausher Ali said is that section 93 period expenditure should be shown separately.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Fazlur Rahman, I think nothing more is necessary on the point which you are developing. I have made up my mind.

So far as the first point of Mr. Sinha is concerned, viz., that the actuals cannot be shown in the budget estimates, I feel there is of course some difficulty with regard to the provisions of the Government of India Act. I find there is no specific provision in the Government of India Act, 1935, for a contingency of this nature. Then some of the honourable members have referred to the procedure in the Central Assembly as well as the procedure obtaining in the British Parliament. Strictly speaking, in my opinion the conventions that are obtaining in the British Parliament or the precedents that are obtaining in the Central Legislature do not apply to a case of this type in the provincial Legislature. In the British Parliament nobody can dream of section 93 regime nor is there a responsible Ministry at the Centre. So I am not really bound by the precedents obtaining there. I have seen the ruling of Mr. Nausher Ali given on the 7th July, 1943. He realised the difficulty about a matter of this nature. In fact there has been argument whether there has been any direction of the then Speaker as to the showing of the actuals in the budget estimates. But according to my reading of the ruling, I find that what he really meant was that the actual expenditure was also to be shown in the budget. On that occasion His Excellency the Governor expressed his inability to say what was the actual expenditure.

That is why the Government could not show the actual amount spent on that occasion for the period from the 1st to 23rd of April, 1943. The Hon'ble Speaker, however, held that this should have been shown. Now I find that the figure of the actual expenditure which has been shown in the budget has been done in accordance with the direction given by Mr. Nausher Ali on 7th July, 1943. Some of the honourable members have suggested that as a matter of form the demand for this excess grant should have come before the House in the form of a motion. That is the only objection they have taken relying on the convention of British Parliament. As I have said before, the convention of British Parliament does not help me in a matter of this kind, because there nobody can imagine a contingency of this nature. I hold that the budget can be presented in this form and manner.

Regarding the second point the budget is really unitary. No two budgets have been presented before the House. The actual expenditure has been shown as a matter of explanation in one column of the budget to satisfy the direction given by the then Speaker on the 7th July, 1943. So the budget has not been actually divided. As the honourable member will find, in column 1 the whole amount has been shown and the subsequent columns are merely explanatory.

As regards the third point, there is no doubt that the Legislature has got the power either to take the whole budget or to take a part of it. On that point, I believe, no ruling from me is necessary.

So, in my opinion, the budget is in order.

Message from the Council.

Secretary read the following message:—

"That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Bengal Local Self-Government Associations (Recognition) Amendment Bill, 1946, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 15th August, 1946."

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

XVII, etc.—Irrigation.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 2,68,00,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "XVII.—Irrigation—Working Expenses—18—Other Revenue Expenditure financed from Ordinary Revenue—18(1)—Other Revenue Expenditure financed from Famine Insurance Fund—19—Construction of Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works—B—Financed from Ordinary Revenues and 68—Construction of Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works".

Mr. RAJENDRA NATH SARKAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the demand for Rs. 2,68,00,000 for expenditure under the heads "XVII, etc.—Irrigation" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of Government in making provision for prevention of saline water into the lands under cultivation in the southern parts of the districts concerned in the province.

Sir, in lands in the southern part of the districts of 24-Parganas and Khulna no crops can be grown without proper and adequate embankments to prevent the inrush of saline water in the lands. Sir, so far construction and maintenance of embankments are being taken up by the tillers of the lands. But poor as they are, it is in most cases impossible for them and beyond their means to construct adequate and proper embankments. Sir, situated as the lands are near the big rivers, falling directly to the Bay of

Bengal, the same are visited by floods almost every year. And as a result thereof the inadequate embankments give way and invariably the crops of a very vast area are destroyed. It is well known that these lands are capable of producing only one crop a year, and the destruction of that single crop brings forth scarcity and famine necessitating other measures on the part of the Government to save the people affected from starvation and distress.

Sir, the failure of Government to make provisions for construction and maintenance of embankments of lands under cultivation in the southern parts of the district of Khulna and 24-Parganas has led the people concerned to manifold sufferings and distress which cannot be averted even with utmost efforts on the part of the Government.

Sir, I would now suggest that if the Government make adequate and proper provisions for the construction and maintenance of the embankments for lands under cultivation in the saline area so as to save them from the attacks of floods, the valuable crops of vast areas in the southern part of the districts concerned will be saved and there will be no distress and no famine and thousands of poor people will be saved from starvation. This will also save lots of Government money.

Sir, with these words I would commend my motion for acceptance of the House.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I move that the demand of Rs. 2,68,00,000 for expenditure under the heads "XVII, etc.-Irrigation" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to complete and sometimes even to commence the irrigation works such as Soadighi-Gangakhali Drainage Scheme, Kahaighai Extension Scheme, Dolong Irrigation Project, Jhargram Irrigation Project, Putrangir Irrigation Scheme in the district of Midnapore and elsewhere.

এই motion move করতে গিয়ে আমি এই কথাই বলবো যে বহুকাল ধরে সোয়াডিগি গঙ্গাখালি Drainage scheme, কাহিয়াখাই Extension scheme প্রভৃতি অপেক্ষা করে রয়েছে। প্রত্যেক বছরই টাকা দেওয়া হয় কিন্তু কখনও এ কাজ করা হয় না এবং না করবার কালে এই ভয় যে পুরানি প্রত্যেক বারেতে বন্যা হয়। আমি Irrigation Minister এর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি যে তার কল হয়েছে এ বছরেতে এই বৃষ্টি ফলেতে কয়েক ভাগ্যপাতে বন্যা হয়েছিল। কলে বেদিনীপুর সহরেতে, বাটালেতে, কাঁধী মহকুমাতে এবং সদর মহকুমার নানা স্থান বন্যা প্রাণিত হয়েছে। আমি ধরনের কাগজ থেকে দুই তিনটা ভায়দা পাড়ে শুনিতে পিচ্চ।

"বেদিনীপুরে ১৮ই সেপ্টেম্বর অবিরাম বারিপাতের কলে প্রবল বন্যা ঘটতে। বেদিনীপুরের সদর অঞ্চল প্রাণিত হইয়া গিয়াছে। সহরের উপকন্ঠের অবস্থা শোচনীয় ঘটতে। সহস্র সহস্র গ্রামবাসী পৃথকভাবে হইয়াছে। সহস্র সহস্র গো-ঘরিঘাতি পশু, মৃত এবং জীবিত ভাসিয়া গিয়াছে। বেদিনীপুর সহরের রাস্তার উপর ভর কুট পর্নাত জল হইয়াছে।

আর বাটাল মহকুমাতে শিলাই নদীর বন্যার কলে municipalities অত্যন্ত কল হান জনপ্রাণিত হইয়াছে। রামবাচন চলাচল বন্ধ হইয়াছে। কেলোয়াই নদীর সংস্কার না হওয়ায় নরুপ কেলোয়াই নদীতে বন্যা ঘটতে এবং তাহার কলেতে বেদিনীপুর সদর মহকুমা থানার বড় অংশ জুড়িয়া গিয়াছে। এই কেলোয়াই নদীর বাঁধ ভাঙিয়া গিয়াছে এবং কলে শতাবধি প্রায় প্রাণিত ঘটনা গিয়াছে এবং যে কল হইয়াছিল সেই কলের উপরেতে প্রায় ভর কুট জল হইয়াছে।

জাহুই নদীতে বন্যা হইয়াছে এবং তার কলেতে কাঁধী মহকুমার পটাপুর থানার এক নং, দুই নং এবং ছয় নং ইউনিয়নেতে বন্যা হইয়াছে এবং তাহাতে লেখানকার কল জনগণ ঘটতে এবং অনেকগুলি ঘর পড়িয়া গিয়াছে। এবং অত্যন্ত জনবৃষ্টির জন্য যে সব basin ছিল, আমি Irrigation Minister এর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি, সেই সব basin জনপ্রাণিত হইয়া কল নষ্ট হইয়া গিয়াছে। কলে বেদিনীপুর জেলাতে বর্ডানে যে অবস্থা দেখা গিয়েছে তাতে আপাদী কলের উপরেতে বদি ভাঙাভাঙি করেকটি measures না বেওয়া যার তাৎপর্ষ্য আপাদী কল নষ্টে বুঝ লিখান হতে হবে এবং হ্রাত দৃষ্টিক দেখা দিতে পারে। যে সব measures নেওয়া হবে, কেবলি দখলখানি কলো Irrigation Minister বহানকে যে যে সব look-gate রয়েছে, কেল

লক্‌গেটের (২) lock-gate এবং অন্যান্য lock-gate, এই সমস্ত খুলে দিতে হবে। sluiceগুলি সমস্ত জায়গাতেই খুলে দিতে হবে এবং আবশ্যকমত বাঁধ কেটে দিতে হবে। সমুদ্রের ধারেতে যে sluice রয়েছে সে sluiceগুলি যাতে অবিলম্বে খুলে দেওয়া হয় তার জন্য তিনি যেন Superintending Engineerকে জানান; আর উড়িষ্যা coast canal আর হপলী canalএর sluiceগুলি খুলে দেওয়া ছাড়া ও মাঝে মাঝে বাঁধ কেটে দেওয়া আবশ্যিক হবে এবং তার জন্য গ্রামবাসীদিগকে permission দিতে হবে যাতে তারা কেটে দিতে পারে। এগুলি আপাততঃ দরকার এবং এগুলি যদি শীঘ্র অর্থাৎ এখনই করা যায়, তাহলে বন্যার প্রকোপ কিছু নিবারিত হতে পারে এবং ফসল বাঁচতে পারে।

এর পরে পুখম কাজ যেটা সেটা হচ্ছে যে reliefএর কাজ এখনই আরম্ভ করে দেওয়া দরকার। Relief যদি এখনই আরম্ভ না করা যায় তাহলে বহু লোক ইতিমধ্যেই ব্বর এসেছে--না খেতে পেয়ে রয়েছে, ও গৃহহীন হয়েছে। ছোট ছোট জেলে বেয়ে দুখ পাচ্ছে না এবং চিড়ে, চাল পুত্ৰিত সমস্ত জিনিষেরই অভাব হয়েছে। যাতে এই সমস্ত বিষয় relief হয় তার ব্যবস্থা করা হউক, এবং medical relief এবং ব্যবস্থা করা দরকার। এখনই temporary যে সমস্ত measures নেওয়া দরকার সে সমস্ত আমি suggest করছি। কিন্তু আমার বক্তব্যের বিষয় যে সেই সমস্ত জিনিষ বা বহুকাল ধরে রয়েছে, যেমন গজা খাল, যেটা সম্বন্ধে আজকে ১০ বছর ধরে প্রত্যেক বছরই বাজেট কবে কবে টাকা ধরা হয়েছে কিন্তু কখনও করা হয়নি। কোলঘাট নদীতে আজকে ২৫ বছর কাল সে সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা চলছে, আলোচনা চলছে scheme হচ্ছে, plan হচ্ছে, কিন্তু কাজ করা হয়নি। আমার বন্ধু সুরেন চন্দ্র দাসও মহাশয়ও বলেছিলেন; এ সম্বন্ধে যাতে survey হয়, এবং তার জন্য যাতে টাকা ধরা হয়, এবং কাজ করা হয় তার জন্য তিনি বলেছেন। এখানে বেনিটীপু ব সম্বন্ধে যে কথা সেটা হচ্ছে এই যে এই বন্যা যাতে নিবারিত হয় সেজন্য excavation দরকার। আমি এ বিষয়ে Minister মহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি।

Maulana ABDUL HAI : মাননীয় Deputy Speaker সাহেব, Irrigation সম্বন্ধে আমার বক্তৃতা বক্তব্য আছে। আমাদের বাংলা Government অন্যান্য departmentএ যেভাবে টাকা budget করেছেন, তা এতে কমেইনি; যথা পুলিশের জন্য, যে পুলিশ থাকতেও কলকাতায় এত বড় হত্যাকাণ্ড হয়ে গিয়েছে তাদের পেট ভরাবার জন্য যথেষ্ট টাকা budget করেছেন এবং অন্যান্য ব্যাপারেও অনেক টাকা budget করেছেন। কিন্তু যে কৃষির উপরে আমাদের বাংলার পল্লীর নবনারীণ জীবন নির্ভর করে সে কৃষির উন্নতি কিভাবে হবে এবং সেই ব্যাপারে ধানের ফসল কি রকম হবে সে বিষয়ে আমাদের এই বর্তমান Governmentএর উদাসীনতা পরিলক্ষিত হচ্ছে। Irrigation সম্বন্ধে কোন সত্যোষ্মক ব্যবস্থা বাজেটে পরিলক্ষিত হচ্ছে না। যা কিছু হয়েছে তাও সেই পশ্চিম বঙ্গের জন্য, যেখানে গায়েমির scheme, দুই জমী, তিনটা scheme প্রভৃতি জনা কোটি কোটি টাকা ব্যয় করা হচ্ছে। কিন্তু যে চাটগাঁ division ধানের জন্য বহু বড় উন্নত দেশ, specially নোয়াখালী জেলা, সেই নোয়াখালী জেলায় যে দুর্দশা, সেখানকার যে অভাব অভিযোগ সেদিকে কোন দৃষ্টিপাত করছেন না? এবারের বাজেটে চাটগাঁ divisionকে এমনভাবে বাস্তব দেওয়া হয়েছে কেন? এই irrigationএর বিষয়ে East Bengalকে সম্পূর্ণরূপে বাস্তব দিয়ে গিয়েছেন। আপনারা জানেন এই যে famine, এই যে দুর্ভিক্ষ, এ কেন হচ্ছে; কসলের যে উন্নতি হচ্ছে না তার একমাত্র কারণ এই যে, যে সমস্ত খালগুলি কাটাতে হবে, যে সমস্ত বাঁধ দিতে হবে, যে সমস্ত জায়গাতে নোনা জল উঠে, তার সঙ্গে বাস্তু এসে সমস্ত ফসলকে ধুংস করে দায় সেই সমস্ত দিকে আমাদের Governmentএর একটুও দৃষ্টি নজর পড়ছে না। নোয়াখালীর যে খাল আছে,

সেই খালের এবং সেই যেমনা নদীর branchএর জন্যই নোয়াখালী পূর্ণ বছরে বন্যা অতি হুম্মর এবং বনোন্নয়ন সহর ছিল। আজ সেই সহরের এত বড় দুর্ভিক্ষ কেন? সেদিকে আমাদের Government কোন দৃষ্টিপাত করছেন না। আমি বলতে চাই যে নোয়াখালীর খালটাকে যদি অতিসরব গভীর করে না দেওয়া হয় এবং ভাল বকর জল স্রবরাহের ব্যবস্থা করা না হয় তাহলে নোয়াখালীর মানুষদের অতি সর্ব বরণকে বরণ করতে হবে। তার কারণ এত বড় famine সেখানে দেখা গেবে যে কোন Government এ রকম নাই যে শুধু loan দাখা বা reliefএর দ্বারা সাহায্য করে তাদের প্রাণ বাঁচাবে। গভীরে যে বন্যা হয়ে গিয়েছে--আপনারা paperএ দেখছেন যে চট্টগ্রাম ও হাটীরা বীপকে একেবারে সর্ব হায্য করেছে। তাদের সর্বনাশ করে দিয়েছে। নোনা জল প্রবেশ করে সমস্ত ধানের গাছগুলিকে যেয়ে দিয়েছে। তার সঙ্গে বাস্তু এসেছে। এমনভাবে নদীগুলি থেকে জল প্রবেশ করেছে যে সেগুলি বাহির হবার আর কোন স্থান নেই। অতএব আমি অনুরোধ করছি যে বেষেরবাশী করে আমাদের বাংলার সরকার এবং এই departmentএর মাদারী বদী মহোদয় যেন আমাদের সেই East Bengalএর দিকে খেয়াল করেন,

especially আমাদের সেই নোয়াখালী জেলা এবং চাটগাঁও সম্বন্ধে বিশেষভাবে বক্তব্য হন। আমি হাটীয়া বীপের কথা বলছি, যে বীপ বাংলা দেশের স্বর্ধ্ব বর্ধন বললেও চলে। সেখানে আমার বন্ধু নীহারেন্দ্র বসু বহুবাজার মহাশয় একবার গিয়েছিলেন কয়েক বছর আগে। আজ নোনা জল উঠে সেই হাটীয়া বীপকে সর্গু নাশ করেছে। হাটীয়া বীপের ধানের ঘারা নোয়াখালী জেলার সমস্ত লোক বাঁচে, সেই হাটীয়ার লোক এখানে যেতে পাচ্ছে না, প্রাণে বাবা যাচ্ছে। তার একমাত্র কারণ নোনা জল প্রবেশ করে সমস্ত জায়গা নষ্ট করে দিয়েছে। এমনভাবে জল প্রবেশ করেছে সেগুলি বাড়ির চর্খার কোন উপায় নেই। Mr. Martin যখন Commissioner ছিলেন চাটগাঁও divisionএর Martin খাল বলে একটি খাল করেছিলেন, সেটাও আমার বন্ধু হয়ে গিয়েছে। আমি অনুরোধ করি আমাদের মাননীয় মহা ব্রহ্মাচার্য হাটীয়া সল্টপা islandএর খানডাল অতি সম্বর বেন বনন করার ব্যবস্থা করেন, এবং যেখানে যেখানে বীধ হওয়া দরকার সেখানে সেখানে বীধ দিয়ে এই সর্গু হারা কৃষকের প্রাণ বাঁচান। এই আমার একমাত্র অনুরোধ।

Mr. A. F. STARK: May I raise one point? Some years ago there was a proposal to set up two river commissions—two Inter-Provincial River Commissions—one for the Ganges and another for the Brahmaputra-Meghna rivers. The basis of that proposal was the Provinces through which these rivers flow having a common entrance for these rivers as action by one Province may prejudice another Province. Now, Sir, that was some years ago, but the proposal seems to have gone to sleep. It has become all the more important now because since a number of hydro-electric schemes have been mooted there has been a hydro-electric scheme in Bihar and another in Assam which might have a very real effect on the flow of water in Bengal. There is also the question—a very important question—of forest denudation in Chhotanagpur. That was an old question and many honourable members must know just how far rivers in Bengal affect denudation outside this Province. I feel that these River Commissions should go into the whole thing. Regional control of these rivers is absolutely necessary and I would like to see the Hon'ble Minister giving a real lead to bring these commissions into being.

Mr. NISHAPATI MAJHI: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,68,00,000 for expenditure under the heads "XVII, etc.-Irrigation, etc.", be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the Government's policy with regard to irrigation and other revenue expenditure.

মাননীয় Deputy Speaker মহাশয়, আমি সেচ বিভাগের সাধারণ নীতির বিষয় আলোচনা করিবার জন্য এই ছাঁটাই প্রস্তাব উপস্থিত করিতেছি। সেচ খাতে ২ কোটি ৮০ হাজার টাকা ব্যয় হইবে। কিন্তু দেশের নদী-নালা, খাল, বিল, এবং ভলাপরাড়ি এই টাকার দ্বারা সংস্কার সাধন করা সম্পূর্ণ ভাবে সম্ভবপর নয়। ছোট বাট পরিকল্পনার দ্বারা বর্ধমান দু'দিনে সত্যিকার বাস্তব সমস্যা সমাধান করা যায় না। বৃষ্টির স্বরূপ বলা যায় এই যে, পশ্চিম বঙ্গে বর্মানজোর ক্যাননেট অতি উত্তম ভঙ্গিতে উপযোগী ব্যবস্থা হইবে। কিন্তু বাকীর সরকার তাহাকে কার্যকরী না করিয়া আপাততঃ যৌর স্বীয়কেই কার্যকরী করিতে ৭৮ লক্ষ টাকা ব্যয় করিতেছেন। ইহা অবশ্য বর্মানজোর পরিকল্পনার একটি অঙ্গ হইবে। কিন্তু এইরূপ এক একটি ছোট ছোট পরিকল্পনা করিতে সরকারী শক্তি ও অর্থের মধ্যেই অপব্যয় হয়। আপাকরি যৌর পরিকল্পনার কার্যাবস্তের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বর্মানজোর কার্যের বর্ধাধ ব্যবস্থা বাকীর সরকার কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের সহযোগে করিতে কোনরূপ ইতস্ততঃ করিবেন না। কেন না বীরভূমে বর্ধাকালে শুধু ভঙ্গিতে ব্যবস্থা করিলেই বীরভূমবাসী উপকৃত হইবে না এবং যেসকল অধিক ফল উৎপাদনের আশা বাকীর সরকার ঘোষণা করিতেছেন তাহাও আকাশকুসুম হইয়া থাকিবে। উপরন্তু পরিব্রাজকের কর্তব্য বহন করিয়া চলিতে হইবে। অতীতে এইরূপ বহুবিধ সমস্যা বর্ধাতি ক্যাননেট দ্বারা সম্বল হইয়াছে, এইজন্য বিশেষভাবে অনুরোধ জানাইতেছি যে, মহা মহাশয় সমস্ত বর্মানজোর ক্যাননেটের ব্যবস্থার দ্বারা ভঙ্গিতে এবং পশ্চিম বঙ্গের কৈয়ডিক ব্যবস্থার বাবতীয় আয়োজন করিয়া বাংলার ভাতীয় সমস্ত বৃদ্ধির আয়োজন করুন।

মহা মহাশয় আলোচ্য বর্ধে নল-নদী এবং নালা সংস্কার ও পুনর্গঠন কার্যের জন্য ৩০ লক্ষ ২৪ হাজার টাকা ব্যয় করিয়াছেন। প্রতি বৎসর বাংলার নল-নদী ও নালা দ্বারা যে কোটি কোটি টাকা অপব্যয় হইতেছে

জাহাঙ্গীর তুলনার এই টাকা খুব সামান্য। মুন্সেফ পুর্বে যদি এইসব কার্যগুলি তৎপর করিবার ভাল পরিকল্পনা করত ব্যবস্থা হইত তাহা হইলে সারা বাংলা দেশ বাড়তি খাদ্যসম্যা প্রদেয় বলিয়া পরিগণিত হইতে পারিত। সেমিকৈ বাংলার সরকার বা মাননীয় বড়লাট লক্ষ্য করেন নাই। এজন্য মজা নদীগুলির দ্বারা পশ্চিম বাংলার স্বাস্থ্য ও শিকা সমস্যা ভাব্য হইতেছে। বংসর বংসর বহু লক্ষ অকালে মরিতেছে। এ বিষয়ে একটি ঘটনার কথা উল্লেখ করিতেছি। এ বংসর অকালের বীধ বর্ধমান অঞ্চলে বীধা হইয়াছে। সাধারণ বুদ্ধির দ্বারা বীরভূমের অবস্থা কি হইবে তাহা সেচ-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় চিন্তা করিয়া দেখেন নাই। বীরভূমে এজন্য কুড়ি হাটল দীর্ঘ পুরাতন বীধের ২৮টি স্থানে ডাক্তার ডাকিয়াছিল। ইচ্ছাতে বহু বিধা ধান জমি এবং প্রায় দুই সহস্র গৃহ নষ্ট হইয়াছে; অনেক গরু-হাঙ্গল মরিয়াছে; একজন স্ত্রীলোকের দেহাল চাপা পড়িয়া মৃত্যু হইয়াছে। এখন সরকারী অর্থ দ্বারা মন্ত্রী মহাশয় সত্তর লাখ টাকা করিতেছেন। এজন্য মন্যবাদ জানাইতেছি। কিন্তু প্রশ্ন করিতে ইচ্ছা হয়, এইরূপ বিসিদ্ধের কি প্রয়োজন ছিল? পুর্ন হইতে যদি ব্যবস্থা করা যাইত তাহা হইলে প্রজন্মের তীব্রভূমির উত্তর জমিগুলি বালুস্তরে কাঁটা গাছে এবং গাল রিলে পরিণত হইত না। এইভাবে সরকারের উদাসীনতার জন্য ২০ বংসরের মধ্যে প্রায় এক লক্ষ একর ভাল জমি অর্থ, কোপাই, ময়ূরাকী, হিংলা প্রভৃতি নদীর দ্বারা ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হইয়াছে। এইসব জমিগুলি উদ্ধারের জন্য গ্রামবাসীদের সরকারী মূল্যনা ও সাহায্য উপলব্ধিভাবে দেওয়া উচিত। সন্যাস যাহাদের গৃহ নষ্ট হইয়াছে, তাহাদের অনেককে গৃহ বেরাঘতি বাবদ মাত্র ৩০৮ দেওয়া হইতেছে। ৩০৮ টাকা যে একটি ঘর নির্মাণের জন্য প্রদান করা হয়, তাহা মানে যে বর্ধমান দুদিনে গড়ও পাবে না, বীণও পাবে না এবং মেয়ালও নির্মাণ করতে পাবে না। আমি অন্তর্গত আছি যে, তাহাও সর্বলক্ষে ৩০৮ টাকা দেওয়া হইতেছে না। আমি অনুরোধ করি যে, অস্থতঃপক্ষে যেন তাদের ১০৮ টাকা প্রদান করা যত দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা অতি সত্তর মন্ত্রী মহোদয় করেন।

আগার বীরভূমে অকালের বীধটা সত্তর সেচ বিভাগের এলাকাভুক্ত হইবে। সেচ পরিকল্পনার পুনর্গঠন কার্যের অতি বুদ্ধির জন্যই যে বাংলার খাদ্য-সমস্যা ও স্বাস্থ্য-সমস্যা বহু অংশে গুরুতর আকার ধারণ করিয়াছে তাহা সকলেই ভালভাবে জানেন—কিন্তু সরকার নীরব ও নিশ্চেষ্ট। আরো বলা যাইতে পারে বীরভূমে ৩১ লক্ষ বর্গ বাড়তি চাউন হইতেছে। চাউল খরিদের কুশীল্লি এবং কোম্পানীর অর্থনৈতিক অর্থলোলুপতার কথা বলাই ভাল। কিন্তু বীরভূমের ব্যবসায়ী ও কৃষকদের লইয়া যদি সরকার ক্রয় বিক্রয় পরিচরিত দ্বারা সরকার চাউনাদি খরিদ করিতেন তাহা হইলে বীরভূমের টাকা বীরভূমে থাকিত। তাহার দ্বারা বীরভূমের সেচ ব্যবস্থা ও কৃষি নিষ্পকার্যের দ্রুত উন্নতি হইত। কিন্তু সরকার ঠিকাদারের চক্রান্ত ভাল ভেদ করিতে যেন আবাদিগকে অক্ষ-মতা জানাইতেছেন। এখনও যদি এই সব সরকারী ঠিকাদারদের বিদায় করিয়া এবং সেচ ও কৃষি পরিকল্পনাকে যেন শ্রুতি বিজ্ঞানসম্মত উপায়ে কার্যকরী করিয়া তুলিতে পারেন তাহা হইলে বাংলার মধ্যে বীরভূম অধিক উৎপাদের ভাল স্থানরূপে পরিণত হইতে পারিবে।

অপর আর একটি সেচ বিভাগের দুর্নীতির কথা বলিতেছি। এই কার্যের তথ্য পুকুরের পক্ষোদ্ধারের বাবদ এ বংসরও ৩০ লক্ষ টাকা বরাদ্দ হইয়াছে। অতীতে বীরভূমে প্রায় এক হাজার পুকুর সংস্কারের নামে কতিপয় দুর্ভ ব্যক্তি অতিরিক্ত কমতা পাইয়াছিল, কারণ পুকুর সংস্কার অপেক্ষা পকেট সংস্কার ভালই হইয়াছে। তাহার কারণে জোট বীথিয়া সরকারী লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা পকেটস্থ করিয়াছে। সেচ আইনটি যে এইরূপ কুল পুস করিবে এবং ঠিকাদারদের পু আদায় যোল আনা লাভ হইবে তাহা কেহ কল্পনাও করেন নাই। বলা বাহুল্য ঠিকাদারগণ অতিরিক্তভাবে লাভ করিয়াছে আর নিম্নবর্ণিত দঃ কৃষকগণ এই টাকার জন্য ধর্মের বোঝা বহন করিতেছে। এইরূপ অন্যান্য কার্যের প্রতিবিধান করিবার জন্য কৃষকদের ধর্মের ভার লাঘবের জন্য, এমন কি ঐশ্বর্য বৃদ্ধির জন্য এবং ঠিকাদারদের কৃষি করিয়া লাভি দিবার উদ্দেশ্যে একটি নিরপেক্ষ উদ্যম করিটি গঠন করা উচিত। আপা করি কোনরূপ বিলম্ব না করিয়া দীর্ঘ মন্ত্রীগণ তত্ত্ব কমিটি গঠন করিবেন এবং সত্তর আইনটিকে আরো সংশোধন করিয়া ব্যবসায়ী অর্থবাদের ভার গ্রাহবে পুকুরের মালিকদের তথ্য সেচের অধিকারীদেরই দেখেন। অল্প মূল্য দিয়া পুকুরের মালিকের স্বয়ং ক্রয় করিবার ব্যবস্থা করাও উচিত। কেন না জলাশয়গুলি সাধারণেরই সম্পত্তি ছিল মাদারগ চক্রান্ত করিয়াই জলাশয়, হাঙ্গলালা এবং গোচর বাঁট দ্বারা বর্ধনের দানকে অস্বাভাবিক করিয়া তুলিয়াছে। পরিষদের কোন কোন মাননীয় সদস্য বলিয়াছেন যাহা কিছু হইতেছে পশ্চিম বঙ্গে, কিন্তু বিসত ১০০ বংসর ব্যাপী পশ্চিম বঙ্গের জন্য সরকারী কোন গঠনমূলক কাজ হয় নাই বলিলেই চলে। বীরভূমের এজন্য শতকরা ৯৫ জন নিম্বকন, ৯০ জন খাদ্যায়ীস ব্যালোরিয়া মোদী, ৮০ জন জুনিয়ন, ৪০ জন পুহরীস তথ্য গারুজার বারী। এখানে বংসরের মধ্যে ৫৫, ৬০ ইঞ্চি বারিপাত হয়। বর্ষা পুর্বে পূর্ব পূর্ব ঠিকভাবে ২০ ইঞ্চি বৃষ্টি না

হইলই দৃষ্টিক দেখা যায়। অজয়ের শ্রমণ কেতাবান হোঁচনাপূর্বের বড় বন কাটিয়া কেলা হইয়াছে। তাহা যেমন সংরক্ষণের বাধ্য হই নাই, সেইরূপ বীরভূমের ডাঙীর বন, ইনাংবাজার বন, গড় বন প্রভৃতির উপর সরকার কোন দিন দৃষ্টি দেন নাই। বীরভূমের বহু সহস্র পুকুর আজ পক্ষোচ্চরের অভাবে মজিয়া আছে এবং কৃষিক্ষেত্রেও দি কাঁটা গাছের জঙ্গলে পরিণত হইতে চনিয়াছে এবং ভবিষ্যৎ উৎপাদিকা শক্তি বংশবের পর বংশর কনিয়া আসিতেছে।

এহত অবস্থার বশানজোরের অজ হিগাবে বোর পনিকল্পনার কার্যে অগ্রসর হওয়ার জারি ময়ী মহাপরকে বন্যবাদ জানাইতেছি। এইরূপ কৃষি, শিল্প, শিক্কা ও স্বাস্থ্য মন্ত্রণালকে পশ্চিম বঙ্গের প্রতি দৃষ্টি দিবার জন্য আহ্বান জানাইতেছি। তাহাতে বাঙ্গালী বিশেষভাবে লাভবান হইবে।

Maulvi MAJIBAR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take the advantage for discussion of the Budget provision under the head "Irrigation" and I regret to say that no provision has been made for any irrigation work in East Bengal, specially in the district of Noakhali. In spite of representations submitted to the Government of Bengal for taking up the work of re-excavation of silted up Noakhali khal, Rahamat-khali khal at Lakhipur and Dakatia khal in Raipur from different institutions and public for the last few years, the Government of Bengal, specially the Department concerned, did nothing in this respect, to relieve the sufferings of the people of the district and prevent huge damage to its crops. The district of Noakhali, being situated on the sea shore, is often inundated by saline water during summer season causing damage to the crops very often. Hence raising of *bunds* along the sides of the sea and river is also a problem. On the other hand, for want of proper drainage during rains, a very extensive area of the district goes under water to the serious loss of its crops and gardens. These problems and difficulties were from time to time brought to the notice of the present Hon'ble Chief Minister during the régime of the last Ministry, who gave assurances to take immediate steps, but in vain. Owing to the rise of an extensive *char* along the side and to the south of this district, the abovementioned outlets and others which were the only sources of drainage, have been practically silted up. Hence the question of irrigation work is a dire necessity to save its people and growing crops. The district of Noakhali, though a land of fertility, has become a deficit district, nay, a famine district, owing to above reasons. We were given to understand last year that Rs. 3,60,000 for excavating Karam Bux Khal running through Sudharam and Begumganj police-stations and Rs. 7,70,000 for re-excavation of Rahamat Khali Khal within the police-station Lakhipur and Rs. 1,70,000 for Dakatia Khal within Raipur police-station, were sanctioned. Tenders were called from contractors, but to the greatest surprise of us all, all works were stopped all on a sudden on flimsy grounds. The result is that the crops of a very vast area of the district have become a total failure which means loss of crops worth crores of rupees. To our utmost surprise, this year also no provision has been made. The Noakhali Khal which is centrally situated and which is the source of drainage of water not only of a vast area of Sadar subdivision, but Feni subdivision as well, being now almost silted up, is a serious problem for immediate re-excavation. We also suggested that if the Government could have utilised the service of a dredger at the advent of the monsoon, it would have done some useful work towards the solution.

With these few words, I draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department that immediate action be taken towards the solution of the work of irrigation in our part of the province and assurances for immediate execution of the work.

Lastly, I hope due justice should be done to all parts of the Province and the money of the State should be spent proportionately and equally all over the Province.

There is a special development programme wherein also no provision has been made for our neglected area.

Nawab MUSHARRUF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: Sir, only two minutes' time has been given to me by you. I do not know what I can say within this short time. I would, therefore, ask only two questions. May I know from the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department, what is the amount he is going to spend from the Irrigation Budget for North Bengal as a whole? I know, we have got two Ministers coming from North Bengal to look after our interests. As a member of this House, I think, I have the right to ask whether they are going to do anything for North Bengal. If these two questions are answered, that will satisfy me for the present.

Mr. HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,68,00,000 for expenditure under the head "XVII, etc.-Irrigation" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to formulate any scheme for protection of agricultural lands from inundation caused by the rivers, namely, Seelya, the Dwarakeswar and the Mundeswari in the subdivision of Ghatal in the district of Midnapore.

Sir, বৈদীপুৰ জেলাৰ ঘাটাল subdivision-এৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত যে সকল ভূমিভাগ লৰকেশ্বৰ, ৰূপনামায়ণ ও হুণ্ডেশ্বৰী প্ৰভৃতি নদী দ্বাৰা সীমাবদ্ধ হৈছে তাৰপৰি জেলা হইতে বিচ্ছিন্ন হইতেছে সেই সকল লক্ষ্যধিক একৰ পৰিমিত কৃষি ক্ষেত্ৰগুলি প্ৰতি বৎসৰ উল্লিখিত নদীগুলি ও প্ৰবল প্ৰত্যাপ শীলাই নদীৰ বন্যাভাৱে একপাত্ৰে ভুবিয়া থাকে যে তাহাতে কোন একটী হৈমন্তিক ধান্য জন্মাবাৰ উপায় থাকে না। এই বৎসৰও আৰু দুই তিন দিন হ'ল সংবাদ পেৰেই ৰূপনামায়ণ ও শীলাই নদীৰ বীধ ভেঙ্গে গিয়ে কৃষিক্ষেত্ৰগুলি সমুদ্ৰে পৰিণত হইয়াছে। কৃষককল হা-হা শব্দে ৰোদন কৰে দিগদিগন্ত মুঞ্চিত কৰে তুলেছে। প্ৰতি বৎসৰ কৃষকৰা কল পাবাৰ আশায় হৈমন্তিক ধান্য ৰোপন কৰে বটে কিন্তু প্ৰতি বৎসৰই সেইগুলি বন্যাভাৱে ভুৰে যায় এবং পচে গিয়ে ধুংসভূপে পৰিণত হয়। এইভাবে কৃষকেৰা বৎসৰেৰ পৰ বৎসৰ লক্ষ্যধিক টকা ক্ষতিগ্ৰস্ত হৈছে গভীৰ ঋণভাৱে ভৰিত হয় পত্ৰতে এবং মৰ্ব্বাৰত হতে চলেছে।

এই যে লক্ষ্যধিক একৰ কৃষিক্ষেত্ৰগুলি প্ৰশাসনা হৈছে পাড় খেকে মক্ৰভূমিতে পৰিণত হতে চলেছে বাংলা গভৰ্ণমেণ্টেৰ পুৰ্ত্ত বিভাগেৰ উচ্চপদস্থ কৰ্মচাৰীগণ তথ্যময় কি কোন চিন্তা কৰেন না কি কোন বিভূত পৰিকল্পনা প্ৰস্তুত কৰেভেন? এই বন্যা নিৰাশৰেৰ একটী উপায়মৰূপ চক্ৰেশ্বৰ কানেল নামক খালটি পুনৰ্নজাৰ কৰিতে আৰি একাধিকবাৰ এই পৰিঘৰে মন্ত্ৰী মহোদয়গণকে নিবেদন কৰেছিলো, কিন্তু সে বিষয়েৰ কোনটো বাৰুবা হ'ল না। বন্যা নিৰাশ কৰতে যদি বাস্তবিকই তাঁৰা অকৃতকাৰ্য্য হৈছে থাকেন তৰে শীতকালে উচ্চ জৰিঙাসিতে মাছাতে প্ৰচুৰ কল জন্মাইতে পাৰে তজ্জনা ঐ অকলেৰ স্থানে স্থানে বড় বড় reserve tank প্ৰভৃতি নিৰ্মাণ কৰে সেৱেৰে সুব্যৱস্থা কৰেন না কেন? বাংলা দেশ কৃষিপ্ৰধান। কৃষিজাত হুৰাই এদেশেৰ প্ৰাণ, ধন, লক্ষ্যতি ও আবাদেৰ একমাত্ৰ সঞ্চ। সুতৰাং কৃষিকাৰ্য্যেৰ উন্নতি সাধন কৰা, উৎপন্ন কলমেৰে পৰিমাণ বাঢ়িয়ে দেওৱা এবং ঐ প্ৰকাৰ বন্যাবিশৃষ্ট কৃষিক্ষেত্ৰগুলি মাছাতে কলপ্ৰা হ'য়ে পতিত অবস্থায় না পড়ে থাকে তজ্জনা পুৰ্ত্ত বিভাগেৰ বিশেষজ্ঞগণকে একটী সুচিন্তিত সুব্যৱস্থা কৰবাৰ জনা আৰি মন্ত্ৰী মহোদয়কে অনুৰোধ কৰে আবাদ প্ৰভাৱটি পৰিঘৰে গ্ৰহণেৰে জনা উপস্থাপিত কৰলাৰ। আশা কৰি আবাদ প্ৰভাৱটি গৃহীত হৰে।

Maulana HAJI MUHAMMAD QUASEM: মাননীয় ডেপুটি স্পীকাৰ, স্যাব, বাধৰগজ জেলাৰ বাধৰগজ মহকুমা ঘাইতি এলাকা। বাধৰগজ জেলা বুলে ধান চাল সম্বন্ধে surplus district বুলেই মনে কৰেন। কিন্তু সেটা দক্ষিণ মহকুমা। উত্তৰ মহকুমা ঘাইতি এলাকা। এখানে কৃষকদেৰ মধ্যে বোধ হয় গড়কৰা ১৫ জন ১২ বাবেৰ খোৰাক পায়। কাজেই এই এলাকাৰ সব সময় distress সেপেই থাকে। উত্তীৰপুৰ দ্বাৰা বৈশী অকলে হাজাৰ হাজাৰ বিঘা জলে ভুৰে থাকে। গভৰ্ণমেণ্ট বাহাদুৰ ১৯৪৪ সালে একটা বীধেৰ বাৰুবা কৰেছিলেন, কিন্তু সেটা সম্পূৰ্ণ হয়নি। যা কৰেছিলেন তাঁৰে মনো অনেক জায়গাৰ শেষ ছিল যদি সেই বীধ পুনঃ সংজাৰ কৰা হয় তাহলে বোধ হয় হাজাৰ হাজাৰ মন ধান জন্মাতে পাৰে। এজন্য আৰি মাননীয় মন্ত্ৰী মহোদয়েৰে দৃষ্টি আকৰ্ষণ কৰি। সেই বীধ বাতে পুনৰায় ভাল ভাবে সংজাৰ হতে পাৰে তাৰ বাৰুবা কৰুন। সৌৰ নদী ধান্যৰ টকি বন্দৰ হ'তে টকি নদীৰ একটা খাল আছে। ঐ খালেৰে যদি ভাল বকৰ জন নিকাশেৰ বাৰুবা কৰা হয় তাহলে সেই এলাকাৰ কেবাব বকৰ প্ৰভৃতিতে বহু হাজাৰ হাজাৰ বিঘাৰ ধান হয়ে জেলাৰ অভাব অভিশোধ টুকে বেঙে পাৰে। সাহেবেৰে হাট পৰ্য্যন্ত একটা ভাল বকৰ জন নিকাশেৰ বাৰুবা কোৱে

লিঙ্গে অনেক বেশী কল হতে পারে। আমি যহী মহোদয়ের দৃষ্টি এ বিষয়ে আকর্ষণ করছি। আর লাভসা বিশেষ ভেটী বেধে গিলে ঐ অঞ্চলের অভাব দূরীভূত হতে পারে। সেজন্যও সুব্যবস্থা করতে আমি অনুরোধ করি।

Mr. FAZLUL KARIM : ডেপুটি স্পীকার, স্যার, আমার পূর্বে বজিবুর রহমান সাহেব বসেছেন রায়পুর, লক্ষীপুর প্রভৃতি থানার জন ডাকাতিয়া থান গিয়া নিকাশ হয়। আজ কয়েক বৎসর যাবৎ ঐ থান বহু থাকার দরুন ঐ তিন থানার ভিতর থান চালের যে অভাব ঘটেছে তার একমাত্র কারণ সেই ভরি থেকে পান্য বাব আনা কল প্রত্যেক বৎসর নষ্ট হয়। এই তিন থানায় যে রকম থান চাল হওয়া উচিত ৫০৭ বৎসর থেকে তা হচ্ছে না। বর্তমান চীফ মিনিষ্টার সাহেব ইলেকশনের আগে ওয়াশ করেছিলেন যে প্রথম সেশনেই সেই থান কাটাবার ব্যবস্থা করবেন।

অন্তঃর আমি বানানীয় যহী মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করছি তিনি যেন চীফ মিনিষ্টার মহোদয়ের পাটরি বর্ধ্যাশা বন্ধাধি অতি সরর ডাকাতিয়া থান কাটাৰ ব্যবস্থা কোরে দেন। তা না হ'লে আর সেপের মোকদম তাঁদের কথায় আছা থাকবে না।

Mr. KHAIRAT HOSSAIN : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, ২ কোটি ৬৮ লাখ টাকা Irrigationএর জন্য খরচ হবে। তা থেকে ৫ লক্ষ টাকা North Bengalএর জন্য রাখা হয়েছে। এতে বাগ করা কিছুই নাই। West Bengalএর জন্য প্রায় সমস্ত টাকা ব্যয় করতেন। আমাদের ডিপার্টমেন্ট জানা কেল্য হয়েছে। West Bengalএর জন্য যদি ৩ কোটি সরকার হয় তাহলে তার অনুভব করা উচিত ছিল যে North Bengal, East Bengal এবং South Bengalএর জন্যও irrigationএর প্রয়োজন আছে। West Bengalএ বৃষ্টি কম হয়, কাজেই ওখানে পুকুর পরিষ্কার কোরে জল রক্ষার প্রয়োজন এবং সেজন্য টাকার সরকার কিন্তু North Bengalএ তার উল্টো ব্যবস্থা। সেখানে অতিবিস্তৃত বৃষ্টি হয় এবং প্রচুরশ্রুত ও তিত্তার জলে বিশেষ flood হওয়ার জন্য গাইবান্ধা, কুড়িগ্রাম, নীলকামারী এবং পূর্ব বঙা সম্পূর্ণ overflooded হয়ে যায়। এই overfloodingএর জন্য প্রতি বছর যে আমন থান লাগায় তার অধিকাংশ এবং ডাঙ্গ মাসের শেষে আউণ থান নষ্ট হয়ে যায়। এইজন্য রংপুর জেলা সব সময় বাটতি এলাকা বলে ওন্ডে হয়। আজ তার পাঁচ বছর থেকে। পূর্বে রংপুর জেলা বাটতি ছিল না। রংপুর ও ভলপাইওন্ডে তিত্তা নদীর মুখ থেকে কুইলাই নামে ছোট নদী বেরিয়েছে। তার মুখে সেই নদীর খালু জরে বাওগার ফলে পুনঃ তিত্তা বহু হয়েছে এবং কুইলাই নদী দিয়ে জল বেরিয়ে যায় এবং নীলকামারী জলে ভেসে যায়। সেজন্য কল হর না। ১৯৪২ সালে Irrigation Departmentএর ইন্টিনিরবের কাছে representation দেওয়া হয়। তিনি প্রতিশ্রুতি দেন যে কুইলাই ও তিত্তার junction কেটে সেধানকার খালু সরিয়ে দেওয়া হবে এবং তিত্তা পূর্বের মত চলবে। সে সময় যহী ছিলেন বাসারীর সারস্বতীর সাহেব। তিনি সে প্রতিশ্রুতি রক্ষা করতে পারেন নি। আশাকরি বর্তমান যহী আব্দুর রহমান সাহেব সেই প্রতিশ্রুতি রক্ষা করবেন। তিনি একবার দয়া কোরে সেই এলাকায় গেলে সেধানকার অনেক কিছু দেখতে পারেন। আরও মোটামুটি জানি যে সেধানকার যহী তিনি কেবল সেখানেই tour দেন। নিজের গ্রাম, নিজের এলাকা ছাড়া অন্যান্য divisionsএ tour দেওয়া প্রয়োজন বনে করেন না। আশাকরি তাঁরা যখন সমস্ত provinceএর যহী ওখন অন্যান্য divisionsএ ও tour দেওয়া প্রয়োজন বনে করবেন।

আর একটা কথা। Irrigation Departmentএ যে কন্ট্রাক্টার নিয়োগ করা হয় সে ব্যাপারে কিছু গলম দেখা যায়। Lowest rates tender call করা হয়, কিন্তু মূলদান বা scheduled casteএর contract না দিবার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়। চীফ ইঞ্জিনিয়ার মহোদয়কে করতে দেওয়া হয়েছে, তিনিই ultimate authority. Superintending Engineer যিনি আসেন তিনি সমস্ত ব্যাপারে চক্ষুক্ষেপ করে মূলদান ও scheduled caste যাতে contract না পায় তার ব্যবস্থা কোরে দেখেছেন।

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, before I go into the details of the cut motions and also various other points raised by other friends, I think it may not be out of place to say a few words about the basic problem, the Department of Irrigation and Waterways has to deal with. This problem arises in the main from the monsoon rainfall and its surface run-off. The monsoon rainfall, copious as it is, is highly erratic and uneven in distribution both locally as well as seasonally, and so it often happens that there is too much rainfall at one place and at one time and too little at another place and at another time. Then, again, Bengal is a riverine

Province *par excellence* watered by the mighty rivers which have their origin outside the Province. These rivers are swollen by the monsoon rainfall within their catchment areas and the result at times is high and destructive flood. The obvious solution lies in the conservation of the monsoon rainfall much of which goes to waste and its controlled release and distribution, as and when required throughout the year. The solution has to be worked out on a planned Province-wide basis and calls for a careful and detailed investigation from various points of view and for a careful co-ordination of the activities of the various nation-building departments many of which are concerned with one aspect or another of the problem.

To these considerations just mentioned may be added two important factors which are no less important, namely, the resources available at our disposal and the technical staff needed to implement the schemes. My colleague in the Finance Department has already dwelt upon the general financial stringency with which the Province is confronted. I do not want to pursue this matter further beyond saying that we have to depend entirely upon the subventions from the Central Government for the financing of our post-war development schemes. Apart from the question of funds, we have to take into account the supply of machinery and other materials which would be required at the stage of execution as well as the supply of trained and experienced technical personnel without whose services no such scheme can be put in hand. In the present unsettled conditions of international trade it is idle to expect that the requisite machinery and materials could be procured, as and when required. As for the technical staff, there is an all-round demand for technical services and the supply available is far short of requirements. These are two very important limitations which cannot but restrict the choice of schemes.

I shall now proceed to discuss the broad features of our plan and programme. First and foremost, there is the ambitious Damodar Multi-purpose Project which provides for flood control, generation of hydro-electric power, irrigation as well as navigation. The total cost of this scheme, which is under the administrative control of Government of India and is expected to receive a substantial measure of financial aid from the Central Funds, is estimated at Rs. 55 crores.

Another major scheme which has been put in hand is the Mor Irrigation Project which commands an area of 1,240 square miles. Part I of this scheme relates to the construction of a dam at Messanjore, in the district of Santal Parganas and Part II to the barrage and canal system within the Province of Bengal.

Part I of the scheme cannot be launched until permission is obtained from the Government of Bihar for the construction of a dam and reservoir at Messanjore. The matter is under negotiation with the Government of Bihar, who have not communicated their final decision yet. This part of the scheme has to be kept in abeyance. Meanwhile it has been decided to go ahead with Part II of the scheme which has received administrative approval at an estimated cost of Rs. 4,38,00,000. The net irrigable area commanded by this scheme is 5,95,000 acres in those adjoining parts of the districts of Birbhum, Murshidabad and Burdwan which suffer from a chronic scarcity on account of a complete or partial failure of crops in consequence of an erratic and uneven distribution of the monsoon rainfall. The expected net increase in the annual yield of paddy is estimated at 44,00,000 maunds. The net increase will be doubled when Part I of the scheme has been carried out.

The two major projects I have just mentioned, namely, the Damodar Valley Multi-purpose Project and the Mor Project, besides several minor schemes, will meet the requirements of Western Bengal which would benefit by the conservation, control and regulation of the waters which

traverse this part of the Province. It is this part of the Province which, as the past experience shows, suffers from alternate flood and drought with the result that scarcity, either local or widespread and more or less severe, has been a chronic feature and Government have had to spend large sums of money by way of relief. Looked at from this standpoint, there is an undoubted need for immediate execution of the measures which have been taken in hand and which, when completed, will make a valuable and substantial contribution towards the food resources of the Province as a whole.

The Mor Irrigation Project has been ready from before the last World War. As for the Damodar Valley Project, the Government of India with the vast resources at their disposal have taken over the responsibility for the preparation, supervision and execution of the scheme. This explains why it has been practicable to take up the projects so soon after the cessation of hostilities. It is necessary to mention this fact in order to correct a misleading impression which might otherwise prevail, namely, that Western Bengal has engaged the attention of this Government to the neglect of other parts of the Province. Nothing can be further from the truth. To meet the needs of the Northern, Central and Eastern parts of the Province, this Department contemplate to undertake several comprehensive multi-purpose schemes like the Damodar Valley Project, the Ganges Barrage Project and the Gumti and Karnafulli Dam Projects. A sum of Rs. 5 lakhs has been provided in the current year's Budget for the planning of the Teesta Dam and Barrage Project which holds out a more attractive and certain prospect. To expedite the planning and preparation of the Teesta, Gumti and Karnafulli Projects aerial survey and contouring of the catchment areas of the rivers have already been undertaken by the Government of India at an estimated cost of over Rs. 2 lakhs. A major project division has already been started at Chittagong to push on the collection of all relevant data, which is an essential preliminary to the preparation of a major multi-purpose scheme like the Gumti and Karnafulli Projects which will combine irrigation, flood control and generation of hydro-electricity. Steps have also been taken for the collection of hydraulic data of the principal rivers in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions for which provision has been made in the current year's budget.

This department has also taken in hand a large number of smaller projects for the purpose of both development and rehabilitation and also in furtherance of the Grow More Food Campaign. The objective of these schemes is to improve irrigation, navigation and drainage and ultimately to improve agriculture and sanitation of the different parts of the Province. More than 200 schemes have been accorded administrative approval at an estimated cost of about Rs. 1,40,00,000. The aggregate area which is expected to be benefited by these schemes is estimated at about 75 lakhs of acres and the expected increase in the yield of paddy at 60 lakh maunds. Out of these schemes 136 have already been executed and 57 are in the course of execution. The total amount provided for in the budget for the execution of the smaller irrigation and drainage projects under the heads Development, Rehabilitation and Grow More Food Campaign is near about a crore of rupees out of which about 36 lakhs will be provided by outright grants from the Central Funds.

As regards the point raised in connection with the Ganges and Brahmaputra Commissions, I can give this information to the House. We could not proceed with these commissions. Regarding the Ganges River Commission, the U. P. and Bihar Governments did not agree and with regard to the Brahmaputra River Commission although the Assam Government agreed, the States did not agree. Now we have

approached the Government of India to have an Inter-Provincial Body and we hope that with the intervention of the Government of India, we will have this body very soon and we can assure the House that we are very anxious about this body which can take up this work.

With regard to other points raised by various members, I can assure them that they will receive the sympathetic consideration of Government and I shall do my very best to meet the wishes of the honourable members.

The motion of Mr. Rajendra Nath Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,68,00,000 for expenditure under the heads "XVII, etc.-Irrigation" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Nikunja Behari Maiti that the demand of Rs. 2,68,00,000 for expenditure under the heads "XVII, etc.-Irrigation" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Nishapati Majhi that the demand of Rs. 2,68,00,000 for expenditure under the head "XVII-Irrigation, etc.", be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Harendra Nath Dolui that the demand of Rs. 2,68,00,000 for expenditure under the heads "XVII-Irrigation, etc." be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Abul Fazal Muhammad Abdur Rahman that a sum of Rs. 2,68,00,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "XVII-Irrigation, etc.", was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: Sir, it is time that the House should adjourn. We are already famished.

54-Famine.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL FAZAL MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 2,89,69,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "54-Famine".

Mr. RADHA NATH DAS: I beg to move that the sum of Rs. 2,89,69,000 for expenditure under the head "54-Famine" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the policy of the Government and utter failure on the part of the Government to cope with famine and starvation of the people.

Now, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is a subject of great importance and gravity. Every member of this House knows that each and every year famine visits Bengal, and large number of people die of famine and starvation. It is known to everybody that throughout the world there is not a single civilized country where people die of starvation. On the contrary, what we find in Bengal is this that a large number of people die for want of food. I want to bring home to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Famine, as well as to the Government of Bengal, that Government should make it a point to see that not a single man in Bengal die of famine or for want of food. It is the bounden duty of Government to see that everybody should be provided with food and it is one of their most important duties to feed the people of our Province. Now, Sir, I find that this famine is caused mainly due to want of water in some places or due to want of proper drainage for clearing out of water from some places. So far as East Bengal is concerned, there is want of proper drainage so that water may be drained out, but so far as West Bengal is concerned, there is want of proper irrigation, so that water may be supplied to the field and cultivation may be allowed to continue. I see, Sir, that each and every year Government is carrying on a policy which is nothing, but a mere show. Government is practically doing nothing for the proper resuscitation of

the rivers so that water may be available to the farmers for their land for their cultivation. In East Bengal, no proper scheme is taken up by Government to flow out the water which practically every year flood those lands. Every year Government must set apart an amount which in my estimation will be near about 4 crores of rupees, and that amount must be a recurring one, so that Government will see that each and every year famine may not take place in Bengal. The thing is this that lakhs and lakhs of people die out of starvation and out of this famine. It must be the bounden duty of Government to see that not a single person should die for want of food. The suggestion that I want to make is that Government should look after, so far as its policy is concerned, that there should not be any want of irrigation in the country; that Government should see that there must not be any want of proper and good supply of the proper kind of manure for the cultivators; at the same time, it should be the bounden duty of Government to see that there should not be any want of scientific method of cultivation. Government should take into consideration all these facts about cultivation. I suggest that my suggestion regarding the recurring grant of rupees four crores should be taken up by Government and there should not be any lack of policy on their part. With these words I suggest that my motion be taken into consideration.

HUSAN ARA BEGUM: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, 1943 will always be remembered as the year of the dreadful famine of Bengal, when thousands of human beings died in Bengal, and especially in the great city of Calcutta.

Those who have witnessed the scene can have an idea of this catastrophe. I can never forget the picture of human beings, mere skeletons, in tattered clothes crawling on the streets of Calcutta. It is needless to relate the agony of those who died of starvation. The living skeletons which remained were brought to life and taken under the care of relief committees formed by associations of various nationalities. What remained were taken over by the Government.

Due to shortage of funds many of these associations could not extend their services further. Owing to this calamity many young girls were induced and compelled to lead a life of shame. What a great stain on the fair name of Bengal!

There is a movement afoot in some societies for the reclamation and reformation of these unfortunate girls, but it cannot be brought into fruition without the assistance of Government.

The most burning problem of the day is the rehabilitation of those people who were once happy in their village homes, and who are now adrift and existing on the charity of others.

The Government of Bengal have started the Department of Relief and Rehabilitation with the main object of giving relief to the suffering masses of Bengal, who are living half-dead, half-clad, being bereft of all their substantial livelihood. The aftermath of famine is also playing the last havoc on unfortunate people who live in villages and bustees and who are remnants of the famine of 1943.

In giving a brief sketch of the calamity, it will not be an exaggeration to say that the Muslims of Bengal were the worst sufferers. 99.9 per cent. of Muslim Bengal were the victims of famine and its after-effects.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister that the women and girls who are scattered at different places, especially the Muslims, should be collected in centres where arrangements should be made by the Government for elementary education and to train them in handicraft and cottage industries so as to enable them to earn a decent living and thereby lead a respectable life.

I would further request the Government to appoint a Board composing of Muslim ladies who have had experience of relief work in this connection, and it is they who can really understand the needs of the Muslim women and girls who are an asset of the nation and who have a claim on the Government.

Moulana MUHAMMAD RUKNUDDIN: বাংলার বিভিন্ন এলাকায় যে সব কারণে দুর্ভিক্ষ দেখা দেয় সে সব কারণ বলবার সময় নাই। বাত্র দুই ডিন মিনিটের মধ্যেই আমাকে অনেক কথা বলতে হবে।

ত্রিপুরা জেলা সহজেই আমি বলব। ত্রিপুরা জেলায় প্রতি বছর অতিবিক্ত পানি হয়ে সমস্ত জেলা ডুবিয়ে দেয়। এ পানি আসে সাধারণতঃ ত্রিপুরা টেট থেকে অর্ধাংশ স্বাধীন ত্রিপুরার পাহাড় অঞ্চল থেকে। তার উপরে আমাদের কোন দাত নাই। আর তার চেয়েও বেশী পানি আসে আসাম এলাকা থেকে। আমাদের উপরও আমাদের কোন দাত নাই। এই পানি ঠেকাবার কোন ব্যবস্থা ত্রিপুরার মহাবাঘা করেন না, করতে পারেনও না। আসাম গভর্নমেন্টও ত্রিপুরা জেলার প্রতি লক্ষ্য রাখেন না। বাধার কোন প্রয়োজনও তাঁদের নাই।

এই ত্রিপুরা জেলার উপর দিয়ে যে কটি ছোট নদী কোন বকবে বয়ে চলেছে—তাব মধ্যে গোমতী নদী, হাওরা নদী, তিতাস নদী এবং আরও কয়েকটি প্রধান। এগুলো যেমন পাহাড়ের পানি নিয়ে এসে সমস্ত দেশ জুড়িয়ে দেয় তেমনি বালি এসে সেই নদীগুলোকে একদর বন্ধ করে দেয়। এই নদীগুলোর বালি যদি উঠিয়ে না দেওয়া হয়, re-excavation যদি না করা হয়, তাহলে ত্রিপুরা জেলাকে প্রতি বৎসর বন্যার দাত হতে বন্ধ করা যাবে না। সহশ্রু সহশ্রু কৃষক অতি যত্নে ধানের চাষা জন্মায়, কিন্তু বন্যার দরুণ সেসব নষ্ট হয়ে যায় একেবারে।

তার উপর কচুবিপানার অত্যাচারের সমস্ত জেলা, গ্রামের পর গ্রাম ধুংস হয়ে যাচ্ছে। তাব দাত থেকে ধানের জমিগুলোকে বন্ধ করা হবে জন্য সে এলাকার সরকারী কর্মচারীরা মোটেই কোন চেষ্টা করছেন না। কোন বাঁধের ব্যবস্থা বা কচুরি পরিকাষের কোন ব্যবস্থাই সেখানে আজও হয়নি। ত্রিপুরা জেলার গ্রামপরিষদাধ্যক্ষ মহকুমার অফিসার এক সময়ে ছিলেন Mr. N. M. Khan, তিনি বড় চেষ্টা কোরে কচুবিপানা ধুংস করেছিলেন এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে একটা খাল কাটিয়েছিলেন যে খালের জন্য আজ ত্রিপুরার এক বিরাট এলাকা অনেক অংশে বন্ধ পায়। তাঁর পরে বড় S. D. O. গিয়েছেন কিন্তু তাঁরা এসব কাজ করাকে তাঁদের কর্তব্য বোলে মনে করেন নি। যে এলাকায় এত লোকের বাস এবং যেখানে প্রতি বছর এত মানুষ মরছে সেখানকার অফিসারদের ইচ্ছা থাকলে বা মনুষ্যের প্রতি দরদ থাকলে তাঁরা কি খাল কাটাবার বা নদীগুলির পুনরুদ্ধারের ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করতে পারেন না, বা কচুবিপানা ধুংসের জন্য ব্যবস্থা করতে পারেন না? আমি জানি এখনও সেখানে famine চলছে। তাব দাত থেকে বন্ধ পাবার জন্য সেই এলাকার লোকেরা বাব বাব S. D. O.র কাছে দরখাস্ত দিয়েছে, সেই দরখাস্তের কপি আমার কাছেও আছে। তাতে তাঁরা চেয়েছে কি কোরে কচুবিপানা ধুংস করা যায়, কি করে মানুষকে মরণের দাত থেকে বন্ধ করা যায়। সে এলাকার আজও চাউলের মূল ২৯০০ টাকা চলছে; সেই মূল্য কি কোরে হাস হতে পারে সে সম্বন্ধে দিন বাত কাগ্যাকাটি তাবা করছে। কিন্তু আমাদের গভর্নমেন্ট অফিসার এ সম্বন্ধে কোন চেষ্টা করছেন বোলে আমার মনে হয় না। আমি বলছি না যে, হিন্দু অফিসার হিসাবে তিনি কিছু করছেন না, বা মুসলমান অফিসার হিসাবে কবা উচিত ছিল। তিনি অফিসার হিসাবে তাঁর কর্তব্য কিছুই করছেন না ইহাই আমার বলবার উদ্দেশ্য। আমি জানি যিনি নিজের ভগ্নস্বাস্থ্য ও শরীর নিয়ে চলাফেরা করতে পারেন না তিনি পবের জান বন্ধ করবেন কি করে? কাজেই সরকারী কর্মচারী যদি এ রকম অকর্মণ্য বা reluctant হন তাহলে সেখানে দেশের লোককে বাঁচানো সম্ভবপর কি?

তার পরে Civil Supply Department এবং Relief Departmentএর কথা। Famineএর ব্যাপারে আমাদের Relief Ministerএর সম্পূর্ণ দাত। তিনিই রিলিফ দিবে famine থেকে লোকদের বাঁচাবেন। কিন্তু তাঁর কাছে বড় চেষ্টাযেচির কলে যদিও বা ২৪ পাৰ টাকা sanction করা হয়, তবু সে টাকা পেঁছাতে পেঁছাতে দেশের লোক মরে দেশ উজাড় হয়ে যায়, কিন্তু টাকা পেঁছার না।

মাননীয় রিলিফ মন্ত্রী মহোদয় আমাকে হিসাব দিয়েছিলেন যে, প্রায় ৮ লক্ষ টাকা ত্রিপুরা জেলার জন্য sanction করা হয়েছে এবং অনেক ধান চালের ব্যবস্থাও হয়েছে। তিনি বল্লিকের আশ্রয় করেছিলেন যে “টাকা পরসা, ধান চাল মিচি, ডোরাকদের মতে হবে না।” কিন্তু আমি বড় বুঝের সঙ্গে বলছি যে, আজও সেই ধান চাল বা টাকা পরসা টিকভাবে গিয়ে পেঁছারনি। কাজেই আমি মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের ডীক দুই এটিকে বাব বাব আকর্ষণ করছি।

Mr. MURTAZA REZA CHAUDHURY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, since the great famine of 1943, Government of Bengal started the Department of Relief and Rehabilitation attached with the Revenue Department with the main object of giving relief to the suffering masses from busteess in the towns and cities right up to the corner of villages in Bengal. Relief and Rehabilitation Department has since been running in a haphazard way giving a false show of the same, and no substantial and constructive works have, however, been taken up. During the last famine the then Cabinet took up the short-term scheme to fight out this great havoc. As the department was started in the most abnormal and unprecedented circumstances their only idea to run the Relief Department was, as to how the poor people of Bengal could be fed and saved somehow or other in the greatest crisis. Hence the measures taken up by the Government at that time were not up to the mark to get long-term considerations.

Of course, the famine is over, but its aftermath and the great killing of Calcutta have rather spread up in a gigantic manner giving rise to various new problems for relief. The last famine has made the economic structure of Bengal totally dilapidated. Four classes of people have come out helpless due to the famine and its after-effects. They can be classified as (1) poor middle-class, (2) dispossessed rural population, (3) small artisans and wage-earners and (4) orphans, destitutes and deserted children. These four classes form more than 85 per cent. of the population of Bengal. It should be the main duty of Government to rehabilitate these people through a permanent Department of Relief and Rehabilitation in such a way that they can earn their livelihood quite easily, freely and comfortably. Hence the main purpose of the Department of Relief and Rehabilitation would be to better the economic life of Bengal which ultimately means the rise in the standard of living of the people of Bengal. Bengal being an agricultural Province, the bulk majority of the people has to live directly and indirectly on agriculture. Apart from the agricultural income the majority of the people has to pass a good part of a year without any work although their lands are quite insufficient to yield incomes to satisfy the minimum demands of life and living in modern ages. Government must make immediate arrangements for giving industrial training and works in a large scale by which the people can accrue our extra income. Each and every section of the people—Muslims and non-Muslims—must get regular fostering care from the State in a permanent and perennial measure. But section 93 administration have divided the items of relief work to the various departments in such a way that no consolidated scheme could be taken up. This can be amply justified when it is observed that Government of Bengal has started the Development Department for some post-war reconstruction works which are mainly the items of relief. Work centres and minor industrial development scheme have been attached with the Industries Department, small irrigation and waterways, orphanage scheme has been attached with the Education Department, and so on and so forth, whereas other temporary relief measures such as maintaining destitute centres, feeding the inmates of the destitute centres, running temporary orphanages, arrangement for distribution of free clothes and blankets and gratuitous doles to the needy were attached with the Relief Department. It is due to this hotch potch system that the whole work of the constructive measures of relief is on the verge of failure and the suffering masses as a whole are not getting any sort of relief in a manner which can better their economic life on a sound and permanent basis.

So, the first and foremost work of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Relief should be to see that all items of relief and rehabilitation must come under the Directorate of Relief and Rehabilitation and whatever

works and measures are required and necessary the Relief and Rehabilitation Department should be the only competent authority to deal with.

Due to famine the Province of Bengal has produced a very big class of State liabilities, viz., orphans, destitute boys and girls and unattached or deserted children. The orphanage scheme is under the Education Department and is controlled by the Special Officer, who was till recently Mr. Bottomley.

Sir, I have been asked by the Hon'ble Minister to speak on some other occasion and to sit down today. So, I have to obey the order of the Hon'ble Minister and I sit down.

(Mr. Nurazzaman was on his legs and wanted to speak.)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Nurazzaman, I am prepared to allow every member to speak. It is not my intention to gag anybody. But I may tell the honourable members of the Government side for their information that the Opposition has reduced the number of speakers and the Government side has not.

MR. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: I asked the permission of the Speaker to speak several times before this House, but I was not allowed. May I know why?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Will the honourable member kindly sit down?

Rule 15(2) says "Of the days so allotted, not more than two days shall be taken up by the Assembly for the discussion of any one demand." I think the interpretation is that if you allot two days, you can discuss a particular demand for two days, but if you have allotted different days for different demands, I think you may not disturb the arrangement by invoking the aid of this rule. So, I think, the guillotine procedure has got to be applied. That is what I find in rule 15(2) and unless anyone can tell me and convince me that I can carry it over I would stick to my interpretation.

MR. A. F. STARK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not think that is the correct position that you have got to put the demands that are on the paper to vote today. On the last day of the Budget which is allowed for the Budget demands, you must certainly put all the demands to vote, but so long as another day is available, the demand can be carried forward. It is rule 15 of the Assembly (Governor's) Rules which says that the voting of demands for grants shall take place on such days not exceeding seventeen as the Governor exercising his individual judgment may allot for the purpose. Then it goes on to say, of the days so allotted, not more than two days shall be taken up by the Assembly for the discussion of any one demand.

Then sub-paragraph (4) says, on the last of the days so allotted, one hour before the time previously fixed by the Speaker for adjournment of the day, the Speaker shall forthwith put every question necessary to dispose of all the outstanding matters in connection with the demands for grants. I submit that what the rule requires you to do is that on the last of the days allotted for demands for grants, you must put all the outstanding questions to vote, but there is no reason why another day should not be allotted for the demand for Extraordinary Charges in India.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: In view of what Mr. Stark has said and after consulting the honourable Chief Whip of the Opposition and the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Ali, I think we can carry it over. My ruling is that we can carry it over.

The Hon'ble Mr. MUHAMMAD ALI: In that case, may I request you to allow Mr. Martuza Reza Chowdhury to continue. He has not finished his speech. He sat down, but he was the last speaker in possession of the House. He did not conclude his speech.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have consulted the Chief Whip of the Opposition. His party is not willing to sit more. So, I do not think I should continue the sitting of the House any further. This subject also stands carried over till some other day to be agreed upon between the parties. I am told both the Whips have agreed that this part-heard matter should be taken up on the 25th. It may be carried over to the 25th and guillotine may be applied on the last day. There will be no questions on that day and I think Mr. Martuza Reza Chowdhury should be allowed to speak on that day.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 1-18 p.m. till 2 p.m. on Monday, the 23rd September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under
the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 23rd September 1946, at 2 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 7 Hon'ble Ministers and 189 members.

Message.

Secretary read the following message received from the Bengal Legislative Council, namely:—

"That the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 12th September, 1946, agreed to the Bengal Motor Spirit Sales Taxation (Amendment), Bill, 1946, without any amendments."

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

28—Jails and Convict Settlements.

Mr. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, with your permission I shall move this demand. On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs 1,02,93,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements".

Mr. SATINDRA NATH SEN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,02,93,000 for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this motion with a view to raise a discussion about serious inefficiency in accommodation, medical treatment of tuberculosis and other serious diseases in the Alipore Presidency Jail.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I know from the Opposition which motions are going to be moved under this head?

Mr. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHERJI: May I come over to you, Sir, to explain that?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

(After a pause during which Mr. Speaker had consultation with Mr. D. N. Mukherji.)

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Sir, in the list of cut motions I find that some of the cut motions regarding 39—Public Health have found place under 29—Police.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Those are obvious mistakes. They will be corrected.

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot say today because no selection of the Opposition's cut motions has been made yet.

Mr. Sen, there is another motion standing in your name. Please move that motion also.

Mr. SATINDRA NATH SEN: All right, Sir. I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,02,93,000 for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this motion with a

view to raise a discussion about the hard lot of Division III prisoners in Jails in Bengal in the matter of dress, diet, medical treatment, opportunity of intellectual and moral improvement and inopportunities of turning out of jail after the period of confinement as a better man.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is another cut motion standing in the name of Mr. Suresh Chandra Das Gupta. Let it be moved also.

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,02,93,000 for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this motion with a view to raise a discussion about the failure of this Government to stop human *ghanas* in the jail and to make immediate provision for keeping a doctor inside the jail in the night as recommended by the Jail Enquiry Committee and to make suitable provision for quarters for married warders.

মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমারে বন্ধী মহোদয় জেল সঙ্কে যে শরী জানিয়েছেন ১,০২,৯৩,০০০ টাকা তার সঙ্কে আমি বলি যে ১০০ টাকা ছাঁটাই হবে এ সব বিষয় আলোচনা করার জন্য যে Government আজ পর্যন্ত জেলেতে মান উজ্জ্বল আমি বন্ধ করতে পারেননি এবং জেলের মধ্যে অশান্তি: রাশির জন্য একজন ডাক্তার থাকার কোন ব্যবস্থা করতে পারেননি। এ সঙ্কে Jail Enquiry Committee বিশেষ করে সুপারিশ করে গিয়েছেন। এবং যে সমস্ত wardens জেলে পাহারা দেয় তাদের মধ্যে যারা বিবাহিত তারা যাতে পরিবার নিয়ে থাকতে পারে এ রকম ব্যবস্থা কোন ব্যবস্থা করেননি।

Mr. SATINDRANATH SEN: Mr. Speaker Sir: ১৯৪২ সালে যে movement হয়, তাতে arrested হয়ে আমি Presidency Jail এ নীত হই, এবং তিন বৎসরের উপর সেখানে ছিলাম। সেখানে জেলের মধ্যে যে অন্যান্য অবস্থার কথা তা আজ আমি বিশেষ করে বলতে যাওয়া না, শুধু medical treatment এর বিষয় সঙ্কে দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। কারণ সময় অল্প, সবগুলি বিষয় আলোচনা করতে গেলে এই যে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয় এর আলোচনা কিছুই হবে না।

আমি দেখছি যে জায়গাতে যে Tuberculosis এবং অন্যান্য infectious disease যাদের, তাদের accommodation এবং treatment সঙ্কে যে ব্যবস্থা তা অতি সংকটপূর্ণ এবং হাবাষক বললেও হয়। সেখানে দেখছি যে suspected, incipient এবং advanced case of T. B. যাদের তাদের জন্য separate কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই, একই জায়গায় থাকতে হয়। গলগলিয়ে বুখ দিয়ে রক্ত পড়ছে, declared T. B. হয়েছে—তবুও অন্যান্য patientদের সঙ্গে সে একই ঘরে থাকে। জেল হাসপাতালে সমস্ত বন্ধক কয়েদী একই জায়গায় থাকে অথচ সেখানে উচিত একটি remote corner বা segregated areaতে সেই T. B. patientকে রাখা। তাহলে অন্যান্য রোগীরাও শ্রুতর ভাবে আলো বাতাস পেতে পারে আর রক্ত বাহুতে থাকতে পারে। কিন্তু এখন সেই সমস্ত কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই। বহু চেষ্টা করে political prisoners এবং non-political prisonersদের দুটো আলাদা করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু তাদের পায়খানার বন্দোবস্ত আনন্দ বন্দোবস্ত সব এক। Political prisonersদের পরে যে জায়গা দেওয়া হোলো সে জায়গায় incipient, suspected এবং advanced cases of T. B. এক ক্রমেই থাকে। Ordinary prisoners যারা bronchial troubleএ ভুগছে তারা ও সেই roomএ থাকে। আর সেই roomএ থেকে advanced cases যেগুলি আর ordinary patients যারা তারা একই পায়খানাতে যায়। তাতে সে infection catch করতে পারে। আমরা ordinary patients একটাও দেখিনি, যে একবার সেখানে ঢুকেছে এবং treatmentএর ফলে বেঁচে গিয়েছে; সব মরেছে। বহু চাফালা করে, বহু চেষ্টা করে political prisonersদের জন্য কিছুটা চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছিল; তাও অনেক কষ্ট করে অনেক হাফালা করে। আশুনীকৃত্য গুপ্ত ১৯৪২এর আশোলনে প্রেস্তার চর। সেখানে খুব সুস্থ সবল শরীর নিয়ে তিনি যান। কিন্তু তাঁর সেখানে গিয়ে অবস্থা। আর হলে তিনি চিকিৎসার জন্য চেষ্টা করেন এবং সারাদিন পাহারার জন্যও চেষ্টা করেন। এ হয়েছিল আমার চোখের সামনে; আমি তখন জেলের হাসপাতালে ছিলাম, আমি চোখের সামনেই দেখছি। উনি বলেছিলেন যে আমি অত্যন্ত দুর্লভ বোধ করছি এবং ক্রমেই স্বীপ হয়ে পড়ছি। কিন্তু কোন ব্যবস্থাই হয়নি। না হওয়ায় সেখানে কিছুদিন পরে তার T. B. হোলো, তারপরে গলগলিয়ে বুখ দিয়ে রক্ত পড়লো। তখন officersদের চেতনা হলো, Medical Collegeএ

পাঠানো হলো। তারা declare করলে যে advanced case of T. B.। এবং Medical Collegeএ যাবার কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই বলে তাকে কিরীয়া পাঠানো হ'লো জেল হাসপাতালে। সেখানেও তো কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই, বারাতায় কোন রকমে রাখা হোলো। অনেক হাঙ্গামা হোলো, তবু তারা বললে যে Government permission ব্যতীত বাইরে তাকে রাখা যায় না। তার ভাগনে বাইরে চেষ্টা করলেন তাকে যাম্বপুরে নেওয়ার জন্য। বহুদিন চেষ্টা করে, বহু হাঙ্গামা করে তাকে সরানো হয়। এর Medical Collegeএ কোন ব্যবস্থা হোলো না, জেলের ভিতরও কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই। এবং তার T. B. হোলো কেন? হোলো এই জন্য যে, তার চিকিৎসার যে ঔষধ সরকার ছিল, যে পথের প্রয়োজন ছিল তা দেওয়া হয়নি, এবং অন্যান্য যে সমস্ত T. B. cases তাদের সঙ্গে এক সঙ্গে থাকতে হতো। এই যে caseএর জন্য দারী কে? আমি মনে করি এবং আমার বন্ধুসুল ধারণা এই যে, সরকারী ব্যবস্থা কোন রকম ছিল না বলেই এই স্ত্রী সবল লোকটা আজকে জীবন-মৃত হয়ে যাচ্ছে। যাম্বপুরে তার একটি lungs operation করে paralyse করে দেওয়া হয়েছে এবং কোন রকমে সে বেঁচে আছে এবং তাঁর জীবনের সর্গুনাশ হয়ে গেল যে এর জন্য দারী হচ্ছে সরকারী অব্যবস্থা।

স্বনীয় সেন বলে আর একটি সুস্থ স্ত্রী লোকও সেই আলোচনের সময় সেখানে যায়। ওকম robust constitutionএর ছেলে বাইরে আমি কই দেখেছি; স্ত্রী সবল এবং সবচেয়ে বনীয়ান খেলাধুলাতে। কিছুদিন পরে দেখা গেল তার wasting disease কিছু দেখা গেল যখন বলা হোলো তারা কোন দুষ্ট মিলে না। ডাক্তার বললে বিশেষ কিছু নয়, ডাববাৰ কোন কারণ নেই, উষেগেব কোন কারণ নেই। ব্যবস্থা কিছু করা হোলো না। কিছুদিন পরেও দুই মাস তিন মাস ভুগলে যখন তারপরেও চিকিৎসার কোন ব্যবস্থা হোলো না, সেই জেলে যে স্বামীর চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা আছে তার অতিরিক্ত কোন ব্যবস্থা হোলো না। যখন দেখলে তিন চার মাস পরে যে, তার স্বাস্থ্য নষ্ট হয়ে যাচ্ছে, সে ক্ষীণ হয়ে যাচ্ছে, চরমতে পাবে না, কিন্তু কোন রকম বাইরের treatmentএর Medical Collegeএর কোন ব্যবস্থা হোলো না। যে wordএ তাকে রাখা হোলো, গলগলিয়ে তার মুখ দিয়ে সজ্ঞ পড়লো। এরপরে চৈতন্য হোলো এবং তাকে Medical Collegeএ পাঠানো হোলো। তখন স্থির হোলো যে advanced case of T. B.। কিন্তু case যতদিন না hopeless হোলো তার পূর্বে কোন ব্যবস্থা হোলো না। তখন তাকে রাখা হোলো Presidency jailএর যে হাসপাতালে সেখানে যে জায়গাতে কোন আলাদা ব্যবস্থা নাও আলাদা পায়খানার ব্যবস্থা নাই, advanced case, suspected case, incipient case of T. B., Asthma case, bronchial case, সবগুলিকে এক জায়গায় রাখা হয়। তার ফলে incipient case শক্ত হয়ে যায়। বহু চেষ্টা করে অগ্নিনী কুয়ার যখন চলে গেল যাম্বপুরে সেখানে তার ব্যবস্থা হোলো। তখন সেখানে থাকা সত্ত্বেও একটা হাঙ্গামা হোলো যে তার টাকা কে সেবে। টাকা সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা করানো Government থেকে বলা হোলো যে ডোবার বাড়ী থেকে টাকা দেওয়া হবে, না হলে ডোবার চিকিৎসা হবে না। যখন বলা হোলো যে, ডোমাদেরই অব্যবস্থার ফলেতে যখন T. B. হয়েছে, চিকিৎসার দায়িত্ব ডোমাদের, তাতে তার চিকিৎসা সম্পূর্ণ হওয়ার পূর্বে এবং medical recommendationএর againstএ তাকে ফিরে আবার জেল হাসপাতালে পাঠানো হোলো। Medical advice সেখানে ছিল যে, যাম্বপুরে treatmentএর পরেতে তাকে কোন একটা ভাল স্বাস্থ্যকর জায়গাতে, মুক্ত বাতাসেতে, better surroundingএ বাসতে হবে। যাম্বপুর থেকে বারে বারে remind করতে লাগলো। Col. Patni তিনি বার বার বলতে লাগলেন যে patientকে যাম্বপুরের specialistদের যে recommendation তখনকারী বাইবে কোন স্বাস্থ্যকর স্থানে বা sanatorium এ পাঠানো হোক। মাসের পর মাস চলে গেল কিন্তু কোন রকম ব্যবস্থা হোলো না। তারপরে যে critical condition নিয়ে সে ফিরেছিল, একটা lungs তার চলে গিয়েছে, একটা lungs এ চালাতে হয়, তাতে জেলের ভিতর দারুণ কষ্ট তার সহ্য করতে হয়েছে, তার শরীর একেবারে half-reduced হয়ে গেল। কিন্তু ৬ মাস পরেও সেই Medical officer, যাম্বপুরের officer বার বার recommend করলেন, কিন্তু কেউ তাকে সরালো না। এর জন্য দারী কে? এই রকম ব্যবস্থা জেলের ভিতর। বাইবে যখন আলোচনা হয়, বলা হয় যে বাৎসরিক একজন Lt. Col., I. M. S. officer, তিনি ওখানকার Superintendent; এবং Medical College থেকে যখন প্রয়োজন হয় specialist আসে, এই রকম বড় বড় কথা হয়। কিন্তু তারা ভুক্তভোগী তাঁরা জানেন অবশ্যি কি। আমি করেকটি বার case দেখানোর, যেমন অগ্নিনী কুয়ার গুপ্ত, স্বনীয় সেন, প্রভৃতি। কিন্তু আরো অনেক case আছে। ভূপেন্দ্র কিশোর রচিত বলে একটি বই তার eye trouble হ'লো। সেখানে খোঁজ হয় যেও বহু তার লাগলো ভাল করে পরীক্ষা করানো। Dr. Satyapal বার

Medical Collegeএর Specialist. তিনি বার বার recommend করতে লাগলেন যে, **immediately** এর operation দরকার, না হলে এর চোখ বাবে, এবং **serious brain trouble** হবে। কিন্তু আমার বড়টুকু বনে পড়ে, ১০ বাস কি বোব হয় এক বছর তার wait করতে হ'লো। Recommendation হ'ল সম্বর operation না হ'লে তার condition খুব বাগান হবে কিন্তু কোন পরোক্ষা হোসো না।

Poxএর যে arrangement সে জায়গায় আছে, তাতে segregationএর কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই। Presidency jailএর হাসপাতালের যে জায়গা তার পাশেই pox ward, সেখানে প্রথমে কোন segregation ছিল না, তারপরে কিছুটা হয়। তখন সেখানে একজন warder place করা হয়। একটু স্থান হল, খাওয়া লাওয়া করে বাইবে বলে থাকে। এখনি করে সে জা-গাতে সমস্ত infectious disease spread করে। আমরা এ বিষয়ে suggestion দিয়েছিলাম infectious disease ward সহজে। যখন আমরা একটু আলোচনায় আসতুম কবলায় তখন তারা কবলে কি T. B. patientদের সেই শালানের তিতর ব্যবস্থা করবে, আর Pox patientদেরও সেইখানে ব্যবস্থা করবে, কিন্তু তবুও সেই patientদের আলো বাতাস পাওয়ার ভাবনা অনুবিধা হ'তো। Ordinary prisonersদের কোন পৃষ্টিকর dietএর ব্যবস্থা নেই, শুধু কিছুটা আছে politicalদের জন্য। আমরা suggestion দিয়েছিলাম যে ছেলের remote cornerএ এমন ব্যবস্থা কর যে জায়গায় patientরা স্থান হবে, আলো বাতাস পাবে, চিকিৎসা পাবে। কিন্তু দুর্ভাগ্য বশতঃ এখানে একজন European officer ছিলেন Duke বলে, তিনি বলতেন যে আমি মুখ, আমি জানি না কেন আমাকে এখানে বসিয়ে দিয়েছে। কিন্তু আমি তারি Presidency ছেলেতে I. M. S., Lt. Col. বহু থাকেন। তাঁরা থাকা সত্ত্বেও এত বিন্দুস্থল অবস্থা সেখানে থাকতে পারে আমি ভাবতে পারি না। তারপরে Lt. Col. Patni এসেছেন; তিনি অনেক লেখাপড়া করেছেন, কিন্তু কোন ব্যবস্থা হয়নি আজকে পর্যন্ত। T. B.র জন্য Poxএর জন্য, general diseasesএর জন্য কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই। ব্যবস্থা না থাকার জন্য সেখানে বিপদজনক অবস্থায় patientরা রয়েছে।

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA : মাননীয় সভাপতি মহোদয়, জেলের কাহিনী বলতে গেলে অনেক কথাই বলতে হয়, অথচ সব কথা বলবার সময় নেই। বাংলায় জেলে অসংখ্য লোক কারাবদ্ধ হয়ে আছে, যাদাধিককে আমরা বলতে পারি বাংলার একটা বিরাট জন সম্পদ। জেলের আইনের ক্রটিতে এই জন সম্পদের কাছ হতে বাংলার কোন সম্পদ বৃদ্ধি হচ্ছে না। মানুষ যখন ঐ জেল কবালের অবস্থায় যেয়ে ঢোকে তখন তাকে আর মানুষ বলে গণ্য করা হয় না, তাকে মনে করা হয় যে সে একটি পশু। এক জেলেতে একজন জেলারকে জিজ্ঞাসা করা হয়েছিল যে জেলারের কদব্যা এবং চালচলন কি রকম হবে। তিনি আমাদের বলেছিলেন যে 'the jailor must be a fox and a wolf' চানাক হবেন তিনি শেখালের মতন এবং নৃশংস হবেন নেকড়ে বাঘের মত। বাংলার কোন এক জেলে একটি কয়েদী আমাকে জিজ্ঞাসা করেছিল, "বাবু বলতে পারেন, warderদের সঙ্গে আর কয়েদীদের সঙ্গে কি সম্পর্ক?" আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করলাম "একথা তুমি কেন জিজ্ঞাসা করলে?" সে বললে, "আমরা যখন warderদের বসি 'বাবা' তখন warderরা আমাদের ফিরে বলে 'শালা', এই যে 'বাবা' আর 'শালা'র তিতর যে কি সম্পর্ক হয় তা আমরা বুঝতে পারি না। এই যে জন সম্পদ এক পশু করে রাখা হয়। আর একটা ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে জেলে তাদের দিয়ে হানি টানার, তেল বার করার জন্য। আমরা বাল্যকাল থেকে শুনে এসেছি যে গরুতে হানি টানেন। জেলে যেয়ে দেখলাম গরুকে দিয়ে হানি টানানো হয় না, হানি টানানো হয় মানুষকে দিয়ে। সেই মানুষ প্রতিদিন বেটে বেটে যে তেল বার করে তার সামান্য একটু অংশ তাদের ডাউলের তিতর সজ্জার জন্য দেওয়া হয়। সে পরিমাণ এত সামান্য যে কোন দিন কোন দরিদ্র বাঙ্গালীর দরিদ্র গৃহেও তাতে সম্বর দিতে অত অল্প তেল ব্যবহৃত হয় না। আধুর্গে শাস্ত্র এবং ইংরাজী medical শাস্ত্রেতে আছে তাদের সঙ্গে কিছু স্নেহ পদার্থ বেশী দিতে হয়। জেলখানার কোন Jailorএর স্নেহ নাই, warderএর স্নেহ নাই, তেমনই জেলের যে স্নিগ্ধ পদার্থ তাও সেখানকার জীভরকারীতে বেলেন না। বাংলা দেশে কথা আছে যে জেলে জলে মিলে মানুষ; জেলখানার কয়েদীরা তেল পায়ে মাখবার কোন সুবিধা পায় না। সপ্তাহে একদিন রবিবারে এতটুকু করে সন্ধ্যের তেল, যে তেল ডায়াই ডেকে বার করেহে, তাদের হাতে দিয়ে দেওয়া হয়, যা দিয়ে আমাদের ঘেঁষের লোক নাকে আর কাণে দিলেও ততটুকু তেল তাদের কুলোর না, সেটুকু তেল তাদের দেওয়া হয়, সপ্তাহের একদিন বাতর ড্রাবের পায়ে মাখানো

জন্য; অথচ আশ পর্ষদ মানুষকে দিয়ে টানবার যে মানীয় ব্যবস্থা কিছুতেই তা উঠিয়ে দেওয়া হোলো না। অথচ এই যে তারা শুন করে তাদের বিশ্বাসের কি ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। Jail Enquiry Committee বলে গিয়েছে একের কিছু কিছু জীড়ার সুবিধা দিতে হবে। সেবেছি রবিবারে, তারা একটু সময় পায় জীড়া করবার জন্য, সীড়াপেড়ি করবার জন্য; কিন্তু অন্যান্য তাদের ১২টার পরে, ষাওয়ার পরে ২ টার সময় চলে যেতে হয়। এর ভিতর তারা কিছু জীড়া করতে পারে। এবং কোন কোন জেলে আমি দেখেছি এই সব কয়েদীদের বেলা করবার জন্য কোন উপকরণ কিছু দেওয়া হয়নি, অথচ বলা হয় যে বেলা ককক। মানুষের মনের যদি উন্মুক্ত করতে হয় বলা হয় জাকে লেখাপড়া শিখতে হবে। জেলে দেখেছি লেখাপড়া লেখানোর জন্য হয়ত একজন warder থাকে, কিন্তু লেখাপড়া শিখবে কখন? জানি না মহোদয় এ সম্বন্ধে কি বলবেন, এবং ধীরা উপস্থিত আছেন এই Assemblyতে তাঁরাই বা কি বলবেন। সারাদিনের পরিশ্রমের পর লোকের কতটুকু পড়া শুনা করতে পারে? রাত্রিতে ইচ্ছা করলে হয়ত সামান্য যে একটু আলো থাকে তাতে তাঁরা লেখাপড়া করতে পারেন, কিন্তু তখন তাদের লেখাপড়া শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা কোথায়? সকাল বেলা একবার পরিশ্রম করে এসে খাবার পরে একটু বিশ্রাম করে আবার ২ টার সময় তারা যখন পরিশ্রম করতে যাবে, তখন একজন warder এসে বন্দনো জোঁরটা কোথাপড়া শিখতে পারো,--আমার কাছে পড়তে পারবে। জেলে লেখাপড়া লেখাবার জন্য সব বই রাখা হয়েছে একথা বলা হয়। কিন্তু জেলের libraryর যে কি দুরবস্থা ধীরা জেলে না গিয়েছেন তাঁরা তা জানেন না। আমি দিলাব করে বলছি Presidency Jails ১০০, Central জেলে ১০০, District Jail গুলিতে ৬০০ টাকা এই ২৫টা জেলে সারা বৎসরে মাত্র ৩২, টাকা করে মর্ষ ১৭ মাস পেছু ২১১/০ বই কেনবার ব্যবস্থা আছে। এক এক জেলে কম পক্ষে ৩০০/৩৫০ লোক থাকে এবং তাদের পড়বার জন্য ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে যে তারা মাস পেছু ২১১/০ পাবে। তারপরে বলা হয় যে খরশিকা দেওয়া হয়। হিন্দুদের জন্য একজন ধর্মের প্রচারক আব মুসলমানদের জন্যও একজন ধর্মের প্রচারক যান সপ্তাহে একদিন। মুসলমানদের জন্য যিনি যান তিনি শুক্রবারের নোমাজটা করে দিয়ে চলে আসেন, আশ পণ্ডিত মহাপ্রায় হয়ত দুই একটা মহাভারতের গল্প বলে আসেন। কিন্তু যাকে বাংলাতে বলে আচায়া, যিনি নিজের আচরণের দ্বারা লোককে শিক্ষিত করে মানুষ করে তুলবেন সেই বকস লোক জেলে গিয়ে এট সব লোকদের মানুষ করবার কোন চেষ্টা করেন না বা সে সুযোগ বা সুবিধার ব্যবস্থা করা হয় না।

তারপরে আর একটা জিনিষ,--জেলের হাসপাতালের ব্যবস্থা। সতীন বাবু চেব বেনীদিন বাংলার জেলে জেলে কাটিয়েছেন, তিনি সকল জেলে হাসপাতালের কথা বলতে পারেন। আমি শুধু কথা নিজেব অভিজ্ঞতায় দ্বাৰা বলতে পারবো না। কিন্তু জেলায় আছে একটা বড় বিপদ আছে, বাইরেতে যখন হবে হবে দরজায় তাল। দেওয়া হয়ে যায়, সারাদিন রাত্রি যখন জেলের প্রধান দ্বার কবাত বন্ধ থাকে, তখন যদি কোন কয়েদীর বিশেষ অসুস্থ হয়, তখন জেলের ডাক্তারকে ডাকাডাকি করতে যে কি হারগণ হতে হয় তা আমরা সকলে কর্পনা করতে পারি না। কয়েদীদের ঘরের ভিতর যে mate থাকে সে যদি দেখে যে কারো অসুস্থ হয়েছে সেই বাইরের warder কে "বাবা" বাবা" করে চীৎকার করতে থাকবে; হয়ত আর ঘণ্টা বাবে একজন warder উপস্থিত হয়ে বলবে "চেনালে কেন?" সে বলবে, "বাবা একজন মরব হয়েছে।" সে warder বলবে "রও আমি দেখছি।" সে তখন ঝিমোতে ঝিমোতে জরাদারকে ধর দেবে, জরাদার আবার বাইরে যাবা থাকে তাদের ধর দেবে। Gate warder বাবা দুনিয়া আছে তাদের একজনকে পাঠিয়ে দেওয়া হোলো জেল ডাক্তারের বাসায়। তাকে সেখান থেকে ডেকে এনে দরজা খুলে জেলের ভিতর হবে চুকতে চুকতে বোপার অবস্থা অনেক সময় শেষ হয়ে আসে। সেজন্য Jail Enquiry Committee অনেক দিন পূর্বেই বলে-ছেন যে একজন জেল ডাক্তারের রাত্রিতে জেলের মধ্যে কোথাও থাকা উচিত যে ডাক দিবা রাইই এসে উপস্থিত হতে পারে।

জেলখানায় তাদের কাপড় চোপড় দেওয়া হয় কি রকম? কয়েদীদের যখন বেলে করে নিয়ে যাব আপনারা দেখেছেন। কিন্তু সকলের চেয়ে বড় দুঃখ এই malariaএ বেশে কাকেও রপারী দেওয়া হয় না। সেবেছি জেলের কয়েদীরা সারা রাত্রি বসে গায়ত্রীখানা দিয়ে গায়ের চাবিদিকে নাড়ছে, যে কোনরকমে যদি রপা জড়ানো যায়। এই দুঃখে তারা পড়ে থাকে। তারপরে তাদের যে সমস্ত ষাওয়া শাওয়া দেওয়া হয় আমি দেখেছি তা সব দেওয়া হয় গুজন করে। তরকারীর ভিতর পুঁই থাককেও গুজনে বসে হয়। সেবেছি যে তাঁটার ছাল চিবিয়ে নরই করা যায় না। আবার পক্ষে বুড়ো মানুষ আমি, আবার বাঁত দিয়ে নয়, আবার চাইতে বুকের লীত দিয়েও তাকে চেনানো যায় না তা সমস্তই তরকারী গুজন করা হয়। হিসাব করে দেখেছি ১৯৪০ সালে সমস্ত বাংলা দেশে ৩৫,৮৮৬ জন কয়েদী ছিল। হয়ত এখনও তাই আছে। এবার তাদের বায় বরাদ্দ হয়েছে

৪৭,০২,০০০ টাকা। হিসাব করলে দেখা যায় ঠিক পড়ে বছরে ১০১ টাকা করে। একে দান বলে ডাক করলে জনশ্রুতি পড়ে ১০ টাকা। আজকালকার এই দিনে দশ টাকা বিবে কি খাওয়া হয়, এটা আপনাবা বেশ ভাল করেই বুঝতে পারবেন।

তারপরে একটা জুগুপ্সিত বিষয়ের কথা আপনাদের কাছে নিবেদন না করে আমি পারছি না। আমি এক জেলে দেখেছি কয়েদীদের পারখানা বেখানে, জন-সৌচের স্থান হচ্ছে সেখান থেকে ২০ হাত উঁচুতে।

(At this stage member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, বাংলার জেলগুলোর সংখ্যার সম্পর্কে অভিজ্ঞ ব্যক্তিরা অনেক কথাই বলেছেন। এই ব্যাপারে নুতন করে রপ্তি সম্পন্ন করা সম্ভব হবে না আমার পক্ষে। আমি আজ বিশেষ করে জেলের শিল্প সম্পর্কে আলোচনা করবো।

বাংলার বিভিন্ন জেলে শিল্প শিক্ষার আয়োজন হয়েছে আজ বহুদিন। প্রেন্সিডেন্সী জেল, আশুলির ও অন্যান্য জেলে নানা প্রকারের শিল্প গড়ে উঠেছে। কিছুদিন আগে বাংলা পরিষদের পক্ষ থেকে একটি প্রতিনিধি দল জেল পরিদর্শন করেন। কংগ্রেসের শ্রীযুক্ত বীরেন মুখার্জী, শ্রীযুক্ত নিশীথ নাথ কুণ্ডু, শ্রীযুক্ত চাক ডাওয়ারী, ইন্ডোপাণীয় দলের বিটোর উইলকিন্সন, কমানিটি পার্টির কয়েকজন জ্যোতি বসু, উপনির্দী দলের শ্রীযুক্ত জগদীশ দাস এবং মুসলিম লীগের পক্ষ থেকে আমাকে নিয়ে গঠিত হয়েছিল এই প্রতিনিধিদল। আমাদের সঙ্গে ছিলেন Parliamentary Secretary খাওয়ালা নসরুজ সাহেব ও জেল বিভাগের Inspector General। Presidency Jail শিল্প শিক্ষার ব্যাপক আয়োজন দেখে আমরা মুগ্ধ হয়েছি। তাঁদের কাজ, বাঁশ ও বেতের কাজ, কাঠের কাজ, লোহা, তামা, পিতল, এলুমিনিয়ামের কাজ চরমকার শিক্ষা দেওয়া হচ্ছে। জেল খানায় তৈরী জিনিসের চাহিদাও বাজারে কম নয়। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় জেলখানায় যে শিল্প শিক্ষা দেওয়া হয় তা নীমাবদ্ধ থাকে জেলখানার প্রাচীরের মধ্যেই। শিল্প শিক্ষা করে কয়েদীরা যখন মুক্তি পায়, সে শিক্ষাকে কাজে লাগাবার সুযোগ তাদের হয় না।

একটা উদাহরণ দিয়ে বলা যাক, স্বভাব দৃষ্টান্ত সে নয়, শাস্তিপূর্ণ জীবনই সে কাটিয়ে এসেছে; হঠাৎ, প্রতিবেশীর সঙ্গে ভবিষ্যৎ নিয়ে তার ঝগড়া তোলা, বাগের সাহায্য সে আঘাত চেনে বসলো প্রতিবেশীর সাথার। বিচারে তার শাস্তি হলো। এই লোকটি জেলখানায়ও শাস্তিপূর্ণ জীবনই কাটিয়েছে। কয়েক বৎসর আশ্রয় চেষ্টার শিল্প শিক্ষা করে সে বেরিয়ে এল। কিছু উৎসাহ, স্বেয়োগ ও মূলধন পেলে এই লোকটিই আবার মাথা উঁচু করে লাড়তে পারে। দুঃখের বিষয় এসিকে কর্তৃপক্ষের নজর নেই।

এই শ্রেণীর লোককে সবকিছের সাহায্য করা উচিত। মানবতার খাতির এবং দেশের বৃদ্ধির প্রয়োজনে। জেলখানায় কয়েক বৎসর মনোমাসামুগ্ন নাগরিকের মত শিল্প শিক্ষা করার পর লোকটি নিঃসঙ্গ হয়ে বেরিয়ে আসবে এবং কিছুদিন পরেই অনেকটা বাধ্য হয়ে শানিকটা পুনিশের ভরদস্তিতে সে আবার আইন বিরুদ্ধ পথে বিচরণ করবে, এবং কাবা প্রাচীরের মধ্যে ফিরে আসবে। এ নিশ্চয়ই সত্য অবস্থা নয়।

জেল বিভাগের Inspector General এর সঙ্গে আলোচনা করে জানা গেল কয়েদীরা বেঙ্গল বেটে বাইরে চলে গেলে তাদের খেঁজ খবর রাখার কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই। জেল থেকে বেরিয়ে যাবার সময় শিল্প কাজ করার পারিশ্রমিক বাবদ তারা কিছু নিয়ে যেতে পারে না। এ ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তন করতে হবে। যে সাধারণ কারণে একবার জেলে যাবে, পরবর্তী জীবনে, নাগরিক জীবনের যথোপাযায় স্বেয়োগ সে পাবে না, এ নীতির পরিবর্তন দাবী করে বাংলার জনসাধারণ। মানবতার কথা না হয় ছেড়েই দিই, বাংলার শিল্পোন্নতির দিক থেকে বিবেচনা করলেও এ নীতির পরিবর্তন হওয়া প্রয়োজন। শিল্পের ক্ষেত্রে বাংলা দেশ একশো বছর পেছিয়ে আছে। উপযুক্ত শিক্ষা শ্রান্ত কারিগরের অভাবে বাংলার কৃষ্টির শিল্প ও ব্যবসায়িক শিল্প গড়ে উঠতে পারছে না। অল্পটী তিনতিন শিক্ষা পাওয়া কারিগরেরাও কাজ তুলে যাচ্ছে স্বেয়োগের অভাবে। এভাবে বাংলার শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠার অপচয় হচ্ছে। এই অপচয় বন্ধ করতেই হবে। এই জরুরী বিষয়ের প্রতি কর্তৃপক্ষের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষিত হবে আশা করতে পারি।

জেলে শিক্ষা ও চিকিৎসার জট, দুর্নীতি, খাদ্যের নিকটতা, পারখানার অব্যবস্থা, খাদ্যের জলের স্বপ্নতা, ঘণা ও হারপোকাত উপরন্ত ইত্যাদি বিষয়ে যথেষ্ট আলোচনা হয়েছে। জেল বিভাগের কর্তারা বলছেন কোন কোম বিষয়ে সংস্কারের প্রয়োজনীয়তা তাঁরাও অনুভব করছেন। টাকার অভাবে কোন পরিকল্পনাই কার্যকরী হয়ে উঠছে না। মালদ্বীপের পৌরী সেন বাবা কোটি কোটি টাকা পুলিশ ও Civil Supply বিভাগের জন্য খরচ করেছেন, তাঁদের দুর্ভাগ্য এদিকে আকর্ষণ হলেও জেলের বিষয় হবে।

Mr. PROVASH CHANDRA LAHIRY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, জীবনের যোল বছর জেলখানার কেটেছে; জেলখানার অভিজ্ঞতা কিছু কিছু হয়েছে। বাংলার জেল দেখে এই ধারণা হয়েছে যে মানুষকে জেলে পাঠানো হয় অমানুষ করার জন্য। যে হয়ত কম চোর, সাধা আদমী একটা লজ্জা বা বেগুন চুরি করে জেলে গিয়েছে সে জেলখানা থেকে বড় চোর হয়ে ফেরে। আর জেলের ব্যবস্থা এমনি যে চোরদের সায়েস্তা করার জন্য যে সব কর্মচারীরা সেখানে আছেন তাঁরা এই চোরদের চেয়ে বড় চোর। পুড়োকেই চুরি করে। এমনি একটা কথা আছে যে জেলখানার ইটগুলি পর্যন্ত বোথ হয় চুরি করে, সেগুলিও ঘুচ নেয়। Warder জমাদার, jailor, deputy jailor থেকে আরম্ভ করে Superintendent I. G. পর্যন্ত সবই জায়গায়ই এই ধূমের কারবার চলে। কিভাবে চলে সেটা আমি বলতে চেষ্টা করবো। প্রথমতঃ একজন লোক যখন জেলখানায় ঢোকে, জেলখানায় প্রথম যাম, তার health examination হয় তখন ডাক্তার বাবু আসেন তিনি একটু পেটটা টিপে দেন আর জিভটা দেখেন,--বাস, health examination হয়ে গেল; report এ লিখলেন health good, labour hard. পেট একটু টিপে দেখলেন যে পিলে আছে কিনা আর জিভটা দেখলেন--এইভাবেই ডাক্তার বাবু তাঁর দায়িত্ব সারলেন। তারপরে শ্রেণী বিভাগ,--অবশ্য আগে কয়েদীদের মধ্যে শ্রেণী বিভাগ ছিল না, এখন শ্রেণী বিভাগ হয়েছে,--এক নম্বর, দুই নম্বর, তিন নম্বর। তিন নম্বর কয়েদী যারা হয় তাদের দিকে ত ফিরেও দেখাব কেউ নেই। খাবার যা দেওয়া হয় তা অত্যন্ত কদম্ব খাবার। বহুদিন পূর্বে প্রথম মহানুজের সময় যখন Presidency jail এ, ছিলাম, সে সময় দেখেছি যে তবকারী বলে যে পদার্থ দেওয়া হতো তাখন, সে তবকারী পদার্থটি কেউ খালব উপব নিতো না, মাটিতে বাথতো। আরি ২ হাজার কয়েদীদের কোন দিনও দেখিনি যে তবকারী পদার্থটা খালব উপব নিতে, কারণ ওটা ঝাওয়া বেত না। তখন ছিল লোহাখ খালা; খালায় দাগ যদি হয় তাহলে punishment হয়। স্ততবাঃ তবকারী মাটিতে রেখে দিত, যাতে খালায় দাগ না হয়। এ ছিল বহুদিন আগের কথা। এখন অবশ্য সে অবস্থা না থাকলেও এখনও বা দেওয়া হয় তা একেবারে অস্বাদ্য, সাধারণ মানুষ এটা বেতে পাবে না। আছে কলাব গাছ কেটে তাকে তবকারী করে দেওয়া হয়। এই হচ্ছে তিন নম্বর কয়েদীদের অবস্থা। তারপরে আমার বন্ধু অরেশ বাবু বললেন যে কয়েদী 'বাবা' বললে সিপাইয়ের কাছ থেকে সম্বোধন পায় 'শালা'। এটা আপনাবাও আমাদের মতী বাছাদুরকে যারা সম্বোধন করতেন তাঁরা ত সংগ্রাম মুখী হয়েছেন, স্ততবাঃ হয়ত আপনাদেরও জেলে যেতে হবে, যদি আপনাদের জেলে যাওয়ায় সে সৌভাগ্য হয় তাহলে দেখতে পাবেন। শকনেই এক নম্বর দুই নম্বর পাবেন না; মতী বাছাদুরকে হয়ত এক নম্বর, দুই নম্বর পাবেন।

(A VOICE FROM THE TREASURY BENCHES: "I cannot understand this") তিন নম্বর কয়েদী যারা তাদের মানুষ করার কোন ব্যবস্থা লেখানো নেই।

তারপরে জেলের যারা visitors--যারা লক্ষ করে দেখবেন, তাঁদের কিয়দ আমি বলতে চাই যে যাদের অভিজ্ঞতা আছে জেল সখ্কে সেই সব লোককে কমই visitors করা হয়। Visitors গেলে জেলে, আগেই ফটকে একটা বণ্টা থাকে বণ্টার আওয়াজ হয়; হলে তখন জেলের ভিতর সবাই সতর্ক হয়ে যায়। আর তখন দেখবেন চৌকীর সামনে বাশি বাশি তবকারী বেদিয়ে পড়েছে, এই আলু, কুনডা, পেঁয়াজ সব রকমের। Visitorsকে দেখান হয় যে এই সব তবকারী দেওয়া হবে। Visitorsও ফিরে গেলে তবকারীও গুলারজাত হোলো। এই অবস্থা সেখানে চলে। স্ততবাঃ যাদের এ সখ্কে জ্ঞান আছে অভিজ্ঞতা আছে সেই সকল লোককে visitors করা উচিত। কিন্তু ধূমের বিষয় প্রায়ই অধিকাংশ হলে আমার দেখি যে আমাদের এই Opposition এ যারা আছেন তাঁরাই যান জেলখানার কয়েদী হয়ে--রাঁদের এই জেল সখ্কে অভিজ্ঞতা আছে তাঁদের কিন্তু visitors করা হয় না।

কয়েদী ব্যালোরিয়ায় ভুগছে হাসপাতালে গেলে তার মশারী নাই। Division III-র ত কোন সময়ই মশারী দেওয়া হয় না। আপনারা এখানকার কলকাতার জেলে যাবা থেকেছেন তাঁরা হরত বলবেন যে কলকাতার কব মশা, কিন্তু আমি রাজশাহীর জেলেতে দেখেছি যে দিনের বেলা ও ঝড়, ঝড় না--লক্ষ লক্ষ মশা লজ্জা অবধি। ঢাকা জেলে আমি ছিলাম, বেদিনীপুর জেলেও ছিলাম, এই সব জেলে এই রকম ভীষণ মশা, লজ্জা মশারীর ব্যবস্থা নাই। সেদিক দিয়ে সরকার কোন ব্যবস্থা করেন না। তারপরে সেখানে ব্যালোরিয়ার ভূপে দাবার অনেক দুই দিন, চার দিন হাসপাতালে থাকার পর আমায় না হতেই discharge হলো; আমার চাক্রে কাঁধে বেতে হলো। এই অবস্থার লোককে হত্যা করা হয় জেলখানার। আব এ হাড়াও non-official দায় বা জেলখানাতে জেলের বাবুদের দ্বারা হয় তার বিষয় আর কি বলবো। কয়েদীকে কখনওগোলাই করা হয় অথবা কখন দিয়ে বুকে বা কতক কল দিয়ে পোটার। এ রকমভাবে কৃত লোককে যে আগে বেতে ফেলছে

আর এখনও যে কত লোক পঙ্ক হয়ে আছে তার ইরশা নাই। আমি জানি আপনাদের অনেকেই জানবেন, ঢাকা ক্যান্টনমেন্ট রাতে ১৯২৬-এর দিকে, তাতে দণ্ডিত একটি মুসলমান—আমি নাহাটা জুড়ে গিয়েছি, সে ১৯৩২ সালে আমার সঙ্গে বেনিটীপুর জেলে ছিল। সে ডিনবার “কমল বোলাই” হয়। তার মাথা খাখা হয়ে গিয়েছে। আর বেনিটীপুর জেল সম্বন্ধে একটা কথা বলি cell-এর কথা। ওখানে দুটুক থেকে দোভাঙ্গা অনেকগুলি cell আছে বাজের বতন, কোন দিক থেকে হাওয়া বাতাস আসতে পারে না। বাংলা দেশে আর কোন জেলার এ রকম cell নাই। কিন্তু Jail Commission-এর report-এ আছে এ cell ভেঙ্গে দেওয়ার কথা, কিন্তু আজ পর্যন্ত ডাক্তার হয়নি। সেখানে jailor-রাও বলেছে আমাদের কাছে যে তাদের ও সেখানে যেতে ভয় হয়। দিনের বেলায়ও সেখানে অন্ধকার। সেখানেও মানুষ মাথা হয়; শুধু কয়েদীদের নয়, এই convicted prisoners নয়, state prisoners-দেরও আগে এই cell-এ রাখা হতো। এই cell গুলির এই জেলের ভিতর আজ পর্যন্ত কোন সংশোধন হয়নি। জেলের ভিতর দুর্গাতি চরম বাতাস চলছে। এই দুর্গাতি বন্ধ করা দরকার, এবং এ বন্ধ করতে হলে visitors করার ব্যবস্থা, যাদের সে সম্বন্ধে অভিজ্ঞতা আছে সেই বন্ধ লোক দেখে visitor করা উচিত। এবং visitor, visitor's বুকে লিখে এলেন, কিন্তু তার উপর কোন action নেওয়া হোলো না, এ যেন হয়, তা যেন না হয়। যাতে visitors-দের লেগা উপর Government কোন action নেয় এই চওয়া উচিত এবং অচিরে এই অনায়ামগুলি বন্ধ করে দেওয়া উচিত এবং জেল বিক্ষিপ্ত কমিশন করে জেলের সমস্ত আইন কানুন বদলাবো বিশেষ প্রয়োজন হয়ে পড়েছে এবং তা অবিলম্বে দরকার।

Mr. ABDUL HAMID: মাননীয় সভাপতি মহোদয়, জেলখানার বিষয় বলতে হলে অনেক বিষয়ই বলা দরকার, কারণ আমরা একটা বড় জেলখানায় আছি British-এর অধীনে, আর আমাদের অধীনে একটা ছোট জেলখানা আছে যেগুলিতে কয়েদীরা সাধারণতঃ থাকে। এই দুটো জিনিষই আলোচনার বিষয়। আমাদের জেলখানার আলোচনা হচ্ছে, তবে প্রতিষ্ঠা কিছু হয়নি। কিন্তু এই ছোট জেলখানার ভিতর যা যা আছে, বাংলার বিভিন্ন জেলার জেলখানায়, সেগুলির সংস্কার যে আশু প্রয়োজন সে কথাটা বলাই বাহুল্য। যদি জেলখানার উদ্দেশ্য হয় মানুষকে কেবল শাস্তি দেওয়া, তাহলে যে সুবিধাটুকু কয়েদীদের সেখানে দেওয়া আছে সেগুলি না দিয়ে কঠোর নীতি অনুসারে করা উচিত, যাতে মানুষ সেখানে উন্নত না হতে পারে, যাতে সে তার কার্যকলাপের জন্য শাস্তি ভোগ করতে পারে যথা এবং সেখানেই তাকে শেষ করে দেওয়া উচিত। আর যদি এই উদ্দেশ্যে জেলখানা হয়ে থাকে যে সেখানে মানুষকে পাঠানো হবে তাকে সংশোধিত করে কাছাকাড়ী জীবনে জেলের বাহিরে এসে যাতে সে কিছু করে খেতে পারে তাহলে সেখানে সংশোধনের আশু প্রয়োজন আছে। আর যে সমস্ত লোকেরা সাধারণতঃ জেলখানাতে যান তাদের পক্ষে বন্দির মত লোক বাহিরে খুব কমই থাকেন। Visitors-রা ভিতরের কথা অনেক জানেন না; শুধু যে বিষয়গুলি তাদের জানানো হয় তাই দেখেন। এ অতি সত্য কথা। কাজেই সাধারণতঃ যে সব লোক জেল বাটেন তাদের অবস্থা সম্যক জ্ঞাত নন। এ জায়গায় সে সব বিষয়ে কোন আলোচনা হয়নি। আমি কিছুদিন আগে মাগুরা জেল দেখতে গিয়েছিলাম। আমার constituency-র মধ্যে মাগুরা, মাগুরা জেলখানা। দেখি যে একটা ঘরে বহু লোক সেখানে আটকানো। S. D. O.-কে জিজ্ঞাসা করলাম, “এর কারণ কি, এত লোককে এখানে রাখা হ’লো কি করে?” S. D. O.-কে বললেন, “এরা অল্প দিনের জন্য আছে, এদের সনিয়ে দেওয়া হবে। অথচ মজা হচ্ছে এই যে ধাঁধা convicted হয়ে আছেন, জেলে যাওয়া যাদের order হয়ে গেছে তাদের সঙ্গে হাজতবাসীপন একত্রে থাকেন। কিন্তু এত অল্প জায়গা সেখানে সবাই থাকার সম্ভাব নয়। মাগুরার মত sub-jail এ যে ৫৬/৫৭ জন কয়েদী থাকতে পারে এক সময় এটা অসম্ভব জিনিষ। তাদের খেতে দেওয়া হলো এক বেলা হোলো। তারি বললে যে ছোলা খেয়ে আমাদের স্বাস্থ্য এত খারাপ হয়েছে যে এর কলে আমার টিকতে পারছি না। সরকার থেকে যদি এই সমস্যা হয়ে থাকে যে তাদের ছোলা খেয়ে থাকতে হবে তাতে তারা স্বাস্থ্যহীন হয়ে পড়বে, কারণ দেশের যে সাধারণ লোক তাদের ছোলা খেয়ে রান্না করার শক্তি নেই। আমি S. D. O.-কে বললাম যে “আপনি ইচ্ছা করলে ছোলার পরিবর্তে চাউল দিতে পারেন,—এ তো সম্ভব হতে পারে।” যাই হোক জেলের মধ্যে যে সমস্ত দুর্গাতি আছে, জেলে যে সমস্ত কদর্যা ব্যবহার করা হয়, এই জিনিষগুলির পরিবর্তন দরকার। বর্তমানে যে টাকা বাংলার সরকার জেল সংস্কারের জন্য বরাদ্দ করেছেন তা খেটেই নর। জেলখানাগুলিকে মানুষের বাসের ঘোগ্য অবস্থার অন্তে হবে। তাতে আজকাল অনেক শিক্ষিত লোকের সমাবেশ হয় এবং এজন্য আমার মনে হয় জেলখানাগুলি পরিষ্কার পরিচ্ছন্ন অবস্থার আদ্য কর্তব্য। সেখানে চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা, শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা যাতে হয়, যাতে আমাদের কারা জীবনটা একটা নতুন জায়গা মনে না হয়, যাতে সাধারণ সৈন্যশিক্ষার কার্যগুলি সেখানে ভালভাবে

জন্মে, এ ব্যবস্থা বাংলার সরকার করবেন এ আবার বিশৃঙ্খল। তা যদি না হয় তার ফলে এই হবে যে মানুষ সাক্ষরগণ: জেলখানা বললে যে ভয় করে সেই ভয়ের স্থান সেটা হবে। অনেক বড় বড় কাজ করতে ভয় করে না কিন্তু জেলখানা বললে তারা আতঙ্কিত হয়ে যায়। এর মানে হচ্ছে সেখানে নানান রকম অবিচার করা হয়। এই জিনিষগুলির সংস্কার দরকার। এই বিশৃঙ্খল নিয়ে জেলখানার সংস্কার দরকার যে সেখানে মানুষ যাবে, পণ্ড নয়। যদি তাকে মানুষ হিসাবে থাকতে হয় তাহলে এমন ভাবে রাখা দরকার যাতে সে সেখানে বেয়ে তার কোন অসুবিধা ভোগ করতে না হয়। জেলে দেখা গিয়েছে যে এই ভাবে ব্যবহার না পেয়ে ছোট চোরগুলি বড় চোর হয়ে আসে, বড় চোরগুলি ডাকাত হয়। এর একমাত্র কারণ তাদের পরামর্শের থেকে এমন ভাব হয়েছে। কাজেই নভিক চরিত্র গঠনের জন্য যে যে ভাবের কয়েকী তাকে সেইভাবে রাখা দরকার, যাতে তারা নিজে অনুভূত হয়ে নিজেকে ভাল করার চেষ্টা করে।

বর্ষ সম্বন্ধে কথা যায় আমাদের যে সমস্ত অসুবিধা ছিল তা কমেছে বটে কিন্তু তবুও তার ভিতর সোথ জটিল হয়ে গিয়েছে। আবার মনে হয় যে জেল কর্তৃপক্ষ যারা বা পরিদর্শক যারা তাঁরা যদি ভাল করে দেখেন যে যে সমস্ত আইনগুলি আছে সেই আইন অনুযায়ী ব্যবস্থা করা হচ্ছে, তাহলে জেলের অবস্থা অন্য রকম হয়। বাস্তবিক জেলে অনেক স্থল স্থল কাঙ্ক্ষার্য্য সেখানে হয়, এমন কোন বাইরের জিনিষ নাই যা সেখানে হয় না। সেগুলি বাইরে এসে তারা কার্য্যকরী করতে পারে যদি একটা scheme Government নেন আর তার ব্যবস্থা করেন।

আশা করি যে বাংলার সরকার স্থিতিচর করবেন শুধু এই উদ্দেশ্যে যে মানুষ সেখান থেকে বেরিয়ে আসে যেন। মানুষ যদি এমন অপরাধে অপরাধী হয়ে থাকে যার গুরুত্ব অত্যন্ত বেশী, কিন্তু সে মানুষ শ্রেণী থেকে বেরিয়ে যায় না। তাকে সংশোধিত করার জন্য, তার পারিবারিক, মানসিক, ষাওয়া দাওয়া এবং নানান দিকে সুব্যবস্থা করার জন্য বাংলার সরকার সে দিকে দৃষ্টি নিক্ষেপ করবেন।

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: It is difficult for me, Sir, to contribute anything very substantial to the debate in the presence of so many authorities on Jail administration who adorn the benches opposite. I should try, however, to meet some of the points which have been raised not in the spirit of opposition, but in the hope that some improvements may be made in jail administrations. It cannot be denied, Sir, that the jail administrations in Bengal are not such as are to be found in such advanced countries as United States of America or England. But then there the expenditure is considerable and the amount that we will have to incur here to bring up our jails to that standard will be beyond the resources of this Province. Nevertheless, within the limits of the funds available many measures have been introduced in recent years for the improvement of jails and for improving the lot of the prisoners confined to them. I need not deal with them here, because they do not appear to be wanted. I wish, however, to make certain general remarks on the motions which have been moved by honourable members. Sir, there has been a demand in some quarters for the revision of Jail Code Rules. Government will appreciate if members of the Legislative Assembly will make any specific suggestions with regard to the amendment of the Jail Code Rules and we shall give our utmost attention to it. All the honourable members know that there are non-official visitors who are appointed for each jail and it is hoped that they will look after conditions there and try to remedy defects. One honourable member opposite has suggested that those who have got experience of jails should be nominated as non-official visitors. Sir, I propose to give utmost consideration to that suggestion and I hope that honourable members in the co-operative spirit in which they have offered the suggestion will be able to become visitors of such jails as they have had experience of.

In the matter of industrial training, one of the policies of this Government is to introduce industrial training on a very large scale within the jails and it is a matter, Sir, which we propose to take up in right earnest.

I am sorry, Sir, that we have not been able to provide mosquito curtains for all the jail inmates. That would be pretty nearly impossible under the present conditions, particularly when we anticipate that a very large

number of persons will also be going inside the jail very soon. But I have passed orders to make an experiment with D.D.T. in the jails. It is obvious that when there are mosquitoes outside in the Province and those who are not in the jail are attacked by mosquitoes, then those within the jails will also be attacked by mosquitoes. As we cannot supply sufficient D.D.T. for the whole Province, I think we can start experimenting with jails, and we have passed orders accordingly some considerable time ago, but, Sir, it has not been possible to get an adequate amount of D.D.T. for the purpose. I hope after that experiment is made the lot of the jail inmates will be considerably better.

Sir, reference has been made to religious and moral teaching and literary education in jails. That has always been an important problem of jail administration, namely, to strike a balance between comforts and moral training and deterrents. If we make it too light for the inmates of the jails, then there will be no deterrent involved in going inside the jails. Moral and religious teachings are being dispensed within the jails but I agree that the amount of training that is given is pretty casual and the position should be improved. Literary education is given to adolescent prisoners and to suitable adult prisoners in several jails and I have been informed that it is quite substantial and that well-behaved convict prisoners are permitted to sit for University examinations and facilities are given to them for their studies.

Sir, I myself was one of the non-official visitors of jails and I did have some suspicion regarding the diet shown to non-official visitors and the diet given to prisoners, because actually the diet shown to non-official visitors was of such a high standard that I was most surprised at the excellent fare given by Government to its jail inmates. Sir, the position is not so bad as some honourable members have attempted to make out and I think that the answer will be found in the results. The figures for 1945 which were supplied to me—I am told they were very carefully examined and I have no reason to doubt their correctness—indicate the result up till the end of the year. Out of 32,288 prisoners the weight of 12,940 was stationary, 13,359 prisoners gained in weight whereas only 5,989 prisoners lost in weight.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Do you know how those weights are taken?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am just telling you from information that I have on record and I suppose if there is any defect with regard to the taking of weights which you may call technical weights, I hope some of my friends on the other side, when they become non-official visitors, will be able to correct the weight and bring the administration of jails to a proper standard. I must say that when I was a non-official visitor I took up the question of *ghanis* with the Jails Department in the hope that the use of *ghanis* by men would be stopped. But the fact is that it has not yet been stopped. The answer just given is that in each *ghani* you have two or three persons who are at work, and one or two more are kept as reserve until they relieve them and take up the work. From them not more than ten seers are required for the whole day and the work is not so stupendous as it would appear to outsiders. Certainly men of labour pulling rickshaws for twelve hours in the day in the heat of the sun when you see them dropping sweats and men of labour drawing hand-carts laden with merchandise have to do much harder work. Men of labour involved in the *ghani* in the jails have not to work so much as those free men who draw rickshaws and hand-carts in order to earn their living. Moreover, it is not every one who is put to the *ghani*. It is only able-bodied men who are convicted of hard labour and who are un-amenable that are put on *ghanis*. However, this is a matter which I shall look into once more but I can make no promise that the system will be abolished. The advantages and disadvantages will have to be weighed and there should medical opinion taken on this question before we decide one way or the other.

Now, Sir, I feel that the actual situation is that everybody is anxious to improve the jail conditions and to relieve to some extent the lot of the culprit, though not to the extent of making it a comfortable place to live in. Today a lot of improvement of the condition of the prisoners has been done and is being done, and so far as we are concerned we propose to concentrate on industrial labour and on relieving the convicts of the mosquito trouble. I am rather keen on that, Sir. I have seen large mosquitoes hovering the dormitories of the poor convicts and I wonder how they have been able to bear it up. This is a matter which I took up since I came into office and I hope we shall be able to show some substantial benefit to the culprits.

The motion of Mr. Satindra Nath Sen that the demand of Rs. 1,02,93,000 for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Satindra Nath Sen that the demand of Rs. 1,02,93,000 for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Suresh Chandra Das Gupta that the demand of Rs. 1,02,93,000 for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The main demand of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy that a sum of Rs. 1,02,93,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements" was then put and agreed to.

29—Police.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 3,45,86,000 be granted for expenditure under head "29—Police".

Dr. PROTAP CHANDRA CUHA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about policy and grievances.

I also beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about policy and grievances about the management.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAJUMDAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the suppression of Coroner's inquest in respect of dead bodies picked up in Calcutta during disturbances in November, 1945, and February, 1946, and failure of Government to take action against culprits in connection with the findings of Coroner regarding death of Rameswar Banerji.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about failure of the Police in combating with train dacoities, riverine dacoities and other dacoities and goondaism that had increased in different parts of Eastern Bengal.

Mr. RAMHARI ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to institute public enquiries into the conduct of those police officers and subordinates who transgressed their powers in their dealings with the people during the August movement of 1942 and to mete out suitable punishments to them.

Mr. MANORANJAN DHAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about failure of the Police administration to stop various acts of robberies and hooliganism and other crimes committed against the travellers in Mymensingh-Bhairabbazar and Mymensingh-Dacca Railways (Bengal and Assam Railway) and in the places adjoining thereto, and such like crimes in other places in Bengal.

Dr. PRATAP CHANDRA GUHA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, পুলিশ সম্বন্ধে বলতে গেলে এত কথা বলতে হয় যে তা আমার limited time-এ সম্ভব নয়। পুলিশের সঙ্গে আমার জীবনের প্রথম পরিচয় হয়, সাক্ষাৎভাবে, মুম্বাইয়ে হয়ে, ১৯২৩ সালে চনমানাইরে। চনমানাইর ফরিদপুর জেলার আদ্রিয়াল খাঁ নদীর তীরবর্তী একটি ক্ষুদ্র গ্রামের মত স্থান। সেখানে একটি ডাকাতীরা তত্ত্ব করতে গিয়ে পুলিশ নরসিং ও মুল্লান অধিবাসীদের উপর ভীষণভাবে অত্যাচার করে। বার বৎসর হতে ৪৫ বৎসরের বেয়েদের উপর পুলিশ যে বর্বর ও বীভৎস অত্যাচার করে তার প্রতিবাদ করে আমি জনসাধারণ ও কর্তৃপক্ষকে জানাই। কিন্তু Government তাঁর সমস্ত শক্তি নিয়ে পুলিশকে support করতে এসে আমার ঐকান্তিক প্রতীক্ষার মূল অত্যাচার শুরু করে। আমাকে arrest করে দুই বৎসর protracted trial করার পর আমার অপেক্ষ লাঞ্ছনা ও সরকারী বচনাদি শুধু টাকা বচন হওয়ায় পরে গভর্ণমেন্ট বাধ্য হয়ে সেই মামলা withdraw করে নেয়। তারপর হতে আমার জীবনের প্রতি পক্ষিকক্ষে পুলিশের বহু অনায় ও অমানুষিক অত্যাচারের তীক্ষ্ণভাবে সমালোচনা করার দোয়াগা বা দুর্ভাগা আমার হয়েছে। আমি বছরব্যব পুলিশ কর্তৃক ভীষণভাবে লাঞ্চিত হয়েছি, কিন্তু তথাপি পুলিশের কার্যের তীক্ষ্ণ সমালোচনা করা আমি কর্তব্য বলে মনে করেছি। এখানে এই পরিঘটে আমার যে সমস্ত বন্ধু আছেন (আমাদের পক্ষে বা অপর দিকে) তাঁরা পুলিশের দৈনন্দিন কার্যের পরিচয় বুঝ ভালভাবেই অবগত আছেন। ধানায় পুলিশের কাছে যদি যান তাহলে সেখানে পাবেন তাদের সাধারণ duty হলো ঘুম আসার অবস্থার উপায় উদ্ভাবন করা। দাঙ্গা-ডাঙ্গা, খুনের মামলার সন্ধান পেলে তাঁরা আনন্দে আতঙ্কিত হন। একটা খুনি মামলা পেলে তাদের বছরের উপার্জননের পথ মুক্ত হয়ে যায়। আমার গ্রামের পাশে একটা খুনি মামলা উদ্ভূত সম্পর্কে পুলিশ সেখানকার প্রায় সাতশত শাশালো অধিবাসীকে arrest করে, প্রত্যেকের নিকট হতে যেটা ঘুম আসায় করে তা'দিগকে পুলিশের বেড়াভাগ হতে মুক্তি দেয়। ফলে যখন final charge sheet দেওয়ার পরে মামলা আদালত হলো তখন দেখা গেল যে যুগ্মের কৃপায় মূল আসামী ও ছাড়া হয়ে গেল। চোরে যদি বাজে কাকুর সম্পত্তি চুরি করে নিয়ে যায় বাড়ীর মালিক তাকে ধানায় বন্দর দিতে ইতস্ততঃ করে, কারণ রাত্রের চোরের ভাগীদার পুলিশ দিলে এসে গৃহস্থের উপরে যে অত্যাচার শুরু করে তার ফলে চোরে অত্যাচার সহ্য করে চুপ করে থাকে গ্রামবাসীরা লাভজনক বলে মনে করে থাকে। পুলিশের নামে সাধারণ লোক এমনভাবে আতঙ্কিত হয়ে থাকে যে পুলিশের নাম শুনেই তারা অনেক স্থলে গুলি ছেড়ে চলে যেতে বাধ্য হয়। তারপর পুলিশের political portion of duty বিনা অপরাধে বাংলার যত youngmen আছে তাদের পশ্চাতে লেগে তাদের দৈনন্দিন জীবন অতিক্রম করে এবং যাকে তাকে ধরে নিয়ে গিয়ে বছরের পর বছর political convict হিসাবে জেলেব ভিতর আটকে রাখে। এই তাদের political duty. কাজেই সমস্ত দিক দিয়ে পুলিশের কার্যাবলী যদি পর্যালোচনা করেন তাহলে সেখানে পাবেন যে এই Police department, public service-এর নামে অকথা অত্যাচার চালাচ্ছে। যেভাবে ঘুম ও লুণ্ঠনের ব্যবস্থা তারা করে লোকের যদি সবকভাবে সমালোচনা করা যায় তাহলে আমি বিশ্বাস করি প্রত্যেক বাড়িই স্বীকার করবেন যে তিনি দৈনন্দিন জীবনে কোথাও না কোথাও পুলিশের সেই মূর্তির সঙ্গে পরিচিত হয়েছেন।

তারপর পুলিশের যে চেহারা আমার কলকাতার শ্রমিকের উপর লেখচিত্র প্রদর্শনের procession-এর সময়, আর যে চেহারা কলকাতার দাঙ্গার সময় লেখচিত্র, সেই চেহারা দেখার পর আজ এই Budget grant support করার পূর্বে সকলকে অবরোধ করবে যে এই বরক পক্ষ, অপরাধ, জীবনের মূলকে এইভাবে জ্বিয়ে রাখা উচিত কি না আপনারা বিবেচনা করবেন। পুলিশ নির্বাক পক্ষ হিসাবে দাঁড়িয়ে রয়েছে, লুণ্ঠনের লণ্ডনভা করেছ, খুনের লণ্ডনভা করেছ, কোথাও কোন দাঁদে কোন দিল্লি বা মুল্লান প্রয়োজনের সময় ডেকে কোন Police Officerকে পাননি, পুলিশ Officerকে telephone আমি বহুবার করেছি, বহুবার rescue-র জন্য পুলিশ Officer-এর কাছে লোক পাঠিয়েছি, সব সময় উত্তর পেয়েছি যে আমাদের order সেই, আমরা যেতে পারবো না, অথবা এমনভাবে অকথা ভাষায় পালাপালি দিয়ে telephone ছেড়ে দিয়েছে যে সে ভাষা উত্তরেকের পক্ষে প্রকাশ করা সম্ভব নয়।

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Guha Roy, I think that matter has been discussed very thoroughly during the no-confidence motion recently.

Dr. PRATAP CHANDRA GUHA ROY: Yes, Sir, but incidentally I am referring to that.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand it, but there are hundred and one other ways in which it may be expressed. That has been discussed threadbare.

Dr. PRATAP CHANDRA GUHA ROY: With regard to the police budget I think I can discuss that matter also.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is no good repeating the same thing.

Dr. PRATAP CHANDRA GUHA ROY: I am comparing, Sir, the action and inaction of the police. At the time of the student demonstration they were so active, যে innocent লোকদেরও গুলী করতে দিখা করলে না; কিন্তু rioting-এর সময় মগন গুলী করার প্রয়োজন তখন নির্বাক দর্শকের মত দাঁড়িয়ে রইল। এইরূপ পারিষজ্ঞানহীন আত্মরক্ষা অর্গটিনমেন্ট হাত থেকে revolver কেড়ে নেওয়া উচিত। ওরা প্রয়োজনের সময় গুলী করতে পারে না কিন্তু অপ্রয়োজনের সময় গুলী করে। যখন প্রয়োজন হয়েছিল তখন তারা দর্শকের ভূমিকা play করতে লজ্জিত হয় নাই। এই পুলিশের জন্য আপনারা বাস্তবিক টাকা খরচ করতে রাজি আছেন কি না? এই পুলিশ department-এর from top to bottom প্রত্যেক ব্যক্তিকে যদি সাজা দিতে না পাবেন তবে এর প্রতিকারের আশা দুঃখ। আজকে যিনি এর portfolio নিয়েছেন তিনি পুলিশ সম্বন্ধে অনেক কথাই বলে গিয়েছেন, যে পুলিশ কি করেছে না করেছে, কিন্তু মফঃস্বলে গিয়ে দেখুন সেখানে পুলিশ superior officer-এর কথা মানে না, সেখানে পুলিশের ভিতর communalism ঢুকেছে, communalism-এর venom injected হয়েছে। কাজেই আজকে পুলিশের কর্তা যিনি তিনিও পুলিশকে বক্ষা করতে পারবেন কি না আমি জানি না। যদি সমস্ত পুলিশকে public servant হিসাবে কর্তব্য করতে বাধ্য করতে হয় তাহলে একে সম্পূর্ণভাবে বদলে দিয়ে চেপে লাগতে হবে; বর্তমান ব্যবস্থায় এ department দিয়ে কোন কাজ চলেবে না। শুধু কলকাতায় নয়, সমস্ত East Bengal-এ গিয়ে দেখুন ধানাব অবস্থা। গিয়ে দেখবেন প্রত্যেক ধানাব পুলিশ নিজিয়। যদি Diary করতে আসেন পুলিশ Diary গ্রহণ করে না। হিন্দু মুসলমান উভয়ের কথাই বলছি, সকলেরই কথা বলছি। এগর কিছু দূষ না দিলে একটি কথাও Diary করাতে পারবেন না, তবপনে আরো টাকা দিয়ে যদি তাদের সমস্ত করতে পারেন তাহলে আপনার case enquiry হলেও হতে পারে, না হলে কোন enquiry হবে না।

অন্যপরে communalism-এর কথা, যা আগেও বলেছি। Communal poison এমনভাবে injected হচ্ছে officer-দের মধ্যে যে এমন একদিন আসবে যখন দেখতে পারেন যে Police officers-রা দুই দলে দাঁড়িয়ে গিয়ে লাঞ্ছনা করতে ইতস্ততঃ করবে না। কাজেই সমস্ত department-টা ভেঙে চুরমার করতে হবে।

আজকে Minister সম্বন্ধেও কিছু বলবো, কারণ Ministers সম্বন্ধে confidence আপনারা পাশ করেছেন। কিন্তু সমস্ত police department-এর চেহারা যদি মফঃস্বলে গিয়ে দেখেন তাহলে দেখবেন যে মফঃস্বলে আজকে property and life unsafe! লোক নমন করে যে তাদের সম্পত্তি এবং জীবন মোটেই নিরাপদ নয়। অতএব এখানে আপনারা vote of confidence পাশ করলেও Police department-এর charge-এ যে minister আছেন তাঁর প্রতি জনসাধারণের কোন confidence নেই একথা বেন বনে থাকে। আপনারা বনে রাখবেন যে আজকে যদি Police department-কে সংশোধন করতে হয় তাহলে from top to bottom এই চোবের দলকে বুর করে দিয়ে একেবারে চেপে লাগতে হবে, from Ministers down to chowkidars. এমন কি করে যদি সংশোধন করতে পারেন তাহলে Police department-কে কিছু কার্যকরী করে হরত ডুলতে পারেন। তা না হলে পুলিশ department-এর বে অবস্থা তাতে অপর ভবিষ্যতে আপনারাদের সামনে এমন একটা সাংঘাতিক সঙ্ক্যা উপস্থিত হবে যার চেহারা দেখে আপনারা চমকে উঠবেন।

অতএব আমি অনুরোধ করি যে পুলিশ বাজেট পাশ করবার আগে বিশেষভাবে চিন্তা করবেন। আমি out motion দিয়েছি এই জন্য যে পুলিশ সম্বন্ধে আবারের অভিজ্ঞতা পরিচায় ভাণ্ডার আজকে স্ট্রাইফসমরকে জানিয়ে দিতে চাই—যে পুলিশ department-এর বর্তমান arrangement-টা আমরা কিছুতেই support করি না।

Mr. BENODE CHANDRA CHAKRABORTY : মিঃ স্পীকার, স্যার, বাংলার সর্বত্র বর্তমানে ব্যাপক অরাজকতার যে বন্য বহিরা চলিয়াছে তাহার বিস্তৃত বিবরণ আজ কাহারও নিকট বলার প্রয়োজন নাই।

নিশ্চিতে নিরুপদ্রবে চলাকেবা করা অসম্ভব হইয়া পড়িয়াছে। কলিকাতার অবস্থা হইতেই বৃষ্টিতে পারেন প্রায় অকালের দুর্গতি কত অধিক। পূর্বে বঙ্গের অবস্থা যে এমন কি, তাহা এই অল্প সময়ের মধ্যে অধিক কথার না বলিয়া অল্পতেই বলিলে চলে যে তৎকালের অধিবাসীগণ এখন দম্মা, তুম্বা, গুণ্ডা ও দুর্ভিক্ষ ব্যক্তিগণের দ্বারা উপর আছে। বিশেষতঃ হিন্দু জনসাধারণ যে কি দুর্ভাবস্থার মধ্যে বাস করিতেছে তাহা অবশ্য নীর। পুলিশের বহন সাহায্য প্রয়োজন ও কর্তব্য পালনে তাহাদের অগ্রসর হওয়া উচিত তখন তাহার নিশ্চয়ই হইয়া যে কিভাবে থাকে তাহা আপনাদা কলিকাতাতে দেখিয়াছেন ও অনেক সে সম্বন্ধে শুনিয়াছেন।

এখন আমি বাংলার সর্ব বৃহত্তম জেলা ময়মনসিংহের কথা বলিব। সেখানে পুলিশের অক্ষমতা ও নিরীক্ষতার ফলে যে অত্যাচার ও অন্যায় অনুষ্ঠিত হইয়াছে তাহা যে কোন সভা পত্র-মেগেটর পক্ষে লজ্জাজনক, জানি না বাংলা পত্র-মেগেটর লজ্জা বলিয়া কিছু আছে কি না। ময়মনসিংহ জেলার অত্যন্ত কামালপুর মহকুমায় ইসলামপুর থানার নিকটবর্তী বাতাবে পুলিশের চোখের সামনে হিন্দু লোকেরা বেপারোয়া লুণ্ঠিগার ও গুণ্ডার আশ্রয় লগান হইল কিন্তু পুলিশ কোন প্রকার সাহায্য করিল না। তাহার তদন্ত বা প্রতিবিধান বর্তমান গভর্ণ-মেণ্ট করিবেন কি না জানি না। পত্র-মেগেটর কাম্যকলাপে মনে হয় যে, সে আশা করা দুর্বাণ। সে অঞ্চলে ইহার পর প্রায়ের পর প্রায় হিন্দুদের বাড়ী লুণ্ঠণ কতক ক্রমানুয়ে দুই দিন ধরিয়া লুণ্ঠি করা হইয়াছে। সর্ব এই পুলিশকে নিষ্ক্রিয় থাকতে দেখা গিয়াছে, এবং এই নিষ্ক্রিয়তার পিছনে দুর্ভিক্ষজনক মতস্য যে রহিয়াছে তাহা জনসাধারণের মনে বহুদূর ধারণা পনিপত হইয়াছে। জানি না এই ধারণা বাংলা সরকার দূর করিতে উচুত কি না? বোধহয় পত্র-মেগেটর তাহা আবশ্যক বলিয়া মনে করিবেন না। ময়মনসিংহ জেলায় বর্তমানে বেশ এমন যে কি পরিমাণ বিপজ্জনক হইয়াছে তাহা নূতন কথিয়া বলা প্রয়োজন মনে করি না। চন্দ্র টোপে বাতাজানি, হেগনে হেগনে গুণ্ডা কতক ভ্রমণকারীদের লাঞ্ছনা নিত্য নৈমিত্তিক ঘটনায় পনিপত হইয়াছে। এখন জিজ্ঞাসা, এই অবস্থা বাংলা দেশে আর কতদিন চলিতে দেওয়া হইবে। রহীর্ণগণের বুঝা উচিত তাহাদের অক্ষমতা ও অযোগ্যতার ফলে দিন দিন যে দুঃস্বপ্ন অবস্থান সৃষ্টি হইতেছে তাহা দেশবাসী বৈশীদিন আর নিষ্ক্রিয় বহিয়া লড়া করিবেন না। ভোঁনের জোরে রহীর্ণ গণী তাঁহারা অকিডাইয়া থাকিতে পারেন কিন্তু জনসাধারণের প্রতিক্রিয়া তাঁহারা বোধ করিতে পারিবেন না। যদি ইহা তাঁহাদের বুদ্ধিবার মত ক্ষমতা না থাকে তাহা হইলে দুঃস্বপ্নের স্রষ্টা বনিতে হইতেছে যে, অতি কঠিন অবস্থার মধ্যে পড়িয়া তাহাদের মানসিক অবস্থার পরিবর্তন আসিবে।

পুলিশ বিভাগে দুর্নীতি বাতীত, সাম্প্রদায়িক বিষ যেভাবে রহীর্ণগণ কতক ব্যাপ হইয়াছে উহার অবলান অচীরে না ঘটিলে দেশে শান্তি আশা করা দুর্বাণ। এই সভা অস্বীকার করিয়া চলা ঘটতো রহীর্ণগণের পক্ষে সম্ভব হইবে; কিন্তু দেশের বিভিন্ন সম্প্রদায়ের পক্ষে তাহা সম্ভব হইবে না।

জামালপুরের মহকুমা হাকিম মিঃ পানটালার অনুষ্ঠিত কাম্যকলাপে এই অঞ্চলের অধিবাসীদের মনে তাহার প্রতি বিশ্বাস ও আস্থা নাই। তাপাশি তাঁহাকে কেন এমনও ওখানে রাখা হইয়াছে তাহা আমরা বুঝিতে পারি না। আমি বানৌষ রহীর্ণগণের দৃষ্টি ইহার প্রতি আকর্ষণ করিতেছি। পত্র-মেগেটর ইহা অবশ্য কর্তব্য এবং দেখা উচিত যেন বিশৃঙ্খলাজনক ও সর্বসাধারণ এবং সকল সম্প্রদায়ের আস্থা সম্পূর্ণ সরকারী কন্ট্রোলার হস্তে দেশের শাসন-ভার ন্যস্ত হয়। যাহারা সকল সম্প্রদায়ের আস্থা ন্যায় রাখিয়া কার্য পরিচালনা করিতে পারেন সেইপ্রকার কর্মচারীদের নিয়োগ করা গভর্ণ-মেণ্টের অবশ্য কর্তব্য। কিন্তু দুঃস্বপ্নের স্রষ্টা বলিতে বাধ্য হইতেছি জামালপুরের মহকুমা হাকিম পক্ষপাতীত্বপূর্ণ লোকে লোহী এবং ইহা বিশেষ প্রমাণ্যমান এবং সম্ভ্রান্ত ব্যক্তিদের নিকট হইতে শুনিয়াছি এবং এতদ্বারা আমার ইহা বিশ্বাস হইয়াছে যে, বর্তমান মহকুমা হাকিম মিঃ জামালপুরে আসেন তাঁহার প্রতি জনসাধারণের বিশেষ করিয়া হিন্দু জনসাধারণের বিশ্বাস একেবারেই নাই।

সুতরাং এইরূপ দুর্ভাবস্থারও পুলিশ যদি শান্তি ও শৃঙ্খলা রাখা করিতে না পারে তবে অংখ্য জনসাধারণের এই অর্থ অপব্যয় করিয়া কি লাভ? পুলিশ বিভাগ হইতে যদি সাম্প্রদায়িক বনোভার দূর করা না হয় তবে জনসাধারণ পুলিশ বিভাগ হইতে কি সুবিচার আশা করিতে পারে ইহা পত্র-মেগেটর চিন্তা করা উচিত। পুলিশ বিভাগ হইতে দুর্নীতি দূর করিবার নিমিত্ত অতি দ্রুত ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা প্রয়োজন। এতদ্বার্তীত আজ পূর্ব বঙ্গের নানা স্থানে বিশেষতঃ ঢাকা, নারায়ণগঞ্জ, তালতলা, কলমাসাট প্রভৃতি অঞ্চলে, নদীপথে চলাচল করা একেবারে অসম্ভব হইয়া পড়িয়াছে। পূর্বে লক্ষা, মেঘনা, ব্রহ্মপুত্র প্রভৃতি নদী পথে প্রায় চার পাঁচশত নৌকা চলিত কিন্তু এখন ঢৌ, ঢাকাত ও গুণ্ডার ডরে এই সব পথে নৌকা চলাচল করিতে গিয়েছে এবং তার ফলে এই সব অঞ্চলের

যাভায়াতকারী ব্যক্তিগণের বিশেষ অসুবিধা ভোগ করিতে হইতেছে; এবং ব্যবসা বাণিজ্যেরও প্রভূত পরিমাণ ক্ষতি হইতেছে। আমি না গভর্নমেন্ট তরফে যাহাতে নিরুপদ্রবে নৌকা নদীপথে চলিতে পারে তাহার ব্যবস্থা করিতে ইচ্ছুক কি না?

এই পুলিশ বিভাগের অকর্মণ্যতা সম্পর্কে যে সকল কথা উঠিয়াছে, তাহার ভিতর এই কথাই প্রধান হইয়া দাঁড়ায় যে, যে পুলিশ বাহিনী রহিয়াছে তাহা যারা আমাদের সন্তাই যদি কোন উপকার না হয়, বিপদের সময় যদি আমরা তাহার সাহায্য না পাই এবং আমাদের ঘরবাড়ী যদি লুণ্ঠন হইতে রক্ষা করা সম্ভব না হয়, অর্থাৎ দেশবাসীকে রক্ষা করিবার জন্য এবং দুর্গুণ্ডদের হস্ত হইতে জনসাধারণকে বাঁচাইয়া রাখিবার জন্য, অবশ্য কর্তব্য পালনের দায়িত্বভার যে পুলিশ বাহিনীর রহিয়াছে এবং তাহা যারা যদি বিপদের সময় আমরা কোন প্রকার সাহায্য না পাই তবে সেই পুলিশ বিভাগের জন্য অপরিমিত অর্থ ব্যয় করার কি স্বার্থকতা আছে? আমি এখানে ভারপ্রাপ্ত মাননীয় মহী মহোদয়কে এই কথা জিজ্ঞাসা করিতে চাই যে, যদি এমন কোন কর্মচারী প্রকাশ্যে এই কথা বলেন যে মুষ্টিমেয় পুলিশ দ্বারা দেশের শান্তি রক্ষা করা সম্ভবপর নহে, তাহা হইলে সেই কর্মচারীকে তৎক্ষণাৎ জিজ্ঞাসা করা উচিত কি না যে, সে তাহার দায়িত্ব পালন যথায়ভাবে করিতে কি না? কারণ এই প্রকার কথা দুর্গুণ্ডদের মনে আরও বেশী গভীরতা সঞ্চার করে। তাহার মনে করে যে পুলিশের ও গভর্নমেন্টের বিশেষ কোন শক্তি নাই; কাজেই যদি দলবদ্ধ হইয়া অত্যাচার, অগাচাচা করা যায় তাহা হইলে মুষ্টিমেয় পুলিশ আর কি করিতে পারে? কিন্তু বাস্তব ক্ষেত্রে দেখা গিয়াছে যে, পুলিশ যেখানেই সক্রিয়ভাবে কাজ করিয়াছে সেখানে কোন গোলমাল বা উপদ্রব হইতে পারে নাই। স্থান বিশেষে অকর্মণ্য এবং নিশ্চেষ্ট সরকারী কর্মচারীদের দুর্গুণ্ডতাব জনাই তৎক্ষণে গোলমাল এবং লুটতরাত সম্ভব হইতেছে ও সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা-হাঙ্গামা সৃষ্টি হইতেছে। এই বিশৃঙ্খল আত্ম দেশবাসীর মনে বদ্ধমূল হইয়াছে।

এখন যদি সত্যই আমাদের দেশবাসীকে নিঃশঙ্ক করিতে হয়, তাহা হইলে মনে সাহস দিতে হয় ও তাহাদিগকে যদি নির্ভীক করিতে হয়, তাহা হইলে অচিরাৎ এই পুলিশ বাহিনীকে সক্রিয় হইতে হইবে। তাহাদের ভিতর হইতে সকল প্রকার দুশীল দূর করিতে হইবে, সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ তাহাদের ভিতর হইতে পূর্ণভাবে লোপ করিতে হইবে; এবং সর্বোপরি তাহাদিগের জনসেবা এবং জনসাধারণের ভৃত্য হিসাবে কাঁমা করিবার মনোবৃত্তি জাগাইয়া তুলিতে হইবে।

এইভাবে তাহাদিগকে যদি পরিচালিত করা সম্ভব না হয়, তবে পুলিশ বিভাগের নিমিত্ত এত অর্থ ব্যয় করিয়া দেশের প্রকৃত কোন কল্যাণ সাধিত হইবে বলিয়া আমার বিশ্বাস নাই।

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, hitherto I have carefully refrained from making any detailed criticism of the budget of this year, because as a member of this side of the House I feel that we are also to some extent responsible for the policy that has been envisaged in the budget estimate of this year. But, Sir, the few incidents that have now befallen Bengal particularly the city of Dacca have made me to take my stand here today.

Sir, I think I shall be hopelessly failing in my duty if I do not register my voice of protest against the maladministration of the police that is going on in Dacca. Sir, the lives and properties of the people of Dacca have been totally insecure. There are few days in a month when we do not hear the harrowing tales of cold blooded assassination, plunder, loot, arson and acts of incendiarism. Sir, the Dacca city has earned a particular notoriety for these riotous affairs not from today but from 12 years last. Though, Sir, we happen to run the administration and though we are managing the whole Police Department, I think, the Police has failed, and hopelessly failed, to maintain peace and order in the city of Dacca. Now, Sir, I shall particularly tell you how the incident started at Dacca, and therein my friends opposite will get an answer how the events on the Direct Action Day took shape. You know Dacca is famous for its riots. August 16th passed off safely. We had our meetings, our processions and our hartals peacefully. Though those people are very much riotous, 17th August passed off, 18th and 19th also passed off. But on the 20th when the Muslims were returning after saying their Taravi prayer they were stabbed by the Hindus, and on the following day a mosque in Telipara was set fire and the Holy Quoran was put into fire. This was enough provocation.

So it can be easily realised that by Direct Action the Muslim League did not mean violent attacks, otherwise in Dacca the Direct Action Day on the 16th of August would not have been observed in a peaceful way.

Now, Sir, I must register my protest about the Police Department. The Police Department is manned by 75 per cent. of the people sitting opposite. The police department which is manned predominantly by Hindu officers have failed to maintain peace and order, and I would suggest that police department may now be manned by 75 per cent. of Muslim officers and men, so we can have our chances and see whether we can maintain law and order or not. I would appeal to the Minister in charge of law and order to carefully examine and see whether that chance can be given. Now, Sir, what has happened in Dacca? My friends on this side of the House have pointed out that the Police have become perfectly communal minded. They make distinction between community and community, and the result is that the community harassed by the police gets exasperated and the community getting advantage from the police get emboldened by the encouragement they get. The result is dire, disastrous, dark and dismal. Only on the 19th of this month Gharwali Police, all Hindus, have been posted in Muslim *bustees*, and *mahallas*. These Gharwali police mercilessly beat women and children in the Muslim households of Dacca. There are three thanas in the town of Dacca—one is Sutrapur, the other is Lalbagh, and the third is Kotwali. The Officer-in-charge of the Kotwali police-station is a Muslim, and in this thana crime is less, much less, than the other two thanas where the officers-in-charge are Hindus. If anybody has failed to maintain peace and order it is the men of the Police Department, and not Mr. Suhrawardy.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Your stalwart Chief Minister is the chief of the police

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am not in charge of thanas.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: Now, Sir, it will be argued that it is not possible for Government to detail one police man for every individual. I must admit that this argument is true. Some thing wrong is coming into the police that exist in Bengal today. They are getting communal-minded. The police forget that their business is to maintain peace and order, but they are only after cases. They rush after a man is killed, or after a house is looted. After an offence has been committed they begin investigation or enquiry, and harass people to whatever extent they can, and in doing so they forget that it is their responsibility to maintain a calm and peaceful atmosphere in the country, that their duty is to maintain peace and not only to prosecute people or haul up some offenders.

I do not want to make my speech lengthy by arguments. Now, Sir, what has happened at Dacca. It has become absolutely difficult for the citizens, for the law abiding citizens of Dacca, to go to his avocation of ordinary nature. Business at Dacca has come to a standstill, commercial prospect has become nullified. So I would appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in charge with all the earnestness that I can command that he should do something particular for Dacca, so that we can get relief from the excesses and highhandedness of the Hindu police there.

Now I will state only one point more. This Department has been given to us for local administration under the Government of India Act, 1935. Formerly it used to be administered by the Governor-in-Council along with his Councillors. This is the only one tangible good we have got under the present Government of India Act. Now, Sir, if after having this power and having this responsibility, we cannot administer this Department to

the satisfaction of the people, nor can we guarantee them the security of their life and property the time is not far when we shall have to hang down our head in shame and disgrace.

(Maulvi Majibar Rahman rose in his seat and wanted to speak in Bengali.)

Mr. SPEAKER: With regard to Bengali speeches I wish to make my position clear today. As many as five members have spoken in Bengali on the demand under the head "Jails", and on the demand under the head "Police", I think, two members have spoken in Bengali. The first speaker in English was Mr. Mazharul Haque, except of course the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department. The honourable member who rose just now in his seat desires to speak in Bengali. Now, there are only two Bengali reporters here, and it is not possible for them physically to report seriatim the speeches. I have moved Government on several occasions but without success. It was only on the days of the No-Confidence motions on the 19th and 20th that two additional Bengali reporters were placed at our disposal but since then they have been withdrawn. So the honourable members will realise that it is not possible to get a verbatim report of the Bengali speeches recorded in the proceedings. There may be only summary.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAJUMDAR: Sir, if this is the position it affects the privileges of the House. I suggest that if the Chief Minister of Bengal, or the Home Department of Government, or whoever the appropriate authority is, cannot make provision for sufficient reporters to report the speeches delivered in Bengali on the floor of this House by the representatives of the people of Bengal, let the session remain suspended until arrangements have been made to get the Bengali speeches delivered by the honourable members duly recorded. Sir, I submit to you that this is not a warning or caution which should be addressed to the members but rather to the Government. Members have a right to express their views in their own mother-tongue in this House. There should be every arrangement made.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: Provided they do not know English.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAJUMDAR: That is according to the restriction put by Constitution.

If arrangements in this House are such that speeches cannot be recorded in full, the business of the House should remain suspended if there is the confession that such an arrangement is impossible.

Mr. FAZLUL QUADIR: Sir, there are some members also who want to speak in Urdu as well. If members who can very well speak in English claim their right to speak in Bengali, there are others who may as well claim to speak in Urdu. This simply dislocates the work of reporting the proceedings of the House.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I have listened to this discussion with a certain degree of hesitation. This is the first time that the matter has been brought to my notice and I shall certainly take steps to place at your disposal adequate number of shorthand reporters in Bengali in order to meet the situation.

Mr. SPEAKER: After what has been said by the Hon'ble the Leader of the House I think it is my duty to inform him and the House that it is not the first time that this matter has been brought to the notice of the Government. But it is the first time that the Hon'ble the Leader of the House is present in the House to hear about the inadequacy of the staff of Bengali reporters. I may inform the House that the matter has been brought to the notice of Government more than once both in this House as well as outside.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: On a point of personal explanation, Sir, on the occasion of the debate on the no-confidence motions you told me that there was a likelihood of a larger number of speakers taking part in the debate in Bengali and you wanted additional Bengali reporters for the two days. It was at your request that I arranged for additional Bengali reporters for those two days. It was only for those two days that I sent a requisition to the Chief Minister's Department. They were placed at your disposal for two days only and withdrawn thereafter as a result of the arrangement made between you and me.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would request the Government to go through the correspondence that has been going on between this Department and Government, and then they will realise the difficulties of this Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I admit that clearly there has been a misunderstanding which I shall take the earliest steps to remove.

Mauji MAJIBAR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আজকে আমাদের সরকার পুলিশের জন্য টাকা পাশ করার জন্য উপস্থিত করেছেন। আজকে অপর পক্ষ থেকে Congress bench থেকে cut motion দিয়ে সমালোচনা করা হচ্ছে। আমি নিজে এটা স্বীকার করি যে বাংলা দেশে যে এই পুলিশ কর্মচারিগণ আছেন তাদের কাজ আজ সন্তোষজনক নয়। তাঁরা যে জনসাধারণের মনোমত কাজ করছেন না এটা সত্য কথা। কিন্তু সমালোচনা আমি এটাও লক্ষ্যে রাখি যে অপর পক্ষ স্বীকার করছেন যে police officer'রা আজকাল সাম্প্রদায়িক হয়ে পড়েছেন, সাম্প্রদায়িক মনোভাবাপন্ন হয়ে পড়েছেন, এবং তাই আমাদের শান্তি ও শৃঙ্খলা রক্ষা করতে অসুবিধা হচ্ছে। আমি আজকে আমাদের মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের কাছে জানতে পাচ্ছি কি যে বাংলা দেশে যে সমস্ত S. P. আছেন, D. S. P. আছেন, পুলিশ কর্মচারী আছেন, তার কতটা সংখ্যা মুসলমান আর কতটা হিন্দু রয়েছে। আর স্বরকারের যে শাখা-শাখায় হয়ে গিয়েছে, তাতে আমরা এ ধরনের যে-কোনো বিশৃঙ্খল সূত্রে বিভিন্ন মহল থেকে জানতে পেরেছি যে কলকাতার বিভিন্ন মহলার যেখানে হিন্দুর ১৪ আনা ছিলেন, সেখানে হিন্দু officers ছিলেন, হিন্দু Assistant Commissioner ছিলেন, এ সমস্ত থাকা সম্বন্ধে মুসলমানদিগকে কোন পুরস্কার সাহায্য করা হয় নাই। তাহাদের সাহায্য চাইয়া সম্বন্ধে অনেক সময় দেখা গিয়েছে যে পুলিশ কোন সাহায্য করে নাই। আমি এই officer'দের সম্বন্ধে দুই আকর্ষণ করছি। শুধু কলিকাতার জন্য নয়, বাংলার বিভিন্ন জেলায়, আজ জানায় কি হচ্ছে? আজকে বাংলার অন্যান্য অঞ্চল যে সমস্ত সরকার পাচ্ছি সেই সমস্ত স্থানে কি হচ্ছে? আমরা জানতে পাচ্ছি যে হিন্দু পুলিশ অফিসারেরা, সাম্প্রদায়িক মনোভাবাপন্ন হয়ে তাদের সাম্প্রদায়িকতা দুই বৃদ্ধির দরুন আজকে মুসলমানদের উপর অত্যাচার করছে। হিন্দু পুলিশ অফিসার মুসলমানদের কোন পুরস্কার বা প্রতিশ্রুতি বা নিয়ন্ত্রণ সাহায্য করছে না। তাই আজকে এই বাজেট পাশ করার সময় আমাদের মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের কাছে আমাদের জিজ্ঞাসা এবং জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয় রয়েছে এই যে বাংলা দেশে শতকরা কতজন মুসলমান আর কতজন হিন্দু পুলিশ অফিসার আর এই অবস্থার কতদিন চলবে। আমরা কি জানতে পারি যে ইহার সম্বন্ধে কোন প্রতিশ্রুতি হবে কি না। কারণ অপর bench থেকেও স্বীকার করা হচ্ছে যে আজকের পুলিশ কর্মচারী বাংলা, সাম্প্রদায়িকতা দুই বৃদ্ধিতে তাদের বন কলুষিত হয়েছে। সুতরাং এই অবস্থা, অবশ্য শতকরা ৭৫ জন কি ৮০ জন হিন্দু S. P., D. S. P. হিন্দু পুলিশ কনটেম্পল থাকা কিছুতেই বাঞ্ছনীয় নয়। তিনি আর কতদিন থাকতে পারেন। আমরা তাঁর দুই আকর্ষণ করছি এ বিষয়ে। আমি নোয়াখালীতে গত বৎসরে তখন হিন্দু S. P.'র একটি কাজের প্রতি দুই আকর্ষণ করছি। আমাদের নোয়াখালীতে প্রায় তিন বৎসর একজন D. S. P. 'র charge নিয়ে কাজ করেছিলেন। আমি জানি তিনি হিন্দু কর্মচারীদের লোহ গোপন রাখতেন, মুসলমানদের উপরে supercede করে promotion দেওয়ার জন্য। সমস্ত পুলিশকর্মচারীদের service book গোপন করে লুকিয়ে ফেলেতেন এবং ফলে সমস্ত হিন্দু কর্মচারীদের promotion গিয়েছেন, মুসলমানদের অধিকার, মুসলমানদের শরীফাওয়ার লুক্কায়িত না করে। সুতরাং আজকে এই budget আলোচনা নিয়ে আমি এই চাচ্ছি যে বাংলা দেশে যেভাবে লোকের বন সাম্প্রদায়িক দুই বৃদ্ধিতে কলুষিত হয়ে গিয়েছে তাতে বাংলা দেশে আজ সকল সাম্প্রদায়িক লোকেরই police department এ বান পাড়া নিত্য আবশ্যিক। তা না হলে আমাদের শান্তি ও শৃঙ্খলা রক্ষা করা অত্যন্ত কষ্টকর হবে। আজকে অপর পক্ষ থেকে বলছেন যে এখানকার পরিষদের প্রধান লোহপাতি Mr. Suhrawardy'র উপর। তাঁদের কাছ থেকে একটা জানতে পারি কি যে আজকে কোথায় পুলিশ কর্মচারীরা কি করেন। তাঁরা কি শান্তি ও

পুঙ্খলা রক্ষা করতে পারছেন? সেখানে প্রধান সেনাপতি কে? আজকে আহমদাবাদের প্রধান সেনাপতি কে? আজকে উড়িষ্যা ও বিহারের প্রধান সেনাপতি কে? সেখানে কি পুলিশ কর্তৃত্ব নাই? সেখানে কি S. P., D. S. P. বা পুলিশ কমিশনার, বা প্রধান মহী বা মহী নেই? সুতরাং আজকে সারা ভারতবর্ষেই এই স্বযোগ নিয়ে চাকরীর স্বযোগ নিয়ে, এই সরকারী চাকরীর স্বযোগ নিয়ে সংখ্যালঘদের উপর এবং বাংলা দেশে মুসলমানদের উপর যে অবিচার করা হচ্ছে, আজ আমরা তার প্রতিকার চাচ্ছি। এই আবার বক্তব্য। আমি আর কিছু বলতে চাই না। আজকে অবশ্য এটা দুঃখের বিষয় আমি নিশ্চয় স্বীকার করবো যে সকলে সাম্প্রদায়িক মনোভাবাপন্ন হয়ে পড়েছেন এবং কেউই ন্যায় বিচার চান না। আজকে যদি ন্যায় বিচারের পুশ্প ওঠে তাহলে অনেকেই গোত্রদ্বন্দ্ব হয় আমি জানি। আমি একজন মুসলমান হিসাবে, member হিসাবে পঁড়িয়েছি। আমাদের বেথুই দায়িত্ব আছে। আমরা কখনই অপর সম্প্রদায়ের এক পরসার হুক নষ্ট কবতে চাই না, কিন্তু আমাদের হুকও নষ্ট হতে দিতে চাই না। (Hear, hear) আমি একথা বিশৃঙ্খল কবি, আমরা মুসলমান হিসাবে অপর সম্প্রদায়ের চাকরিতে, বাজারিতে বা বাংলার শাসন ব্যাপারে কোনও এক ব্যাপারে একটি পরসারও তাদের নষ্ট করতে চাই না, কিন্তু আমাদের হুককে এক বিলুপিসর্গও তাদের দিতে চাই না।

Mr. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, since the advent of the Britishers here, the people in this country never looked upon the police as their friends, not to speak of as their servants. If we look into the history, we will find a number of facts which is borne out by the police excesses that have been committed on different occasions.

Sir, we have witnessed the conduct of the police in the last Calcutta riots. In November last when there was a demonstration by the students, the police all on a sudden came there and began to shoot at the students. Rameswar Banerji, a student, fell down immediately. The Coroner held an inquest over the dead body and gave a verdict, but Sir, the authorities never cared to put that verdict into effect or to punish those officers who were responsible for the murderous shots that they fired at Rameswar Banerji. Subsequent inquests were held over the dead bodies of our students, but no action was taken against the officers who were responsible.

Sir, you know that on the Rashid Ali Day we—Hindu and Muslim students took out a procession and wanted to proceed towards the Dalhousie Square. The police came there at once and began to fire at the students. I do not know if the Government has yet made any enquiry into that. About a month ago, I submitted a question to the Secretary if any action had been taken against the police who were responsible for shooting in November last and on the Rashid Ali Day. The question has not yet come before us. When there were clashes during the Calcutta riots, hundreds of people were murdered throughout Calcutta and the police were nowhere to be found.

In Midnapore in 1942 when there was a great flood people asked for shelter for food and for clothing and the police fired at them, began to arrest them and put them into prison. The police in our country can strike terror in the hearts of the people, but they do not know how to relieve the terror-stricken people of their distress. They do not know how to defend the people when they are in danger.

Sir, though there has been a discussion on the Calcutta riots, though there have been some incidents today, on the whole Calcutta is a little peaceful, but in Dacca in spite of such a discussion in this Assembly House, the police are continuing their inaction in a partisan spirit. About Dacca my friend Mr. Mazharul Haque said that the sacred Quoran was desecrated and a mosque was set fire to. But I ascertained from some of my friends of Dacca who told me that this is anything but true. If the behaviour of the police was as we expected, certainly we would have voted for this estimate. If in the last riots the behaviour of the police was satisfactory, if they could have removed terror from the hearts of the people, if they could have saved the people from the hands of the *goondas*, certainly we would have voted for this estimate.

Sir, what is the position of the police today? The police is infused with partisan spirit. The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy who is responsible for law and order admits that he has no control over the Police Commissioner. Then I must request Mr. Suhrawardy to vote with us. If he has no control over the police, then why has he taken the portfolio of Law and Order and why has he taken the responsibility for it? He must give it up and let us all together vote down this police budget.

Sir, with these words I oppose the motion.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ABDUS SALAM: মিঃ স্পীকার, যখন, Police Budget সমর্থনকালে হাউসের এমিক থেকে আমি মাননীয় মহোদয়গণের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করা দরকার মনে করছি। মুসলমান পুলিশ অফিসারদের appointment বা promotion এর বেলায় home department অত্যন্ত injustice করে থাকে। কলিকাতায় ৮ জন কি ৯ জন Deputy Commissioner আছে, তার মধ্যে আমি যতদূর জানি পূর্ণে মাত্র একজন মুসলমান ছিল। এখন বর্তমানে হরদো দুইজন কি তিনজন মুসলমান, আর সব ছিল। তারপর অন্যান্য ডিষ্ট্রিক্টে S. P., D. S. P. এবং I. B. ও D. I. B. তে যে সমস্ত পুলিশ high officials আছে তার প্রায় 70 per cent. এবং 85 per cent. হচ্ছে হিন্দু। কিন্তু এটা বড়ই অন্যায় এবং অবিচার হচ্ছে মুসলমানদের উপর। বাংলায় যে সমস্ত মুসলমান অর্থ উপার্জন করেন সেই অর্থ দিয়ে যে বাংলা গভর্ণমেন্ট পরিচালিত হচ্ছে এবং তাইই অর্থ পোষিত হচ্ছে সেই লোকেরা ৮০ per cent. caste হিন্দু; এবং তাইই আবার মুসলমানদের উপর অন্যায় ও অত্যাচার করছেন।

আমাদের opposite party থেকে মাননীয় মেম্বর মহোদয়গণ যে কথা বলেছেন, সেটা ঠাণ্ডা আমাদের মনের কথাই বলেছেন, যে “পুলিশ ডিপার্টমেন্টে তাঁরা communal ভাবাপন্ন হয়ে পড়ছেন”। সে কথা আমরাও বলছি। কিন্তু এই যে communal হলো, যেটা কাঁবা করেচে ৭ সেই আমাদের caste হিন্দু বন্ধু নয় কি? যারা নাকি আন্তরিক গভর্ণমেন্টকে discredit করার জন্য এখানে চিৎকার করছেন, তাইই আবার হাইরে গিয়ে সেই সমস্ত অফিসারদের communal করে দিচ্ছেন গভর্ণমেন্টকে discredit করার জন্য। কাজেই আমি এই কথা বলতে চাই যে, যে বকম ইংরাজরা ভারতবর্ষ শাসন করার জন্য তাদের আবশ্যকীয় reserve সৈন্য বাহিনী এবং যখন যেখানে দরকার হয়,--তাদের সেই reserve সৈন্য দিয়ে সেই ভাষণা শাসন করা চলে। আমাদের গভর্ণমেন্টকেও সেই কথা বলতে চাই। বর্তমানে যে অবস্থা হয়েছে এবং মুসলিম লীগ মিনিস্টার যখন এর দায়ী হই নিচ্ছে, তখন সমস্ত দেশ মুসলিম লীগ মিনিস্টার উপরই আসবে। তখন যদি control করতে না পারা যায় তবে এমন reserve police করা হোক এবং সেটায় সমস্ত মুসলমান ভর্তি করা হোক এবং যখন দরকার হবে তখন সেখানে সমস্ত মুসলমান পুলিশ দিয়ে control করানো চলে। (ironical cries of “Maharba”) তারপর D. I. B. ও I. B. তেও Mohammedan appointment, according to population basisএ করা হোক। (a voice from opposition--population আলাব নে-কারো হরে যেতে পারে) পুলিশ বিভাগে অল্পত: fifty per cent. Mohammedan appointment করা চাই। (laughter) সমস্ত পুলিশ অফিসার communal ratio অনুযায়ী নিযুক্ত করা চউক। কারণ দেখা যায় যে, সেখানে সাধারণ কম মুসলমান আছে সেখানে হিন্দু পুলিশ কন্ট্রারী যারা মুসলমানের উপর ভীষণ অত্যাচার করা হচ্ছে। (cries from opposition “question, question”) কিন্তু আমাদের হিন্দু ডাউনের এই কথা মনে রাখা দরকার যে, এইভাবে অত্যাচার আর বেশীদিন চলতে পারে না। মুসলমান অনেক সহ্য করেছে, এবং সহ্যের একটা সীমা আছে। তাদের একটা ভাষা উচিত। মুসলমান যেদিন বাটরে থেকে এসে সমস্ত ভারত অধিকার করেছে, এবং বাংলায় বহুদিন যাবৎ মুসলমান রাজত্ব পাকা সত্ত্বেও তাঁরা বাংলার উপর কোনদিন এই প্রকার অশিশ্রুত অত্যাচার করতে যান নাই। এই রকম অত্যাচার বাংলার মুসলমানেরা আর বেশী দিন সহ্য করবে না।

Mr. MANORANJAN DHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am going to discuss a problem which constitutes a nerve-racking menace to hundreds of railway travellers in certain sections of the Bengal-Assam Railway in the districts of Mymensingh, Dacca and Tippera. Sir, remissness and failure of the police administration has been the main contributory cause of the prolonged troubles in those areas infested with certain brutish goondas. For more than a year or so, parts of the Eastern Bengal Railway sections

have completely passed under brigand rule. For a long time the Mymensingh-Bhairab, Mymensingh-Dacca and Bhairab-Comilla lines have been the favourite haunts of gangsters committing loot, murder and sabotage along the railway lines in an organised fashion. Sir, virtually this gangster rule has caused abdication of law and order in those areas. Administration seems to have completely collapsed there. Holding up of trains and robbing and killing of passengers are taking place almost every month and even every week. And women travellers are being dragged, harassed, molested and criminally outraged. Railway wagons are being pilfered and Railway officers are also being intimidated and assaulted and killed. The other day one Railway Public Relations officer was reporting that two railway employees in the Dacca station had been killed. The other day the Station Master of Manikhal was stabbed to death. Sir, it is not possible within this brief compass of time to recount all the acts of robbery and murder even of recent occurrence, but let me cite a few instances. The poignancy of the whole situation is underlined by the dastardly incident which took place on the 29th August between Ashuganj and Talsahar when the pregnant young wife of a railway employee S. Satyen Biswas was dragged out of her compartment and brutally murdered. Her dead body was found floating in a near by *khal* next morning and her belongings had all gone and her other companions were also injured. On 4th May, 1946, in Musuli station one lady was forcibly taken away from the train and a few days before this incident another lady travelling from Calcutta to Kishoreganj was attacked near Kishoreganj and was severely molested. We have heard the story only the other day of the looting of a goods train for hours together in the Begunbari station in broad daylight by 200 *goondas*. Again, Sir, you must have heard about two successive train accidents to the Surma Mail which took place on the 9th and 20th August in the course of 12 days at the same place and about the same time. There must have been some foul play at the root of these railway disasters. I can multiply instances. In the Mymensingh-Dacca line, in no station or place passengers find it safe to cover the ways to their destinations after alighting from the train even during the day time. Sir, this is the situation. In fact every passenger after passing Sarishabari remains in a nerve-breaking suspense and in constant dread of being molested and attacked in course of the journey to Bhairab and beyond and elsewhere in the Mymensingh district. What a dangerous state of affairs! And tragically enough this state of affairs is being allowed to continue for more than a year. Sir, may we ask what is this huge paraphernalia of law and order for, if innocent people are not protected from the hands of *goondas* and robbers? I cannot understand how can a popular Ministry look upon such a dreadful development with equanimity? No civilised community in modern times can think of such a perpetual state of lawlessness going on without let or hindrance. May I ask the Chief Minister with whom from time to time all the matters were posted up by the Railway authorities and various other institutions and also by various representatives of the public on various occasions for taking proper and remedial measures to protect innocent travellers from the depredations of hooligans and *goondas* if he has moved at all in this matter? Sir, it is well-known that the Railway authorities have no armed Police force of their own. I cannot understand why even in spite of so much approaches and proddings from the public leaders, M.L.A's. and also from the Railway authorities, is the Ministry or the Government so reluctant and indifferent in the matter of taking proper measures for protecting people from *goondas*' hands. We have seen in the past and we shall perhaps see in the future too that when it is a question of suppressing a national movement for the country's freedom, the whole machinery of Government acts with the speed of lightning perfecting their organisation in the twinkling of an eye to strike down the high and the low at one fell blow. But why there is such a lukewarm attitude, such reluctance and such pusillanimity on the part of the Government when it is a question of ensuring the safety of the endangered travelling public is

beyond my comprehension. Sir, I know that from December, 1945, till May this year the Railway authorities several times made several representations to Government and even to the Hon'ble Chief Minister himself. Finding no improvement in the situation, the Transportation Officer and the Deputy General Manager of the Bengal Assam Railway, a few weeks ago, saw the Chief Minister and they represented to him that the life and property of the people, the travellers' life and the life of the railway staff had got to be protected. They also urged upon the Government the necessity of taking immediate measures, effective measures, for the safety of the travelling public and railway staff against such attacks and assaults by hooligans. But what has been done by the Government? The other day I was reading in the newspapers a Press-note issued on the 21st September by the Public Relations Officer, Calcutta Railways, in which he announced suspension of all night-running trains on certain sections in Dacca and Chittagong Divisions due to attacks on railway staff and others. The General Manager of the Bengal-Assam Railway has asked the Government of Bengal to arrange for sufficient protection to enable the staff to discharge their duties, without fear of being molested and attacked. I do not know what steps have been taken by the Government since then. Sir, some time in May of this year I accompanied by several brother M.L.A.'s saw the Chief Minister himself over this matter and he assured us that something positive would be done to stop those crimes and perhaps something was thereupon done. Armed pickets, though not in adequate strength, were provided in the night-running trains, but simultaneously with the recent outbreak of disturbances in Dacca, I understand, all these guards have been withdrawn. Such abrupt withdrawal of guards thereby giving the ruffians a clear chance to renew their nefarious activities is foolish enough. It is difficult to understand why guards have been withdrawn in such a way.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up, Mr. Dhar.

Mr. MANORANJAN DHAR: May I have two minutes, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: All right

Mr. MANORANJAN DHAR: Sir, then, when we saw the Chief Minister we put forward certain remedial suggestions. I do not know if any substantial step has been taken in the matter though we received favourable assurance from him. Let me repeat those suggestions here so that he may reconsider them. Sir, if those suggestions are accepted immediately it will save so many people from the depredations of those *goondas* and robbers. The urgency of the matter is patent enough and I hope the Ministry will no longer toy with such a vital question concerning the life and death of so many innocent travellers and the railway staff. The suggestions are as follows: "Armed guards in greater strength should be at once provided for all the trains and stations in the dangerous areas. Military guards should be posted all along the railway lines. Steps should be taken for arming the Railway Police. The Police outpost in Bhairab which is at a distance from the railway station should be removed to the station platform. There should be a general rounding up of the bad characters of the disturbed localities where the miscreants' dens should be unearthed and smashed and also other punitive measures adopted. The ring leaders of those gangs should be traced and arrested who are more or less known to the people of the locality and who on the assurance of Government protection and safety may be disposed to disclose their names. Lights should be provided in the trains and stations. Sweeping changes of the railway staff some of whom circumstantially seem to be conniving at commissions of crimes may also be effected, in the railway sections of the affected zones". Sir, these are the suggestions and I hope the Minister in charge will seriously consider them in view of the extreme urgency of the problem.

Mr. R. HAYWOOD: Even before these calamitous riots that we have been just through, it cannot be denied that during the past year there has been a serious deterioration in the maintenance of law and order. There have been senseless attacks on innocent persons and much damage to property. There has also been a marked increase in general crime in urban and rural areas, particularly in robberies and dacoities. In those circumstances we consider that the measures to strengthen the police are absolutely essential, and we support the Hon'ble Minister's proposals for additional expenditure, which in view of our recent experiences now appears almost inadequate. Does the Hon'ble Minister propose to place further proposals for strengthening the police before this House? From the number of cut motions tabled by Opposition members criticising the failure of the Police to check robberies and dacoities, it would appear that they also realise that additional expenditure is essential. They are no doubt aware that in many rural thans there are only ten men for 100 square miles and that these ten men are usually without a telephone and without adequate communications.

As the previous speaker was fully explaining, Sir, train thefts on the railways, notably in East Bengal have become a grave worry to everyone, and we, Sir, note with approval the extra expenditure under the headings "Railway Police", "Mechanical Transport", and "Wireless", and hope that new measures will lead to the stamping out of much of the lawlessness in far away mofussil districts.

Planning schemes for the advancement and development of the Province are about to take shape in the near future. Without law and order there can be no progress in our nation-building activities. We must assure to the people peaceful conditions and the protection of the law in their activities, otherwise we cannot hope to make any progress. We feel that an increase in Armed Police is essential.

As we all value the maintenance of order, we should be temperate in our criticism of the police upon whom we depend for this fundamental function. It might almost be said that the Police have been "over criticised" during the past few years. Year after year, Sir, the Congress Party especially, have come to this House with hundreds of cut motions under the head "Police Grant". It may even be questioned whether some of the "inactivity" of the Police during the recent riots may not have been born of this eternal criticism of their actions.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAJUMDAR: To teach the critics a lesson.

Mr. R. HAYWOOD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Dutt-Majumdar is interrupting me. I notice, and Hon'ble Members here will notice, that Congress Ministries have used their police, let me say, very "vigorously". I think, Sir, there is always a temptation to sit still and do nothing if the only result of taking action is that you are publicly abused in the press and the Legislature. The Police may and do make mistakes, but this is true surely in all walks of life. Criticism should be fair and just. It is said, Sir, that the Police are corrupt. I should like to think, Sir, that we could have a strike against corruption. We have got strikes against everything else but we want a strike against corruption for that would be really effective, but it is too good to be hoped for.

It has also been argued, Sir, that the Police are so poorly paid that that fact, in itself, was conducive to corruption. But we are glad to note that the arm of the law is to receive better pay; indeed the heaviest increase in the grant is under this head. The tax-payer may be disturbed, but the *paharavallah* had to do his duty; he also has the right to live and has to meet the increased cost of living. Not all India's tears of compassion should be shed only for all the other services and employments.

The expenditure under the headings "Wireless Scheme" and "Vehicles for the Calcutta Police", we note, and have no fault to find with such

modern and sensible arrangements. One trembles to think what might have happened in Calcutta without these fast motor patrols under wireless direction during the recent riots. At the same time, Sir, we feel that the policy of too much centralisation may sometimes be dangerous. During the riots whole streets were completely deserted of all forms of police for long periods which, in itself, not only encourages law breakers, but may also breed the fear that something very fearful is happening elsewhere, and that all the forces of law and order are fully extended in that locality.

We hope that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister will undertake legislation similar to that which exists in Bombay which provides for the payment of compensation to those who suffer damage or injury during disturbances. If Government are unable to give protection to those who suffer damage in disturbances, then surely the least the Government can do is to pay compensation. We think that such a provision would not only be considered a just measure of recompense for the damage suffered but it might also have a deterrent effect.

On word more, Sir, and I finish. I agree with the prevalent view, having been in this town for a long time, that the police are somewhat unpopular, and that there are even persons who will not report thefts to the police because they feel that it is useless to do so. There is certainly room for improvement in the prevention and detection of crime. In Calcutta recently there has been a serious increase in the number of thefts, but one rarely hears of a case of detection. What has happened to the detective training school which was closed down in 1931? If we want improvement in the detection of crime, then we should press for the opening of a school in which officers and men can receive special scientific training in the detection of crime. Will the Hon'ble Minister please explain why no provision has been made in this year's budget for a training school, and if and when he intends to establish one?

Sir, we support the demand.

MR. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I shall not refer in detail to the traditional policy of the police in this country, whether they be Hindus or Muslims, to go against all people's movements which are directed against the policy of the British Government. Whenever they have acted, it is the policy, the malevolent policy of the police, to crush people's movements, but at the same time when one section of the people is set against another we find the police inactive. A new term has recently been coined, called the "Emergency measures", which mean that the police are to be withdrawn from the streets to let the people do as they like. That is the policy, the concentrated essence of the policy of neutrality adopted since the 16th August last. I shall not refer to that policy again, but what is alarming, Sir, in this situation is that the Chief Minister said the other day in his speech when he referred to section 9 of the Police Act, by which he meant that the Chief Minister had not much to do with the Police Commissioner's acts of omission and commission. The Chief Minister has made it out by citing section 9 that the police are not under popular control and that because of section 9 even the fact of Bengal being administered by a popular Ministry has made no change. That is why I say, it is astounding that we should be asked to vote for this police force to arm the Anglo-Indian and other Police forces with rifles and revolvers and give them wireless sets and so on, so that they may crush people's movements. I say, Sir, it is alarming because there is no popular control, as the Chief Minister himself has made it out in the debate the other day. So Mr. Speaker, I just refer to that section along with the interpretation which was given by the Chief Minister that the police are not under popular control.

Sir, I do not think his interpretation of section 9 of the Police Act is correct, but all the same it is alarming because the Chief Minister of the day thinks that that is the interpretation to be put on section 9 of the Police Act regarding the powers and functions of the Police Commissioner.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: On a point of order, Sir. The point that has been raised by Mr. Basu was dealt with by the Hon'ble Chief Minister in his reply in connection with the debate on the No-confidence motions, but we are discussing the Budget.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is no point of order.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, I was alarmed to hear some members of the Government benches trying to support the police on communal lines, that is, they make it out that if the police are Muslims they will protect Muslim lives. I hope they understand what they are talking. Sir, these are not the people who carry with them the traditions of the Wahabis who fought against the British; these are not the people who tomorrow are supposed to launch on Direct Action against the British. They do not know how the police behave, whether they are Muslims or Hindus. Do they not know that on the Rashid Ali Day, when Muslim boys came out on the streets, their Deputy Commissioner of Police asked the police to charge on them with *lathis* and batons? They ought to know it, if they do not know how their students were beaten on the Rashid Ali Day.

Therefore, Sir, when I hear such things in defence of the police by the members of the Muslim League I am afraid, because they are supposed to have been elected by their own people, and if in defence of the police they stand here today they will have to go and explain to their masses. I am sure they know the Muslim masses and they will give them the reply they deserve to get. At the same time I cannot but refer to the point made by the European member before me. He tried to show that in Congress provinces the police were being employed vigorously. I say that if that is so, it is a matter of shame. If the police are used to break people's strikes, to break people's movements, then it is a matter of shame. But I say, in any case, have we ever seen the police giving protection to the people, whether in East Bengal or West Bengal or throughout Bengal?

Therefore, in conclusion, I point out to the Chief Minister that even now there is time. We should like to know from him what popular control there is over his police. Certainly the present police exists not for the protection of the people and we shall not vote a single pie for the police because the police do not do their duty. In the Emergency Scheme during the riots they either got out of the streets into their homes, or they helped in arson and looting. Therefore the Chief Minister has no right to ask us to vote for such huge sums for the police which exist in Bengal. We like to know from him what is the interpretation he puts on section 9 of the Police Act. We should like to know what popular control there is over the police.

In conclusion, I think that as the police are tainted, not a single member in this House has any faith in the police, nor a single member of the public has any faith in the police. I would ask him to constitute a sort of committee with all sections of this House so that they can have some sort of control over the police, go into the acts of their omission and commission and see that these toady police of the British will not in future break up our people's movement, will not raise their guns and rifles over our heads will not point their guns and rifles at our breasts, the breasts of the Indian people—Hindus and Muslims.

Mr. SYED HABIBUL HUQ: Mr. Speaker, Sir, coming as I do from rural areas I consider it my duty to make a brief observation regarding the general administration of the police so far as rural areas are concerned. Sir, I understand Government contemplate the expansion of the police staff and I believe Government will do so on the presumption that expansion of the police staff will largely help in the maintenance of law and order in the province. But Sir, our experience of the general administration of the police, our knowledge of the general conduct of the police from top to bottom give a lie direct to this presumption. I am deliberately of

opinion that the police far from being the custodian of law and order has largely been responsible for wanton lawlessness and disorder in the country.

Sir, the corruption prevailing amongst the police of the lower rank, I mean Sub-Inspectors downwards, has become a regular menace to the dumb and unlettered people of the rural areas and the Bara Babus and Choto Babus and the Bara Sahibs and the Choto Sahibs of the mofussil thanas are practically the monarchs in their respective areas and these self-styled monarchs in assertion of their monarchy initiate a reign of terror by wanton highhandedness on the dumb millions of the rural areas. Sir, brutal assault, indiscriminate arrest; unjustifiable insult, bribe-taking and extortion form the principal part of police action while dishonesty, arrogance and impertinence mark the special feature of their everyday conduct.

Sir, we all know that the police is generally recruited from the people of town-bred section. So being conscious of their physical superiority and being vested with the powers by the department they carry on their heartless and barbarous treatment with exuberance and animalism. And so far as police officers of higher grade from Subdivisional Police Officer upwards are concerned, the most serious charge against them is that they consider it to be their sacred duty to save and defend their subordinates, however corrupt, however dishonest they might be. This attitude on the part of the superior officers towards the subordinates is primarily responsible for the unbridled authority with which the police of the lower rank carry on their heartless regime.

Sir, Addison says that human nature is a combination of angelic and beastly elements. Judging from the general conduct of the police one is constrained to believe that these people before entering the service deliberately shake off the angelic element of the nature and take the other one. One is naturally constrained to believe that these people before entering the service deliberately bid good-bye to their conscience, to all their moral excellence and to all essential qualities that differentiate man from other species and, Sir, the recollection of inhuman atrocities perpetrated within my constituency, I mean the constituency that I represent, flashes across my mind. I am prepared to go one step further to say that these police officers, the rank and file of the police before entering the service deliberately kill their soul and remain so many moving carcasses that will just strike terror and panic in the minds of the rural people.

There is no denying the fact that the general conduct of the police from top to bottom leaves room for a good deal of improvement and unless and until that improvement and appreciable improvement in the conduct of the police is effected, in my humble opinion, expansion or no expansion, the money that will be spent in maintaining police will be considered to be a huge waste of public money and will ultimately defeat its own purpose. So I will urge upon the Government to devise effective measures to remedy the defects, raise the moral standard of the police, awaken moral consciousness within them and lastly, in conclusion, I would ask the Government to take drastic measures to issue warnings in the strictest terms to the higher officers of the police to mend their ways so far as their indiscriminate defence of their subordinates is concerned, and to make extraordinary provisions for drastic measures against the police of the lower rank that go out in the name of law and order and perpetrate inhuman atrocities over the dumb millions of the rural areas who have long been groaning under the tyranny of the police.

With these words I support the main motion.

Mr. HARAN CHANDRA GHOSH CHOWDHURY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the district of Noakhali has not escaped the general state of lawlessness now prevailing in different parts of Bengal. Hindus of the Noakhali district

form a very small minority. Almost everywhere in the district of Noakhali a sprinkling of Hindu families will be found living scattered and isolated from one another, surrounded by hundreds of Muslim families. The tension of communal feeling in the district of Noakhali reached its climax after the recent happenings in Calcutta. Every Hindu in the district feels absolutely helpless and insecure and apprehends danger every moment from the rowdy elements of the majority community. In addition to newspaper reports the spreading of utterly false and unfounded rumours deliberately planned and engineered by a set of mischief-mongers has made the situation still more worse.

On the "Id" day, these mischief-mongers seized the opportunity of the "Id" congregations throughout the district and openly incited the illiterate Muslim masses to violence. The nature of the rumour was also uniform throughout, namely, that thousands of Sikhs have been imported by the Hindus who are butchering the Mussalmans and marching forward, that Mussalmans have been murdered in the neighbouring mosque by the Hindus, etc. At this, the infuriated and illiterate mob in their thousands ran out of their houses with deadly weapons, surrounded or raided a large number of Hindu houses in different areas of the district on the plea of finding out the Sikhs. Several Hindus were murdered, many more were injured, and a few are still missing or are suspected to have been murdered. Stray cases of loot and assault are numerous. Hindu shops of several bazars have been looted. Desecration of temples and idols are also taking place. Journey by boat and road has become unsafe. There have been cases where passengers were waylaid, assaulted and looted of their properties and subject to oppression and indignities. In some areas Hindus have left their ancestral homes and migrated to other areas of the district. Cases have been reported of forcible conversion and attempt at conversion to Islam. Businessmen and dealers in rice, paddy or clothes dare not carry their goods from one place to another. As such in these days of shortage and famine the sufferings of the poor people can better be imagined than described. There are no doubt saner elements among the people and among the followers of the Muslim League, but they cannot control the fanatical section of them. Unless and until the people are assured of their safety and the local authorities are determined to bring the offenders to book, the perpetrators of such heinous crimes will go unpunished and the situation in the district may be completely out of control. Instances are not rare where the Hindu victims did not dare lodge any information to the police and even where the police were duly informed, the reports or statements made by them were subsequently withdrawn or contradicted under threat of murder. While interviewing with the District Magistrate of Noakhali on the 12th instant I was told by him that in spite of repeated requisitioning no additional force was available in the district and that it was therefore difficult for him to maintain law and order. It is not known to us if any steps had been taken. This is, after all, a deplorable state of affairs.

Mr. FAZLUL KARIM : বি: শীকার মহোদয়, আমি এ সম্বন্ধে কিছু না বলে দ্বিধা হতে পারিনি না। উনি মোরাখালী সম্বন্ধে যে যেচছা এখানে করেছেন সেটা একেবারে ভুল। এম সেক্ষেত্রে সত্যের লোপ পড়ে গিয়েছে। পরাক্ষে সত্যকে গোপন করবেন না। গত riotএর পর আমি স্বয়ং দেখে দিয়েছিলাম, ভুল হয়েছে--

Mr. SPEAKER : করিব সাহেব, আপনি এখন বসুন।

Mr. FAZLUL KARIM : স্যার, আমার বলবার অধিকার আছে। আমাকে বলতে দিন।

Mr. SPEAKER : করিব সাহেব, শুধু--আপনাকে বলতে পরে সময় দেওয়া হবে। এখন আপনি বসুন। আমি যেন করেছিলাম যে উনি বক্তৃতা শেষ করেছেন। দেখছি এখনও উনি শেষ করেননি।

Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY : উনি এখন শেষ করেছেন।

Mr. FAZLUL KARIM : বি: শ্রীকার স্যার, হায়াব বাবু যে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন, সেই বক্তৃতা উপর আমার আদে আদা নাই; এবং আমার বিশ্বাস ইহা ঘড়বহুলক। ওনার বক্তৃতা সম্পূর্ণ মিথ্যা ও তিরিহীন। আমার প্রকৃত অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে বলতে পারি। গত riot এর পরে যখন আমি দেশে যাই তখন দেখতে পাই যে, সেখানে সতাই জনসাধারণের ভিতর যথেষ্ট চাকলোর ভাব ছিল। সাধারণ মুসলমানের ভিতর একটি উত্তেজনার ভাব দেখা দিয়েছিল। তাব কারণ তাহা ঊনতে পায় যে কলিকাতাবাসী মুসলমানদের আর কোন অস্তিত্ব নাই। কলিকাতার সমস্ত মুসলমানকে বেবে ফেলা হয়েছে। আমি যখনবার বাজে সেখানে যাই এবং বুঝবার দিন সেখানকার সমস্ত ছিলু এবং মুসলমানকে ডেকে, সেখানে একটি peace committee গঠন করি। আমি নিজে এই committee এর president হই এবং একজন ছিলু নেতৃস্থানীয় ব্যক্তিকে secretary বাসাই ও আর উপর নির্ভর করা যায় এই রকম একজন মুসলমানকে আর একজন secretary করি। এছাড়া আর একজন ছিলু নেতৃস্থানীয় লোককে assistant secretary করি। তাহাদের দ্বাড়ে সমস্ত কাছের ভার দিয়া আমি সেখান থেকে রানগত যাই এবং সেখানেও অপর আদ একটি peace committee গঠন করি। আমি তাঁর নাম তুলে দিয়েছি, তিনি একজন বিখ্যাত উকিল। তাঁকে আমি উপস্থিত বেবে নারগড়ের ছিলু-মুসলমান উভয় সম্প্রদায়কে একত্রে ডেকে সেখানে আমি peace committee গঠন করেছি এবং সকল প্রকার শান্তি স্থাপন করার জন্য আমি বিশেষভাবে সকলকে আহ্বান করেছি। আমি সেখানকার মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়কে বলেছি যে, "তোমরা মুসলমান এখানে নাথ্যা গণিষ্ট হিসাবে রয়েছ, স্বতরাং তোমরা যদি কোন প্রকার অশান্তি সৃষ্টি করে। বা করতে যাও, তাহলে যেন বেখো তোমাদের নিজার ও তোমাদের গড়ন'বেষ্টই এর জন্য দায়ী হবে, এবং তাতে সমস্ত মুসলিম সবাতের বন্দনার হবে। অতএব তোমাদের কাছে আমার বিনীত অনুরোধ, যেন পূর্ণ বজ্ঞ কোন প্রকার অশান্তি বা লাজা-হাজা না হতে পারে এবং তাব জন্য আপনাবা আপুণ চেষ্টা করবেন। সেখানকার বাসাই সেখানেই থাক"।

এর উপরে আমারকে প্রতিবাদ করা হয়েছে, আমারকে পুণ্য পর্ধ্যস্ত করা হয়েছে। আমি জানি লক্ষ্মীপুরা থানা নিবাসী মো: আবদুল হাকিম, বি, এল একটি বিজ্ঞাপন ডাণিয়ে দিয়েছিলেন। সেখানকার সাবডিভিসনায়্য মাজিষ্ট্রেট, ফজলুল বহমান যখন সেই বিজ্ঞাপন আমার কাছে পঠান, তখন আমি সেই বিজ্ঞাপনকে মিথ্যা বলে সাব্যস্ত করেছিলাম। আমি মিথ্যা করে বলেছিলাম যে "কলিকাতায় কোন রাষ্ট্র হরনি এবং ছিলু ও মুসলমান, উভয় সম্প্রদায় একত্রে হাত'ভাবে বাস করছে"। অবশ্য আমার এই মিথ্যা বলার একবার উদ্দেশ্য ছিল যে, যাতে নোয়াখালীতে ছিলু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে কোন প্রকার গড়গোল বা অশান্তি উপস্থিত না হতে পারে। যাতে ছিলু ও মুসলমানের ভিতর হাত'ভাব বজায় থাকে। নোয়াখালীতে পানটীলা সাহেব আপুণ চেষ্টা করেছেন যাতে ছিলু, মুসলমানের ভিতর কোন প্রকার বিরোধ না আসতে পারে। আমি যতদূর আমি তিনি মহানায়ক বহমান, গ্রামে গ্রামে হুরে দেখেছেন এবং ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের প্রেসিডেন্টকে ডেকে এনে তাঁর সমস্ত শক্তি প্রয়োগ করে চেষ্টা করেছেন যাতে সেখানে শান্তি বজায় থাকে।

Mr. MANORANJAN DHAR: On a point of order, Sir. Is the honourable member speaking on a cut motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: He is speaking on the main demand.

Mr. FAZLUL KARIM : নোয়াখালীতে বর্তমানে কোন প্রকার গড়গোল নাই। এ পর্ধ্যস্ত কোন report নেই যে নোয়াখালীতে গড়গোল আছে। মুসলমান বা ছিলু কেহই ইহা দিতে পারিবে না। অতএব হায়াব বাবু যে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন নোয়াখালী সম্বন্ধে, আমি তাঁকে অনুরোধ করি, যে তিনি তাঁর বক্তৃতা withdraw করে নিন। তা না হলে, এই বক্তৃতা যদি সতাই নোয়াখালীর জনসাধারণের ভিতর প্রচার করা হয়, তাহলে তাহের যেন ভীতি আসতে পারে এবং তাব ফলে সেখানে একটা re-action দেখা দিতে পারে। সেইজন্য আমি পুনরায় তাঁকে অনুরোধ করি যে তিনি তাঁর বক্তৃতা withdraw করে নিন। এবং এই বক্তৃতা যাতে press এ প্রকাশ না পায়, তাব জন্য গড়ন'বেষ্ট যেন বিশেষ ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করেন।

Mr. ANNADA PRASAD MANDAL : মাননীয় শ্রীকার স্যার, আমি আজকে পুলিশ সম্বন্ধে একটি কথা বলতে চাই। আজকে গড়ন'বেষ্ট পুলিশের জন্য যে টাকা বরাদ্দ করেছেন, সে বরাদ্দটা পুলিশ প্রকৃতির আদে বা হয়েছে, আজ পুলিশের গড়ন'বেষ্টের আদে তাব চেয়ে বেশী ভাল কিছু হয়নি। পুলিশের বরাদ্দ ক্রম: বেড়েই চলেছে কিন্তু পুলিশের যে কর্তব্য সেটা ঠিক হয়নি। আজ পর্ধ্যস্ত আমরা দেখে আসছি যে প্রত্যেক জায়গায় পুলিশ কর্তৃক জনসাধারণের উপর অত্যাচার হচ্ছে এবং পুলিশের উপর মানুষের, জনসাধারণের যে আদা সেটা হারিয়ে যাচ্ছে। এটা কেন হয়? এটা কারবা কেউ করনও নিবেচনা করেছি কি? আমি স্বীকৃতগীকে বিজ্ঞাপা করতে চাই যে, জনসাধারণ, তিনি ছিলুই হউন বা মুসলমানই হউন তাঁর পুলিশের উপর কোন আদা

আছে কি না? বাস্তবপক্ষে স্বাধীনতার এটা দোষাভ্যাস যে পুলিশের উপর জনসাধারণের আস্থা কি করে কিরিয়ে আনা যায়। আমি স্বাধীনতাকে উপলব্ধি করে বলছি যে আজ পুলিশের মধ্যে এই ভাব থাকলে চলবে না। এই ভাব যদি হয় তাহলে দেশের আকার অন্য রকম হয়ে যাবে, এবং অনবরত কলহ সৃষ্টি হবে। এবং তার ফলে হিন্দু, মুসলমানের মধ্যে একতা হওয়া তো দূরের কথা, অপার তৃতীয় পক্ষের প্রভুত্ব আরও বেড়ে যাবে। আজ সময় এসেছে, বাল বিলম্ব থাক। সবেও পুলিশের উপর কড়া নজর দিতে হবে, এবং পুলিশ যাতে জনসাধারণের শ্রুত উপকারে আসতে পারে এবং জনসাধারণের সেবক হতে পারে এবং জনসাধারণের ভৃত্য হিসাবে থাকতে পারে তার প্রতি লক্ষ্য রাখতে হবে। এবং দরকার হলে পুলিশের বরাদ্দ বাড়াতে হবে। আমার মনে হয়, এটা যদি না করা হয়, তাহলে আমাদের দেশের প্রতি খুব অন্যায় ব্যবহার করা হবে। সেদিন কলিকাতার ব্যাপারে পুলিশরা যে খুব অন্যায় ব্যবহার করেছে, একথা সকলেই স্বীকার করেছে। বাস্তবিক যদি স্বাধীনতা আমাদের দেশের কোন উপকার করতে চান, তাহলে পুলিশের প্রতি এমন সমস্ত নির্দেশ দিয়ে দিতে হবে যাতে পুলিশ জনসাধারণের সেবক হয়ে থাকতে পারে। আমি আমি, পাড়গায়ে বা সহরে কেউ পুলিশের নিকট ভাল ব্যবহার আশা করে না। এমন কি, যদি কোন আপত্তি জানাতে চায়, বা কোন বিষয় কান্নার বিরুদ্ধে নাশিন করতে যায় তাহলে তাকে আগে শূন্য দিতে হয়। শূন্য না দিলে কোন কাজ চলবে না। যে যত বেশী শূন্য দিতে পারে তার তত বেশী কাজ হয়। শূন্যের জন্য প্রতিযোগিতা হয়ে যায়। যারা শূন্য দিতে পারে না, তারা পুলিশের নিকট ভাল ব্যবহার বা কাজ পায় না। সহরের চরে পাড়গায়ে বেশী এই স্কম হতে দেখা যায়।

বাস্তবিক যদি পুলিশ ডিপার্টমেন্টের উন্নতি করতে হয়, তাহলে তাকে সম্পূর্ণভাবে চলে সাজতে হবে। স্বাধীন দেশে পুলিশ যেভাবে নোকের সঙ্গে ব্যবহার করে, সেই ভাবে আমাদের দেশের পুলিশ ও যাতে জনসাধারণের সঙ্গে ব্যবহার করে তার নির্দেশ দিতে হবে; তা না হলে পুলিশের বাস্তবিক কোন উন্নতি হতে পারে না।

বাংলা গভর্নমেন্ট পুলিশের বরাদ্দ ক্রমে ক্রমে বাড়িয়ে চলেছেন, কিন্তু এই বাড়িয়ে চলা বরাদ্দের কোন স্বার্থকতা আমরা দেখি না। সময় অল্প, স্রুতবাং আমি আশা বেশী এ সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা করতে চাই না; তবে পুনরায় বানানীয় স্বাধীনতাকে সমর্থন করিয়ে দিতে চাই যে, বাস্তবিক যদি আপনাবা এই পুলিশ সম্বন্ধে কোন ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করতে চান, তাহলে পুলিশকে জনসাধারণের সেবক হিসাবে থাকবার নির্দেশ দেবেন। সাম্প্রদায়িক বনো-ভাব পুলিশের ভিতর থাকা উচিত নয়। হিন্দু পুলিশ মুসলমানের প্রতি কু-ব্যবহার করবে, অথবা মুসলমান পুলিশ হিন্দুর উপর কু-ব্যবহার করবে এ রকম যেন না হয়। নিরপেক্ষ পুলিশ প্রত্যেক জায়গায় নিয়োগ করতে হবে আর কোন পুলিশের মধ্যে যদি পক্ষপাতীয় দেখা যায় তাহা হইলে তৎক্ষণাৎ সেই সব পুলিশকে কল্যাণ করতে হবে। এইভাবে যদি গভর্নমেন্ট কাজ করেন তবেই সে জনসাধারণের শ্রুত জনস্বার্থী ও popular Government হতে পারে, আর তা না হলে সে unpopular Government বলে গণ্য হবে। অতএব আমি বানানীয় স্বাধীনতাকে সাধন করে দিচ্ছি, তিনি যেন এ বিষয় সতর্ক হন এবং যথোপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করেন।

Mr. ALI AHMED KHAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is disadvantageous for a member of the Government side to discuss and criticise a budget introduced by Government for consideration of the House. Still, however I cannot check the temptation of speaking a few words regarding the Police budget as introduced for discussion on the floor of the House this afternoon. Rs. 3,45,86,000 has been estimated to be the cost of maintaining the Police for the current financial year. I shudder to think what a big amount of public money is mis-spent annually on the different heads of Police budget. The police administration in Bengal is a "hell" in comparison with police administration in other parts of the world. The quality and quantity of Police in Bengal are much below the standard. The Government ought to have made provisions for the improvement of their standards and better training, especially on moral lines. Better people must be recruited on a better scale of pay who should be given better training on similar lines as in England, and for that purpose some officers may be sent to England for receiving their own training, who can be best utilised for imparting better training to our police in Bengal, in schools for new recruits and in casual centres for the old ones.

Sir, one has to hang down his head in shame when one surveys the conduct of the police here in Bengal from various standpoints. We have seen in the past as well as during the recent disturbances in Calcutta and abroad

the police miserably failed in their duty to maintain peace and order and to save the lives and property of the people, who were killed in thousands and their houses and properties burnt and looted.

In the ordinary course of their duty quite a large number of police, with the exception of a few, often misuse their powers and privileges sometimes in utter disregard of the Police Regulations, Bengal, and other existing laws of the country, and the dumb millions do not get remedy against them, rather they have to court insult, even if anybody venture to approach the higher authorities for redress, as the subordinates are blindly supported by the superiors which is an open fact. By this act of the superiors, the subordinates are so much encouraged that they never hesitate to take to corrupt practices and to do anything they like with the litigant public. They often forget the common courtesy and lead out misbehaviour to the member of the public high or low. Instances are not rare where Railway Police have shares of the booty from the thieves and dacoits who steal and decoy goods from trains. So, the people have lost all confidence in the Police. I do not like to cite individual instances of corruptions, but in short it may be said that the police department is fully charged with bribery and corruption which should be remedied at once by a thorough overhauling of the existing police administration of Bengal. A body of experts may be appointed to formulate a better scheme of administration and an intelligence Branch independent of the Police Department may be opened to keep vigilance on the police activities, on whose reports the promotion and punishments of the officers will fully depend. The Police Regulations, Bengal, also should be amended to suit the proposed reforms in the police administration, and to provide for adequate and higher punishments for misconduct and corruptions.

Apart from the existing diseases in the body-police, a new disease of communalism has crept into the rank and file which also has drawn the attention of the leaders of the society. During the recent communal disturbances in different parts of Bengal we have got symptoms and proof of it. In Calcutta, Dacca and Brahmanbaria we have seen Hindu police officers indiscriminately arresting Muslims, as if in retaliation, and putting them to immense misery and then putting them to *hajat*, while the inmates of their houses, males and females alike, subjected to endless troubles and ill treatment. A police being a public servant assumes the rôle of public master in ordinary dealing with the public.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Ali Ahmed, please stop. Your time is up.

MR. ALI AHMED KHAN: May I please have one minute more?

MR. SPEAKER: No.

MR. ALI AHMED KHAN: May I please have one minute more?

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. You may have half a minute.

MR. ALI AHMED KHAN: Under the circumstances, Sir, I would like to say that the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department ought to have made further provision for an all round improvement of the Police Department, which we hope, he will make in the next year's Police budget. I would, therefore, request the Hon'ble Minister to strictly observe parity in distribution of police to every place where police is required and also to observe the same in matters of new recruitments.

MR. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, পুলিশের ব্যয় বরাহ বাবল আজ আলোচনা এখানে হয়েছে। সমস্ত আলোচনায় মধ্যেই একটা দ্রব আঘা তুলি যে বাংলা দেশে পুলিশের যে পানন সে পানন সকল দিক দিয়েই অযোগ্য এবং অপসার্য পানন। (A VOICE: "No") সবকিছু বিচারী পক্ষীয় নদের ঐ কথা; সরকার পক্ষীয় লোকেরও ঠিক একই কথা। করেক সত্তাই যাবৎ কমিক্যুন্স এবং পূর্ণ বাংলার পুলিশের পাননের যে মন্থা

আমরা দেখছি তাতে পুলিশের যোগ্যতা সম্বন্ধে আমরা সন্তুষ্ট হয়েছি। ইটরোশীর সদস্যগণ বলেন যে কেবল আমরা পুলিশের সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা করি সমালোচনা করি। কিং.....

Mr. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: I rise on a point of order, Sir. The honourable member has been repeating the same arguments over and over again, and I think he should not be allowed to repeat the same arguments.

Mr. SPETKER: That is no point of order. Will you please sit down?

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, কয়েক সপ্তাহ যাবৎ আমরা পুলিশ শাসনের যে নমুনা বাংলায় দেখেছি, তারই কিছু নমুনা আজকে খবরের কাগজে দেখতে পেলার। সকাল বেলা খবরের কাগজ বুকে দেখি যে রাজা দীনেন্দ্র স্ট্রাটের উপরে একটা বাড়ীর মধ্যে ৬০/৭০ জন লোক একত্রিত হয়ে আক্রমণ করেছে। তখন পুলিশ ছিল কোথায়? এই রকম ছোট ছোট ঘটনা থেকে আমরা বুঝতে পারি যে কলকাতায় পুলিশের শাসন কিভাবে চলছে। যখন কোন গোলমাল বাধে, গোলমাল বাধার পূর্বে যখন লোকজন জমায়েৎ থাকে, তখন পুলিশের কোন চিহ্ন কিম্বা চুল টিকিটা পর্যন্ত আমরা দেখতে পাই না। কলকাতা সহরের উপরে ৬০/৭০ জন লোক জমায়েৎ হতে সময় লাগে; জমায়েৎ হবার পরে একটা বাড়ী আক্রমণ করতে সময় লাগে; বাড়ী আক্রমণ করে দরজা ভাঙতে ভাঙতে তেতাল্লা পর্যন্ত পেঁজাতেও সময় লাগে; আর সেই ভাদের উপরে উঠে একজন মানুষকে তিনতলা থেকে footpath-এর উপরে ফেলে দিতে কত দীর্ঘ সময় চলে যায় তার কোন ঠিক ঠিকানা নাই। পুলিশের যোগ্যতা, পুলিশের কার্যক্ষমতার এই যদি নমুনা হয় তৎ বাংলা দেশে পুলিশের শাসন বড় শীঘ্র শীঘ্র শেষ হয়ে যায় ততই আমাদের মজল। আমাদের Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy সাহেব দাবা। সম্প্রস্কৃত সমস্ত গোষ পুলিশ ক্রিমিনালের উপর চাপিয়ে দিয়ে তিনি নিজেই সম্পূর্ণ বুদ্ধ কবেছেন, কিন্তু কলকাতার পুলিশ ক্রিমিনাল সাহেব এত বড় একটা কলঙ্কের অভিযোগ তাঁর বাড়ির উপর চাপানো সত্ত্বেও এত দিনের মধ্যে একবারও একটা statement করতে পারলেন না যে সত্যি সত্যি কলকাতার যে দালা, কলকাতার পুলিশের মধ্যে একবারও একটা statement করতে পারলেন না যে সত্যি সত্যি কলকাতার যে দালা, কলকাতার পুলিশের যে অযোগ্যতা, যে কৃশাল তার জন্য তিনি কতখানি দায়ী, আর কতখানি দায়ী নন। যতদিন পর্যন্ত তিনি দায়িত্ব সম্বন্ধে সম্পূর্ণ খোঁসা statement করতে না পারছেন তিনি নিশ্চয় সে গোষে পোষী, যে অভিযোগে তিনি অভিমুক্ত। কলকাতার পুলিশ administration, বাংলা দেশের পুলিশ administration দিন দিন কলঙ্কিত হচ্ছে তার কারণ এই যে তার মূলে যে সরকারী শাসন পদ্ধতি সেই সরকারী শাসন পদ্ধতির মধ্যে সাম্প্রদায়িক বনোভাব রয়েছে। আমি নিজের জ্ঞান থেকে বলছি, কলকাতার northern divisionএ এক দাস থেকে Deputy Commissioner appointed হতে পারেনা না। Inspector-General of Police, Commissioner of Police, এক রকম recommendation দেন মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের সে recommendation পড়ল হয় না। কাজেই northern divisionএ এক মাসের জন্য কোন permanent officer appointed হতে পারেনি। একজন নতুন অল্প বয়সের এক ছোকরাকে ধরে নিয়ে এয়ে.....

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you please withdraw the expression “অল্প বয়সের ছোকরা”

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: Sir, I am sorry, I mean “অল্প বয়সের তুচ্ছ যুবক”। সেই northern divisionএর Deputy Commissionerএর কাজ করবে। এই অবস্থায় কলকাতার শাসন চলতে লাগলো। পুলিশ শাসন সম্বন্ধে বহুলোকে বহু সমালোচনা করেছেন, বহু বড় ব্যক্তি করেছেন। আমাদের কোন কোন বৈঠক বসেছেন কলকাতার পুলিশের মধ্যে সাম্প্রদায়িক সংঘাত আছে। সাম্প্রদায়িক সংঘাত দ্বারা পুলিশের যোগ্যতা বিচার করলে চলবে না, যেমন voteএর জোবের দ্বারা পুলিশের বিচার করা চলে না, voteএর জোবের দ্বারা ভগবান আছে কি না আছে বিচার করা চলে না, ঠিক সেই রকম voteএর জোবের দ্বারা বাজেট পাশ হবে জিলাব, কাজেই পুলিশ সম্বন্ধে পরিমাণে কাজের লোক এবং তাদের শাসন বাংলা দেশে সম্পূর্ণ রূপে শেষবুদ্ধ একথা বললে চলে না। কাজেই আমি একথা জোর করে বিবেচ্য কবে বলতে চাই যে এই পুলিশের মধ্যে যে এই সাম্প্রদায়িক বিরুদ্ধতাকে এই সাম্প্রদায়িক বুদ্ধি থাকার জন্য পুলিশের efficiency কমেছে তার জন্য মুসলমান পুলিশও অনস্বী, হিন্দু পুলিশও অনস্বী। এই সাম্প্রদায়িক বুদ্ধি অত্যন্ত প্রবল হওয়ার জন্য বাংলার civil service পর্যন্ত আজ কলঙ্কিত, administration পর্যন্ত আজ কলঙ্কিত। এই কলিকাতা সহরের উপরেই আজ দেখা যাচ্ছে Additional Joint Presidency Magistrate তিনি একজন মুসলমান, Extra-Additional Joint Magistrate ডাক্তার একজন মুসলমান করতে হবে।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Chatterjee, please confine yourself to the budget.

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: আমি এই কথা বলতে চাই যে বাংলার পুলিশ শাসন বাংলার পুলিশ ব্যবস্থার মধ্যে যে সাম্প্রদায়িক বৃদ্ধি এসেছে সেই সাম্প্রদায়িক বৃদ্ধির জন্য দায়ী হচ্ছে বর্তমান মন্ত্রীরা—যাঁরা সম্পূর্ণ সাম্প্রদায়িক বৃদ্ধির দায়ী। এতদ্বারা শাসন করতে চান এবং পুলিশের শাসনও করতে চান। বর্তমান পর্যন্ত মন্ত্রীরা তাঁর সাম্প্রদায়িক বৃদ্ধির পরিবর্তন না করবে, সরকারী কর্মচারী নিয়োগের ব্যাপারে ও সরকারী শাসন তত্ত্বের ব্যাপারে উত্তম পদ্ধতি শাসনের কোন উন্নতি হতে পারে না, এবং ভারতবাসীরা লোকদের ধনশ্রম কখনও শান্তিতে থাকতে পারবে না।

Mr. MIR AHAMMAD ALI: Hon'ble Speaker মহোদয়, পুলিশ বাজেট সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা হয়েছে। পুলিশের আয়তন কাল থেকে যে দুর্গম পোনা যাচ্ছে তা সংশোধন করার জন্য বর্তমান Government যে উপায় অবলম্বন করতে পারেন তা করবেন। আমি বলছি এই কথা আজ পুলিশ বাজেট সম্বন্ধে। এই পুলিশের কার্যক্রমের বিষয় সম্বন্ধে দেখা গিয়েছে, এই লাক্স-কোম্পানীর কারণেই হটক বা অন্য কারণেই হটক তাতে বোঝা যায় যে পুলিশের মধ্যে বায়োসাইন লোক বিদেশ থেকে আশ্রয়ী করা হয়েছে; তাইই বেশী কতিপয় করেছে। দেশী লোকের মধ্যে দখল করা আছে। আমি জানি আমি গ্রামে গ্রামে বুকেছি, সেখানি হিন্দু মুসলমানদের মধ্যে কোন বিষয় তাই নাই, বন্ধু তাই আছে। কিন্তু আমার বন্ধু বিনোদ চক্রবর্তী একটি কথা বলেছেন যে ভারতবর্ষের S. D. O. হিন্দুদের প্রতি অন্যায় ব্যবহার করেছে। আমি জানি ইসলামপুরের হুদাভার পরই S. D. O. পানডিত্র সাহেব গিয়েছিলেন এবং বাস্তবিক অজ্ঞাত পরিচয় করে সর্বত্র Peace Committee করেছেন। সেখানে যে সমস্ত জনহিতকর কাজ করেছেন তার ফলে সেখানে মুসলমানের চেয়ে হিন্দু মতাদর্শগত তাঁকে সর্বত্র সম্মান দিয়েছেন বেশী। কারণ তাঁর কাজে সকলেই সহায়; কোন বন্ধন গোলাম বা অন্য কিছু নেই। এবং আমার ভারতবর্ষের বন্ধু যে আমার কলকাতা সহরের অনুকরণ করবে না। এখানে আমার হিন্দু মুসলমান একত্রে থাকবে, কাজেকাছেই ঐ বন্ধন আশ্রয়ী কথা পোনা যায়নি। আমার বন্ধুকে বলি যদি তিনি কোন definite দোষ জানেন আমাদের S. D. O.'র বিরুদ্ধে, তাহলে বলুন; আমি তাঁকে জিজ্ঞাসা করবো, ছাড়বো না। আর যদি না জানেন তাহলে withdraw করুন।

আমাদের মুসলমান ডায়েরি কাগজ লাই, পত্রিকা খুব কম, হিন্দু ডায়েরি কাগজপত্র পত্রিকা বেশী দান্য পুকার অতিরিক্ত কথা লেখেন। কাজেই এই গোলাম হচ্ছে। আমি ইচ্ছা চাই বা। আর আমাকে দুই জন হিন্দু ডায়েরি আর দুই জন মুসলমান বলেছিলেন, আমি ময়মনসিংহ পুলিশ লাইনে দুই জন হিন্দু ও মুসলমানের চাকরীর জন্য পুলিশ লাইনে যাই এবং Reserve Officerকে ধরি। আমাকে Reserve officer বললেন যে আর হয় না, এখানে হিন্দু বা মুসলমান recruit নেওয়া হবে না। জিজ্ঞাসা করলে বললেন যে এখানে বিদেশী লোক আশ্রয়ী করা হচ্ছে, সাহেবের আদেশে। আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি বাংলার মুসলমান-মন্ত্রীকে যে এতে ভয়ানক বদমাশ হচ্ছে। আমার প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে এই, বাংলা দেশে ১৯৪৬ আমাদের আমরাই এ দেশে বাস করবো। যদি এখানে হিন্দু বা মুসলমান পুলিশের আবশ্যক হয়ে থাকে তাহলে আপনাবা কি বিচার থেকে আশ্রয়ী করবেন? বেহার ও উড়িষ্যা বাকি নিয়ে আগে রাজস্বী হিন্দু মুসলমানকে বাংলার পুলিশের মধ্যে recruit করুন। এই আমার প্রার্থনা। আমি আশা করি বাংলা দেশে কোন গোলাম হবে না। গতকাল সভায় সকলেই পুলিশের বদমাশ করেছেন যে পুলিশ খুব ধারাপ। আমি দুই এক জন হিন্দু দাবোয়া, মুসলমান দাবোয়ার নাম জানি যারা এখনভাবে ভাল কাজ করতে বা example স্বরূপ। আমি হিন্দু ডায়েরি জিজ্ঞাসা করি বেশ গুণ সম্বন্ধে যদি কেউ জেনে থাকেন তিনি কি বলতে পারেন? এই বন্ধু তাইবের মুসলমান অনেক আছে। প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের কাছে আমার এই প্রার্থনা যে পুলিশ লাইনে হিন্দু এবং মুসলমানকে সমানভাবে তিনি যেন recruit করেন। তাহলে আমাদের গোলাম বিচার, বিচার উদ্ভাবন লোক আশ্রয়ী গোলাম বিচারে না।

Mr. BENODE CHANDRA CHAKRABORTY: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. আমার বন্ধু বলেছেন যে কথা সে সম্বন্ধে আমি বলতে চাই যে পানডিত্র সাহেব সম্বন্ধে আমি কিছু বলিনি; আমি বলছি হিন্দু-মুসলমান ভ্রমদাধারণের সম্বন্ধে যারা নাকি সংপ্রাণীল হয়েছে। অন্তর্গত withdraw করার প্রশ্ন এখানে আসে না।

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think any explanation is necessary.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAJUMDAR: Before the Hon'ble Minister replies, may I invite his attention to a very grave matter. Several honourable members who adorn the Government benches have declared in this

House that all members of the police force who happen to be Hindus are communal and unfit to discharge their duties impartially. If that is a fact, that is a grave matter. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he subscribes to that view— I just thought that it is necessary to draw his attention to that.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Government are relieved to find that the usual criticism levelled against the Police budget that it is over-weighted has not been levelled this year. I find that criticisms have been more in the nature of the inadequacy of the police force and a demand has been made from various sides for increasing the police force. (Cries of "No, no" from Opposition benches.) This criticism has taken this year a somewhat more substantial form, but they refer not to any new incidents arising this year but to the usual standard of the police force. For instance, it is stated that the police are corrupt, that they take bribes when accepting diaries, that persons are afraid to file diaries, that the police treat persons with indifference and contempt and so on and so on. But the remedy to a very large extent does lie in the hands of public-spirited men. I do not say that that unfortunate person who had to go to file a diary is of such a position that he can speak against a particular officer who has asked him for money before he can file the diary or that the man is able to resist any insults that the police officer may offer him, but surely there are gentlemen here of the status of the members of the Legislative Assembly who, if they looked after the interests of their constituency, would be able to bring to the notice of the superior officers and of Government any laches on the part of the police. A friend of mine over there stated that I ought to order at once that the police ought to behave themselves. এ বকম তো নির্দেশ যথেষ্ট দিতে পারি কিন্তু নির্দেশের পর যে পরিবর্তন হয়ে যাবে, সে তো হবে না।

That is the main point. What is the use of saying that an order or rather a fiat be issued and immediately there will be reformation. It has been suggested by some people that they ought to be educated in moral standards. I think it is a little bit too late to educate the existing police on moral standards as if they do not know what moral standards happen to be.

Then, Sir, the police have been charged with inactivity starting from Calcutta and also to be found elsewhere. That is a matter which undoubtedly will be considered by the Commission. My friend here has referred to an incident which took place last night. During the riots there were hundreds of such incidents when persons, whole *bustees*, have been murdered outright and yet the police have not been anywhere. (MR. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: At 3 p.m. in the afternoon and not last night.) These matters must certainly be taken into consideration and, as I have stated, even during the riots persons have been murdered in shoals without any police being available or any information having been conveyed to the authorities.

Then a third item of criticism has been also voiced from both sides that communalism has pervaded the police force. What is the remedy of this one does not know but a remedy has been suggested, viz., that communalism will disappear if there is a proper representation of Hindus and Muslims in the services and if parity is preserved. It does not mean that if a Hindu policeman is unfair to Muslims in one particular area, a Muslim policeman will be unfair to Hindus in another area and thus the parity will be observed, but if Hindus and Muslims were together in the same service, then *esprit de corps* is bound to arise and there will be proper treatment of the people and communalism will disappear.

Then there have been various incidents that have been reported. Reference has been made to the Dacca riot and the manner in which it began and how it has proceeded. A member has stated that the Garhwali police had entered the Muslim localities and routed them out or committed oppression upon them. That is a matter which undoubtedly we must take

serious notice of. Very shortly I am hoping that I and certain friends of mine—I hope the honourable the Leader of the Opposition will be good enough to accompany us—should proceed to Dacca and try and see whether we can use our joint influence for the purpose of bringing the state of affairs there under control.

Then reference has been made to the dacoities in Mymensingh and in the area between Kishoreganj and Bhairab and beyond. Unfortunately this is part and parcel of the increase in crimes following the 1943 famine and the cessation of hostilities. And the general increase in the wave of lawlessness is always beyond the control of the local police. To give you the figures today, although the situation today is somewhat better compared with 1945-46, the figures are alarming when compared to the pre-war quinquennium, that is to say, between 1935 and 1939. The following are the figures in respect of murders, dacoities, robberies, burglaries and rioting:—

Instead of 410 murders we have 531.

Instead of 747 dacoities we have 2,142. There has been such a tremendous increase.

Instead of 13,322 burglaries we have 17,126, and

Instead of 586 rioting we have 1,432.

(MR. NIKARENDI DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Many have not been reported.) Many cases have not only not been reported, but we are on the verge of something even more serious and, therefore, in considering what steps should be taken to deal with the situation, I am afraid that we shall have to look ahead and not merely deal with the situation as apparent from these figures, but also with the situation that we find ahead of us, and which requires not merely an increase in the police force or an increase in the efficiency, but public co-operation. In that point of view an attempt is being made to revive village defence parties and some organisations like the home guards in order to see whether we can bring the matter under control. The police force which includes thana staff and armed police has been found inadequate to cope with this crime wave. Measures have been taken to strengthen the police force, particularly in those areas where crime figures are at their worst. As regards Calcutta I am examining the situation afresh. I have no doubt in my mind that there should be an increase in the personnel of the police force in Calcutta and that we should have more armed force to deal with the situation.

The mobility of the police force has been increased by the provision of a large number of motor vehicles and the police have been armed with more up-to-date weapons for that purpose. The district headquarters and certain subdivisions have also been linked up by means of the wireless system.

As regards train robberies we immediately took steps to place pickets and armed guards at the railway stations and in running trains and the crime immediately decreased. We also requested the railway authorities to restore the lights in the passenger trains. I had hoped that the railway authorities themselves would consider the seriousness of the situation and would step in and bear some of the burden of the security charges. Unfortunately they have not done so and the proposals of the local railway authorities have been turned down by the Railway Board. I hope that they will be able to revise their orders and will place adequate guards in those places where crime again has begun to rear its head. We have provided armed guards in passenger and goods trains and armed patrol in the line whenever necessary and crime has materially decreased. If there is any suspicion of the recrudescence of crime, steps will be taken at once.

An honourable member, the last speaker, referred, in particular, to Mr. Panaullah, the Subdivisional Officer of Jamalpur. I think that it is necessary for me also to say one word regarding him. An honourable

gentleman here, a member of the Opposition, stated that Mr. Panaullah did not command the confidence of the local Hindus and took him to task for what took place in Jamalpur. As a matter of fact the local peace committees of Hindus and Muslims have sent a letter of congratulation, which has already been published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* here, for the manner in which he has brought the situation under control. I am glad to say that but for the personality and the hard work he has put in, the situation in Jamalpur would have been very much worse. I think it is extremely unfair that a capable officer of that type should be charged with inefficiency merely because he happens to be a Muslim and that people here should state that the Hindus have no confidence in him, although the local Hindus certify to just the reverse.

With regard to the incident of Rameswar Banerjee these are matters which the present Government does not consider necessary to reopen. I am placing before the House the action that was taken during the section 93 regime. It appears that the jurors by a majority returned the verdict that the death of Rameswar Banerjee was caused by gunshot wounds inflicted on the head by police firing on the order of Inspector Hammond without justification and in which the police exceeded their power of law. Then, Sir, on that verdict Government consulted its Legal Adviser who advised Government that the verdict of the Coroner's Jury was perverse and was against the weight of evidence and that under those circumstances no action needed to be taken on the verdict. (MR. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Who was the Legal Adviser?) I do not know. It was done under section 93 regime. And it is not a matter which we consider important enough to reopen at this stage while we are really in the midst of a much greater cataclysm and we have to deal with it. It was therefore decided that no action need be taken on the verdict of the Coroner's Jury. Government accepted that advice.

Thereafter there was an executive enquiry as well required by the rules and it was held by the Commissioner of Police and it was found on enquiry that the firing was justified. Government have accepted that advice and they do not consider it, therefore, necessary to take any action against the officer responsible for firing on that occasion.

There is one more point, I believe, that has been raised regarding the failure of Government to institute a public enquiry into the conduct of those police forces and subordinates who transgressed their power in the August movement of 1942. We have already stated on the floor of the House that Government do not propose to reopen the question which is already four years old. I think, Sir, that it is just as well if we allow the matters to lie.

I have been asked by the spokesman of the European Group whether we are going to entertain more armed police. Sir, it is our intention to do so. It has been suggested by an honourable member that we should get rid of non-Bengali police and recruit from only amongst the Bengalis. That has been the policy of Government and we have been recruiting later on only from among Bengalis, but there are obviously a large number of non-Bengalis in the police force whom we cannot obviously get rid of. Moreover, a certain amount of that force is considered necessary, although gradually they are being weeded out. In the armed police, in particular, it may be necessary for us to recruit those who are more used to the use of arms.

We propose to introduce legislation on the Bombay model regarding payment of compensation. Sir, this matter is still under our consideration, but it may be interesting for honourable members to know that Bombay is thinking of revising this legislation and using the Calcutta model (Laughter). So, Sir, this is a matter which we shall have seriously to consider. It is not whether the Calcutta model is not better than the Bombay model. After all, the Bombay model might be useful for sporadic

riot but when it comes to the kind of riots or disturbances or war and butchery that we have seen recently, I am afraid that no funds available at the hand of any Government can possibly deal with them if Government have to pay compensation for any loss thus incurred. This is all that I have to say. As I have said, nobody can consider with equanimity the present condition of the police force and the state of its morals. We are indeed very sorry to hear that we have to accept the verdict of this House on the point that a good deal is still necessary for us to improve the condition of the police force. Undoubtedly the warning will be noted, but I do appeal to the honourable members here to assist Government in rectifying any errors that they may find in the local police. I can assure the House that it will not be our attitude to try and whitewash any complaints that we may receive to take adequate and proper steps. I know that it is very difficult to get at the truth. I also know that by proceeding along the old lines of enquiry from superior officers down to some subordinate officers it is not always possible to get at the truth. As a matter of fact all of us who have been non-officials not so very long ago have suffered more or less from the nature of this kind of enquiry. I, therefore, sympathise with those persons who would say that attempts should be made to see that superior officers are advised in the strongest terms to see that they do not attempt to whitewash any complaints but attempt to arrive at the truth. I think in that spirit you will find that Government will readily assist you in every possible way and we hope that it is no use voicing those sentiments. Let them have concrete cases and put us to test and see whether we can do something to improve the condition of the morale of the police force.

The motion of Dr. Protap Chandra Guha Roy that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Dr. Protap Chandra Guha Roy that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29 - Police" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharjee that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Ramhari Roy that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Manoranjan Dhar that the demand of Rs. 3,45,86,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy that a sum of Rs. 3,45,86,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "29—Police" was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 5-35 p.m. till 2 p.m. on Wednesday, the 25th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under
the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 25th September, 1946, at 2 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 198 Members.

Point of Privilege.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, may I invite your attention to a point of privilege?

Mr. SPEAKER: What is your point of privilege?

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, my privilege as a member of this House to put question and get an answer from the Hon'ble Minister has been infringed on a very grave occasion and in very extraordinary circumstances. Under rule 24, as you are aware, Sir, a member in order to receive an answer to a question that he may wish to put.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, is this the point that was raised on the day when the Deputy Speaker was presiding?

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: No, Sir. It is a new point. I have received a communication from the Assembly Department, with regard to a question, and it is in relation to that. You are aware, Sir, that under rule 24 a member has to give 12 days' notice in order to be able to get an answer to a question put by him. In respect of a question intended to be put at shorter notice your consent is needed and then the consent of the department concerned. I handed in a question to you, Sir, on the 13th August, 1946, relating to a very urgent matter. You were good enough to inform me by a letter, dated the 14th August, stating as follows: "that the matter was sent on to the Hon'ble Minister to ascertain whether he is willing to give his consent".

Sir, this information I got on the 14th and after that I raised the matter before the House on the 15th, reminding you that I had given notice of a question intended to be answered at short notice. But I do not know what happened to it. It was very urgent that that question should have come up before the House immediately. But no answer was given. At long last I received a letter from the Assembly Department on the 20th September informing me that the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Home Department did not give his consent to answer my question at short notice. Sir, this is rather extraordinary. The precise point of privilege that has been infringed is this, that if I am entitled to get an answer to a question which I specifically put to the Hon'ble Minister and which is admitted by you, I am entitled to get an answer within 12 days. If I make a request to have an answer at shorter notice, after you have been pleased to give your consent, the answer must be furnished at shorter notice or I must be informed in less time that the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge does not give his consent. But nothing of the kind was done and over a month has elapsed in the meanwhile in spite of extraordinary circumstances. The House met several days after I had given my notice of a short-notice question intending that the answer should be given in less than 12 days' time, as expeditiously as possible, and over five weeks were allowed to elapse without any response from the Hon'ble Minister concerned. I submit it is a very serious infringement of a member's privilege under rule 24. Besides, I must draw your attention to this fact that the right of putting question is valuable also on

public policy. It was a matter of great public importance which related to the subject-matter of my question, and I find that all this time has gone.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I point out, Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, that in this case, according to you, the matter was mentioned on the 15th August, and you probably remember that after the 15th August we did not meet till the 12th of September.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, I made a mistake. The matter was mentioned to you not on the 15th but on the 14th of August. We met on the 15th August. But, Sir, here with your permission I would like to remind you that my question related to an emergency, and where an adjournment motion is not admissible it has been the privilege of this House to bring in such matters by short-notice question; and here this matter related to the question, as you admitted, Sir, as follows:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am not concerned with the subject-matter of the question.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I am not going into the subject-matter of the question, but the time was of the essence in respect of this question. Here one particular point was asked, when we are in possession of certain things, what precautionary measures, if any, have Government in contemplation to take to maintain the peace and tranquillity. This was asked, Sir, on the 13th. It was brought to your notice on the 14th. You were good enough to forward it on the 14th to the department concerned. I submit, the department should have given the consideration and should have weighed the gravity of the situation to consider whether there was any such likelihood as suggested in the question. If, I submit, as a matter of public policy my privilege had not been infringed and if this question had been answered in due time, the whole House and the Province of Bengal might have been forewarned of the breach of peace and tranquillity and of the untoward happenings on the 16th. That was the subject that related to this question. So by infringing my privilege as a member of this House the department has not only done a grossly unfair thing but it has prejudicially affected the public interest on a matter of grave public policy. It has deprived the House of the constitutional procedure of ventilating the matter and forewarning the public in taking precautionary measures in the interest of public peace and tranquillity. Sir, that being my point of submission, I ask for your ruling on this point as to how our privileges in the first instance may be safeguarded against wanton infringement by the department concerned and secondly, Sir, on matters of grave public importance and as a matter of public policy how this precious right of the members of ventilating through this House by means of putting short-notice questions may be ensured so that it may result in public benefit and averting unhappy consequences by taking timely action and notice of grave matters of importance. That is my point.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the rules go, I do not find that there is an power with the Chair that can compel the Government to give reply to question either with short notice or with long notice. One remedy is this that these rules have got to be modified and some powers vested in the Chair. The second remedy is those which have already been provided in the rules by way of adjournment motions and by way of no-confidence motions against the Government. Beyond that I do not think there is an other remedy which I can think of.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: It is open to you, Sir, to bring to the notice of this House such lapses on the part of any department in time. It is quite open to you to say that a short-notice question receive your consent, but the department concerned failed to signify its consent within the time which is implicitly provided in the rules. In that case the House may consider its own helplessness, that we are at the tender mercy

of the department concerned and that they are not bound by any rules nor obliged to honour any healthy rules or tradition. I suggest, Sir, that at least it lies within your power and you will be pleased to consider to bring to the notice of the House where things are not taken sufficient notice of by the department concerned. If the department concerned—here the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Home Department is involved—if, Sir, with your permission he likes, he may perhaps help you and this House by explaining why such a serious lapse takes place on an occasion like this which resulted in grave misfortune and consequences for the public life of Bengal.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already said what I had to say. If the Government think it necessary and proper to say anything, they will look after themselves.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: It shows that Government have nothing to say. This is suppression of public rights.

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

54—Famine.

[The debate on the demand for grant under the head "54—Famine" was resumed in continuation of the debate held on the 21st September, 1946.]

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Martuza Reza Chowdhury was in possession of the House.

Mr. MARTUZA REZA CHOWDHURY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the purpose of relief and rehabilitation the whole Province should be divided into two different units, namely, Calcutta and Bengal Districts. In both the units the four classes of people as mentioned previously are in existence: (1) Relief and Rehabilitation Department should have the sole charge of the task of food, shelter, clothing and education. The Relief and Rehabilitation Department must make adequate provisions to give vocational and educational training and to make suitable arrangements of land and occupation for the middle-class affected people. (2) It must be the work of this department to make necessary arrangements to educate the orphans, destitutes and deserted children up to a certain stage. After the education is over it will also be the duty of this department to give suitable employments to them according to the education and training by way of rehabilitation. (3) The third item of work for this department is to make necessary arrangements to get back lands of the dispossessed rural population, who have lost lands due to famine and its after effects. (4) The fourth item of work is to make adequate arrangements for supply of capital goods and regular supply of raw materials to the small artisans who are hard hit due to famine and day to day economic scarcities.

With a view to give a concrete working shape of the above central scheme in a detailed and elaborate way throughout the whole of Bengal including Calcutta it is of utmost necessity and highest priority importance that the Relief and Rehabilitation Department should be thoroughly reorganised being quite alive with the community interest with all justice and fairness. The whole administrative machinery should be organised in the following way with due regard to the communal ratio.

(1) That the Relief and Rehabilitation Department must be a separate and independent organisation and all spheres of work in connection with relief and rehabilitation must come under the direct control and supervision of this department.

(2) Director of Relief and Rehabilitation must be a Muslim. He must get the rank and status of Secretary.

(3) Under the Director there must be three posts as Deputy Directors, namely, (a) Deputy Director, Relief, (b) Deputy Director, Rehabilitation,

and (c) Relief Co-ordination Officer. These three officers will be under the Director for the purpose of assisting him specially in the spheres of relief, rehabilitation and co-ordination, respectively.

The most important task before the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge is that the communal quota must be observed in all spheres of activities of this Department. During the regime of section 93, Muslims were hopelessly neglected by Government officials, whereas more than 80 per cent. of Government money has gone to Hindu hands. Although the Muslims of Bengal are the most down-trodden economically, during the crisis they did not get their legitimate share of Government relief. As a matter of fact Muslims of Bengal are cent. per cent. affected. The main reason of this sort of persecutions and downright denials of Muslim interest is that the whole of this department is being controlled and run by non-Muslim officers. From Director downwards to the Relief Co-ordination Officer, including the subordinate officers and other clerical staff, almost all are non-Muslims and the Muslim quota will not be more than 15 per cent. of total strength.

It can be easily found out that all the key posts are being engaged by the Hindu and non-Muslim officers. Under the supervision of Hindu-controlled body if Muslim organisations go for relief their cases always remain in the pending file, whereas the major portion of Government money goes to Hindu organisations. Relief Co-ordination Officer, Calcutta, is in entire charge of relief and rehabilitation of Calcutta including the bustees. During the last two or three years of administration as many as thirty Hindu organisations got help from the Relief Co-ordination Officer to run the non-official relief organisations, whereas the Muslim cases are wilfully ignored with the exception of Muslim Welfare Society organised by Justice and Mrs. Khundker and till recently the Calcutta District Muslim League Relief Committee. After hard toils of last two years Calcutta District Muslim League Relief Committee, the only fortunate Muslim Relief Organisation, has become successful in getting lump sum grant of Rs. 7,500 only seven days before the installation of present Ministry. In the circumstances it is absolutely necessary that a thorough reshuffling of the department should be made at once. Hence strong Muslim officers, such as Mr. H. S. M. Ishaque, I.C.S., as Director, and other officers in alternative key positions, must be posted at once and thereby save Muslim Bengal from further sufferings.

To add to the miseries of the suffering, the communal riot in Calcutta has given shocking blows on the emergency Muslim Relief Organisation. During the Great Calcutta Killing it was found all on a sudden that some non-Muslim I.C.S. were installed in the emergency relief measure to do great justice towards their own communities as if the Cabinet Mission has given them chance to play the part of British-Bania role, in an organised manner. So, the poor people remained absolutely at the mercy of one Hindu I.C.S. officer where the Muslims did not get any justice in regard to emergency relief. It is quite known to everybody in Calcutta that Anjuman Mufidul Islam and Park Circus Muslim Relief Committee are the best organisations which rendered yeoman's service irrespective of caste and creed during the crisis. But unfortunately due to the Hindu regime of Emergency Relief Control they did not get rations for a large number of refugees up to the 20th August though I understand that the Chief Minister ordered one Mr. Ghosh of Civil Supplies Department to supply ration to the said organisation on the 17th August. Since then up till now the Emergency Relief is being controlled and run by non-Muslims by flagrantly denying the order of Hon'ble Minister, Relief, that the functions of relief and rehabilitation should be handled by the Relief Directorate including the Relief Co-ordination Office and its staff who are in charge of Calcutta relief during the normal times. We have enough of this Hindu rule under the shade of British Imperialism and we must cry halt to this sort of gross injustice committed on the poor Muslims and Hon'ble Minister, Relief

must take up the relief matters with an iron hand to make an end of these British-Bania clique on which the Hindus are trying to take the meanest sort of advantage on Muslim poverty.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sure that the honourable members would like to know the details of the provision of the Famine Budget, and they are as follows:—

	Rs.
(1) Salaries and establishment	52,19,000
(2) Gratuitous relief	1,09,50,000
(3) Miscellaneous (Test works)	35,00,000
(4) Rehabilitation programme	93,00,000

Under the head "Salaries and establishment" the expenditure on account of (1) isolated workhouses and orphanages, (2) Emergency Famine Relief Hospitals and (3) Salaries of staff employed on relief work and contingent charges, is booked. A sum of Rs. 10 lakhs has been provided for isolated workhouses and orphanages. At present 44 isolated workhouses and 61 orphanages are functioning. The number of people getting relief from the workhouses is 4,497 while the number of inmates of the orphanages is 4,540. The orphanages are being run purely on temporary basis as it is the accepted policy of Government to transfer the orphans to permanent orphanages as soon as they are set up. Sixty-eight permanent orphanages have been set up upto now, of which eight are State and the remaining 60 are aided institutions. Most of the isolated workhouses were set up to house the destitutes affected by the famine of 1943. Turning to the medical side I may mention that many of the Famine Relief Emergency Hospitals set up after the famine of 1943 have been considerably improved and put on a permanent footing as part of a comprehensive plan for the provision of medical services in rural areas. The expenditure on this item is met from other budget heads. A provision of Rs. 25,00,000 has, however, been made under the head "54—Famine" for providing 2,000 additional beds to cope with any emergency that may yet arise in the districts.

To meet the cost of establishment and contingent charges a provision of Rs. 17,19,000 has been made. Expenditure on account of transport in connection with the distribution of relief supplies and the payment of the appropriate commission to dealers undertaking on behalf of Government the operation of cheap grain shops will be met from this head.

Honourable members will have observed that the provision under the head "Gratuitous Relief" is more than double the actuals of 1945-46. The explanation lies in the additional burdens laid upon the department during the current year by a succession of events. As a general background we have a more difficult economic situation resulting from the contraction of employment and business activity associated with the war, and also natural calamities in various districts.

These and other circumstances have necessitated relief measures on such an extended scale. Gratuitous relief is distributed in the following manner:—

- (i) Cash or grain doles;
- (ii) Milk and other protective foods to poor children, nursing and expectant mothers and ailing persons;
- (iii) Cloth, blankets, garments, *chaddars*, etc., to the poor;
- (iv) Free grants for house building purposes;
- (v) Free distribution of seeds and cattle fodder;
- (vi) Grants to union boards for credit to Union Board Poor Funds; and
- (vii) Grants to non-official organisations engaged on relief work.

A sum of Rs. 92,40,907 has been sanctioned up to 15th September, 1946, for distribution as gratuitous relief in the various forms mentioned above. During the month of August 1,85,563 persons on an average were receiving assistance in the form of a daily dole.

The bulk of the supplies of milk now being distributed through centres scattered all over the Province are provided by this department. The Indian Red Cross Society renders valuable assistance in co-operating closely in this scheme. Approximately 100 tons of powdered milk are distributed per month through 1,347 centres serving 71,000 selected undernourished children and nursing mothers.

Up to 31st August of the current year 88,000 pieces of cloth, 24,000 blankets and *chaddars* and 45,000 children's garments have been distributed free to the deserving people in the distressed areas. It is also proposed to distribute free, before the advent of the winter, 3,50,000 pieces of cloth, 1,85,000 blankets and *chaddars* and 2,00,000 pieces of children's garments worth about Rs. 15 lakhs.

As a measure of relief for that section of the population which owing to poverty cannot buy foodgrains at prevailing market rates, arrangements have been made to sell supplies in accordance with ration scales at concessional rates through cheap grain shops. More than a thousand such shops are now functioning and the number of persons served is approximately 5,75,000 persons.

Up to 15th September, 1946, a sum of Rs. 2,55,488 has been sanctioned for the purpose of free grants for house building. The amount is being distributed in cash or in building materials to deserving persons. It is proposed to distribute another Rs. 7 lakhs for the purpose during the current financial year.

One lakh maunds of paddy seeds were sanctioned for distribution free to the flood-affected people in Chittagong to ensure maximum possible cultivation after the recent floods. Arrangements were also made for free distribution of straw in Bankura district where, due to failure of monsoon last year, acute shortage of cattle fodder prevailed in certain parts of the district.

Under the Bengal Rural Poor and Unemployed Relief Act, poor funds have been established by union boards to provide for immediate and urgent cases of distress pending the organisation of normal relief measures. Government makes an initial grant of Rs. 100 to each union board under section 13 of the Act and thereafter by way of stimulus to local charity contributes an amount equivalent to that contributed locally, subject to a limit of Rs. 1,000 per annum per union board. To date a total of Rs. 6,10,000 has been contributed by Government to these boards.

Very substantial assistance, both in cash and kind, has also been accorded by Government to non-official organisations engaged on relief work. Normally this assistance is equivalent to 50 per cent. of the total expenditure incurred in this work by the societies concerned.

As has already been stated, a provision of Rs. 35 lakhs has been made for carrying on test relief works. I think the House is aware that this relief measure is undertaken on the appearance of the first signs of distress in rural areas and it is generally in the form of village works consisting of improvement of village roads and communication, excavation of tanks and canals, clearance of water-hyacinth, jungle clearance, etc.

Let me now, Sir, say a few words about our rehabilitation programme for which a provision of Rs. 93 lakhs has been made in the famine budget. Out of this amount Rs. 33 lakhs is for Central Destitute Homes and non-residential work centres and the balance, viz., Rs. 60 lakhs, is for permanent orphanages. Thirty-six Central Destitute Homes with a total number of 6,413 inmates are at present functioning in different districts. In addition

to these, four new Homes are proposed to be set up in the district of Bankura and Nadia (two in each district) which have been badly affected owing to failure of crops last year. Thirty-eight non-residential work centres with a total number of 2,457 workers are also functioning.

Sir, I may mention for the information of honourable members that the Relief Directorate has arranged for the setting up of a network of skeleton Relief Units in the Province with a view to organise effectively an intelligence service of rural economic conditions and to undertake immediate relief work when and where necessary.

One honourable member of the Opposition has said that there should be no death from starvation. I can assure the House that the Relief Directorate always gives an all-out help whenever asked for to save people from starvation. Relief Directorate will take note of all the valuable suggestions given by different honourable members, specially by Mr. M. R. Chaudhury, and try to implement them as far as possible.

With these few words I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Mr. Radha Nath Das that the demand of Rs. 2,89,69,000 for expenditure under the head "54—Famine" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that a sum of Rs. 2,89,69,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "54—Famine" was then put and agreed to.

63—Extraordinary charges in India.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 9,75,77,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India".

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 9,75,77,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about inadequacy and the unsatisfactory system of distribution of yarn for fishermen and weavers.

Mr. RAJANI KANTA PRAMANIK: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 9,75,77,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the inefficiency, bribery, nepotism, corruption and failure of the Civil Supply Department and the misery caused by it to the people of Bengal, and the desirability of and need for its abolition.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 9,75,77,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government policy in regard to procurement and distribution of rice.

Mr. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 9,75,77,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the formation of the Food Committees.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the cut motion that I have moved relates to the rice procurement and distribution policy of Government. When at the beginning of this session we moved an adjournment motion on the food situation, we gave a warning to Government that the food situation in Bengal was likely to deteriorate in the coming

months. At that time, Sir, Government did not pay sufficient heed to our warning, and as a result what has happened? Sir, just within a month and a half it has been proved that our warning has come true. What is the situation today? At that time we urged that unless adequate steps were taken to counteract the dangerous situation, prices would soon go up higher and higher and unless there were sufficient imports there would occur shortages which might in some places at least lead to severe famine. Now, Sir, at that time the Hon'ble Chief Minister in a Press Conference held on the 2nd July, 1946, stated that prices were not, after all, high in the districts of Bengal, and he gave the following figures: He stated that Government had purchased 75,000 maunds of rice from Burdwan at prices ranging from Rs. 11-4 to Rs. 15-8, the latter price being for the finer variety of rice; 60,000 maunds of rice from Birbhum at prices from Rs. 11 to Rs. 11-4; 55,000 maunds of rice from Dinajpur at Rs. 10-8 and so on. Now, Sir, what is the situation at the present moment. At a Press Conference held on the 23rd September, *i.e.*, the day before yesterday, Mr. S. N. Ray, the Additional Food Commissioner, revealed the following facts: During the week ending September 18, there was a rise in the prices. The average retail price on September 18, was Rs. 14-10 per maund in surplus districts, Rs. 14-9 in the self-sufficient districts, and Rs. 19-5 in deficit districts. The Provincial average rose from Rs. 15-8 to Rs. 16-3 per maund. He also stated that in Manikganj, Jamalpur, Netrokona, Bakarganj (North), Nilphamari, Tangail, Narayanganj, Brahmanbaria, Faridpur, Tippera (North), Tippera (South), Chandpur, Feni, Munshiganj, Goalundo and Noakhali prices varied between Rs. 21 and Rs. 30 per maund. Now, Sir, that is the situation in the mofussil districts today. There are several other matters which should also be taken into consideration. Since July last there has taken place in Bengal a number of calamities that has severely affected the food situation. It has been admitted on all hands that the *aus* crop in Bengal has been damaged very seriously in certain places.

Sir, next comes the flood menace. Flood has caused much damage to agricultural land which are under water and crops have also been damaged by floods. This certainly has affected the food position in Bengal. It has not been contradicted by Government that there has taken place another suicide at Netrokona in the last week. And, Sir, what about imports? At that time we said that unless there were sufficient imports the food position was bound to deteriorate. We do not know if the Government of Bengal have been able to secure sufficient imports from abroad.

Sir, the recent cut in the ration-quota in Calcutta proves beyond doubt that the situation is deteriorating and is likely to deteriorate further if sufficient steps are not taken even at the present moment. It is well known that when the rationing started the maximum amount of rice which could be drawn by an adult per week was 4 seers. Then it was reduced to 2 seers 10 chittaks. Now because Government have not enough stocks it has been further reduced, and reduced to an absurdly small amount, namely, to 1 seer 3 pias per week per adult. I need not make any comment on this point except to quote from the Report of the Famine Commission itself which in its second part stated that the composition of balanced diet might be something like the following:—

Cereals	...	...	...	14 oz.
Pulses	...	...	...	3 ..
Green vegetables	...	...	...	4 ..
Root vegetables	...	...	...	3 ..
Other vegetables	...	...	...	3 ..
Fruit	...	...	...	3 ..
Milk	...	...	...	10 ..
Sugar and jaggery	...	...	...	10 ..

Vegetable oil or ghee	...	...	...	2 oz.
Fish or meat	...	...	...	3 „
Egg	...	...	...	1 „

In the present context this seems to be a cruel irony that the Famine Commission have recommended such a princely diet for those who are not even getting the absolute minimum to keep their body and soul together. Well, Sir, if you look at the chart of ration that was submitted to the Council of State by the then Food Member to the Government of India, you will find that the scale of food rationed is not the same in all the important towns in India. If you compare the scale of rations in Bombay, in Delhi, in the eastern towns of the United Provinces and other places, you will find that the scale of ration in existence in Calcutta compares almost in all cases unfavourably with the scale of rations that are in existence elsewhere. I will give one or two instances. At first the maximum amount of rice allowed in Calcutta was 5 lbs. That was in 1944. The situation has deteriorated considerably since then. At that time at Shillong the maximum rice ration given was 6 lbs., Cuttack 5·4 lbs., Sind 8 lbs., U. P. 5·4 lbs. wheat and 5·4 lbs. rice. Even in the North-West Frontier Province, in Peshawar, the total rice ration allowed per week was 8 lbs. This proves, Sir, that the Calcutta administration compares most unfavourably with most of the other towns now put on ration in India. I would not say more on this point except to state that the mal-administration, bungling, corruption and inefficiency for which the Bengal Government has been famous, or should I say notorious, are again proved by the figures given above.

Sir, the time at my disposal is short and I would refer briefly to one or two points regarding procurement and distribution. When we moved the adjournment motion we recommended that this system of chief agents should at once be abolished and some sort of monopoly procurement, as recommended by the Famine Enquiry Commission, should be ensured under a real popular Government. Sir, unfortunately that system of chief agents is still now in existence and with well known results.

Then about distribution: the distinction between A, B and C classes of rice still exists and it is well known that this causes immense hardship on those who are said to have sufficient resources but in reality are on starvation. These points have been urged on Government times without number but, as is usual with Government, they have turned a deaf ear to this demand of the people of Bengal, irrespective of caste, creed and community. We know that this Government and its predecessor was responsible for 50 lakhs of deaths of the famine year, and I can say without any fear of contradiction that Government has not yet given up that policy of slowly starving the people of Bengal to death irrespective of caste, creed and community. I may conclude my speech, Sir, with a warning to Government that the time will soon come when the common people, irrespective of caste, creed and community will rise in revolt against this slow grinding and slow death and their leaders will then realise that this thing cannot continue forever.

Mr. RAJANI KANTA PRAMANIK: Sir, the Civil Supplies Department has done all harm and no good to the people. Its record is one of notorious instances of corruption, bribery, dishonesty and all sorts of conceivable vices. Its inefficiency is too glaring to need mention. It has failed to do one single act of service to the people and it has failed to serve the people in any manner whatsoever. On the contrary it has injured the interests of the public in all possible ways. Sir, its inefficiency has undermined the efficiency, if any, of other departments. It has set too bad an example to the people. Sir, its corrupt nature is a menace to public morality. The story of scandals associated with the working of this department is too well known to need mention. Sir, no popular Government will ever suffer the existence of a department like this. The first and

the foremost duty of this Government, if they ever cared for public interest, would have been to abolish this Department. But, broad public interests never weigh with the type of Government we suffer from. That is why the Government encourage this department and never think of even reforming it, far from abolishing it, which is the popular demand. Sir, this department is a dread to the people. They feel acutely the existence of this department because it causes them inconvenience in diverse ways. If any department is run with the motto of disservice to the people, it is this department. Sir, the sooner it is abolished, the better. Its abolition will bring a reduction of the total expenditure by six crores of rupees. The people to that extent will be exempted from taxation. This is the universal demand of the Province. Even members belonging to the Ministerial Party have censured the department in strong terms. This is sufficient proof of the real character of the department which should be abolished at once to satisfy a popular demand.

Sir, with these words I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

MR. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL : Mr. Speaker, Sir, বাংলা দেশে গ্রামে বাসা বাস করে তাদের কি কাপড়, কি কেবাসিন, কি চিনি, কি আটা, ময়লা বিতরণ করবার জন্য Food Committee লোক এক বকর committee আমাদের দেশে আনলারী করা হয়েছে। কখন সেটা হয়েছিল জানি না, কারণ তখন আমরা বাইরে ছিলাম না। কিন্তু এসে দেখি যে বাংলা দেশের গ্রাম এবং টউনিয়ন এবং সড়কের পুরোটাটা আমরা Food Committee হয়েছে। তাতে Governmentএর সমস্ত officerরা শ্রামট আছেন, কিছু বাইরের লোকও আছে। এই Food Committeeএর একটা আইন আছে সেই অনুসারে নিৰ্ণয়িত হয়ে যাওয়া উচিত। পৃথিবীতে আজকাল গণতান্ত্রিকরূপে নিৰ্ণয়িত করার উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে এই যে, কোন ব্যক্তি তার কার্যভার পাওয়ার পরেতে সেই লোক কাজটা ঠিক ভালভাবে করছে কি না এইটে দেখবার একটা উপায় থাকে। যদি নিৰ্ণয়িত না করা হয়, নিজেদের officerবাই নিজেদের হনরত লোক বনোনয়ন করে একটা committee গঠন করে সেটা কিছুদিন ধরে চলে যায়, তাহলে তার ভয় উন্ন কিছু থাকে না। সেখানে নিম্নবর্ণিত চুনি এবং black-marketing যত নকর কিছু হতে পারে সবই শ্রাম হতে থাকে। আমরা চোখের সামনে দিন দিন দেখে একেবারে আলা ছেড়ে দিয়ে বসে আছি। এটাকে নিৰ্ণয়িত না করবার বাংলা Governmentএর কোন কারণ আছে বলে আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। তিন বছর আগে বনোনয়নের দ্বারা যে কমিটি গঠিত হয়েছিল, নিৰ্ণয়িতের দ্বারা পুনর্গঠিত করবার যে আইন হয়েছে সেই অনুসারে তা কেন হয়নি তার কারণ দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। বাংলা দেশের Assembly নিৰ্ণয়িতও হয়েছিল না বুজের জন্য। আমাদের বেল্ট্রীপুয়ের District Boardএরও হয়নি কেন, তাও আমরা জানি না। অন্যান্য District Boards নিৰ্ণয়িত হয়নি। এই বাংলা Governmentএর একটা বৈশিষ্ট্য হিসাবে দেখছি যে, একবার দায় সত্ত্ব বন্ধুর স্থাপন করে আর তাকে ছেড়ে দিতে চায় না। এই Food Committees বোঝ হয় সেইজন্য আর নিৰ্ণয়িত করা হচ্ছে না। নিৰ্ণয়িত করবার কথা যদি থাকে তাহলে দ্বারা Secretary কিংবা President চন তাঁরা সাধারণ লোককে সম্বল করবার, কিংবা আইনবাহিক চনবার, কিংবা তার বোটা কর্তব্য সেটা ভালভাবে করবার যথাসম্ভব চেষ্টা করতো। কিন্তু সেটা না থাকার ফলেতে তারা দুই নেওরা আর officerকে দুই নেওরার অনুর দিয়ে নানা বকরে কাজ বেতাবিল করার চেষ্টাতে থাকে। হঠাৎ একটা হুকুম পৌঁছে গেল যে, লক টাকার সূতা রয়েছে, এটাকে seize করা হউক। সেটা আটকে নেওরা হোল, কেন যে তার কোন কারণ নেই। হঠাৎ বরষ পাওয়া গেল যে, stationএতে চলত ১০।১২ লক টাকার কাপড় ৬ মাস ৮ মাস ধরে পড়ে আছে। officerরা রয়েছে, Controllerরা রয়েছে, district controllerরা রয়েছে; কেন তারা সেটা নিয়ে এসে বিতরণ করে না আমরা ত তা বুঝতে পারি না। যেহেতু বরষ নিলে জানা যায় যে, বহুদিন ধরং কাপড় টেপন থেকে আসেনি। এই কমিটিতে যদি সাধারণের ভেতর থেকে নিৰ্ণয়িত করে লোক দায় তাহলে এই যে সাধারণ লোক চিনি পায় না, কাপড় পায় না—সব black marketএ চলে যায়—এক হয়। এখন উপবিতন কর্তব্যী দ্বারা জানা হয়ে করে যেভাবে চলছে চলুক, অর্থাৎ তাদের পেটটা ভালভাবে চলে যাচ্ছে বলে জানা সাধারণ লোকের যে অভাব অভিযোগ ও পূরণ করবার কোন চেষ্টা করে না। আমি জানি,—আমি একটা কোন Bankএর সঙ্গে connected—হঠাৎ একটা হুকুম এলো যে সূতা জোবায় বিলি করতে পারবে না। কিছুদিন পরে হুকুম এল যে, ৮০,০০০ টাকার সূতা আটকে রাখো। এ কেন হ'লো? এ সমস্ত তার বজ্র। এই বকর চলেছে।

এই বকর আছে বলেই এই committeeতে নির্বাচন করা উচিত। আনি Mr. Speaker মহোদয়ের through দিয়ে বাংলা Governmentকে জানাতে চাচ্ছি যে, যদি তাঁরা গ্রাহ্যের এই কমিটিগুলিকে পুনর্বার নির্বাচনের ব্যবস্থা করেন যাতে দেশের অনুরাগভাজন লোক এই কমিটিতে এসে লোকের চিনি, কেরোসিন, কাপড় পুত্রি যে বড়ই quota পায় তা বিতরণ করেন তাহলে ভাল হয়। একটা জিনিষ দেখতে পাই যে, black marketএ যথেষ্ট চিনি এবং কাপড় পাওয়া যায় অথচ quotaর ভিতর কাপড়, চিনি পাওয়া যায় না। কোথা থেকে black market হয়ে যাচ্ছে? officer রয়েছে, Inspector inspect করবার জন্য রয়েছে, Preventive Officer আছে--এই সবকিছু বকর department ঠিক করা আছে, অথচ black marketএ কোন্ জিনিষ না পাওয়া যায়? কোন একটা জিনিষ পাচ্ছেন না black marketএ বান, সব পাবেন। Governmentএর Control Order সবকিছু জিনিষ যদি control করে থাকে তাহলে তার যে চুরি হয়, আনি ফাটে পশি, Governmentএই যদি officers তাদের জন্যই এই black market হচ্ছে। একটা কথা এই যে, মন্ত্রী মহাশয় যে ভাষা নিয়েছেন এত কোটি টাকা সবচ হবে, কিন্তু সেটা representationএ হওয়া উচিত। এইটা যেন তিনি বিবেচনা করেন, নিজস্ব callous হয়ে না থাকেন। শতকরা ৯০ জন লোকের আত্মবের তার যে committeeর উপর সে committee সাধারণভাবে নির্বাচিত হওয়া উচিত।

Mr. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I urge upon the House that the demand be voted without a single dissentient voice. I have already informed that we must carry on the King's administration. We have taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty that we shall be loyal and we have further taken the oath that we must carry on our duties effectively. So, it is our business, so far as this House is constituted, to run the King's administration. (Cries of "Hear", "hear" from Opposition benches.) Anyway, if you say that we should not run the King's administration, you are a traitor, you will commit breach of faith and oath which you have taken. Therefore, I say that when this amount is necessary to carry on the administration properly and effectively, we have no other alternative but to vote for this amount. Of course, you have complained that the Police is corrupt, the staff of the Civil Supplies Department are corrupt and so the administration is not going on well and therefore the demand should be thrown out.

Well, I beg to enquire, Mr. Speaker, who are these persons who are corrupt. So far as the Police is concerned, your sons, your sons-in-law, your nephews and all your relatives are on the Police staff. So far as the Civil Supplies Department is concerned, you are carrying on the administration of the Civil Supplies Department. It is again your sons, your nephews or sons-in-law. (Laughter.) Take a census of the number of people who are engaged in the administration of the Police Department and of those who are engaged in the administration of the Civil Supplies Department. You will find that the vast majority of these persons are your sons (laughter). I mean the sons of the Opposition members and their sons-in-law and nephews. (Renewed laughter.) Money which is raised by corruption goes to the pocket of these gentlemen. (Laughter.) You may laugh but this is the bare truth. Of course, if it is derisive laughter, I quite resent it. If it is mirthful laughter, I welcome it.

Therefore, whom do you like to dismiss? Will you dismiss your sons, your sons-in-law and your nephews? Who educated them? It is you who educated them. It is you who trained them. They are the brilliant products of the Calcutta University. It is they who educated them. You are responsible for their corruption. It is not the responsibility of the Government. In order to carry on effectively the administration, they must take some people or other. If all your people are inefficient, corrupt and bribe-takers, what can be done?

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up. Please resume your seat.

Mr. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: One word.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right, one word.

Mr. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: I am stating bare facts.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please be true to your word. You have said you will utter one word only.

Mr. MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, one word is illustrative and not exhaustive. (Laughter.)

Mr. H. R. NORTON: Mr. Speaker, Sir. Before my party votes on demand for Civil Supplies, there are several points that require clarifying when the Hon'ble Minister replies to this demand.

Announcements from the Centre about two weeks ago indicated that controls over essential commodities would consist only of steel, iron, coal, foodstuffs, cotton and woollen textiles.

The Bengal Government, it appears to me, wants the continuance of all war-time controls including the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance and the Consumer Goods (Control of Distribution) Order. These last two measures have hitherto stifled trade along with import restrictions.

Import restrictions having been considerably relaxed, there is now a considerable flow of consumer goods particularly from the United Kingdom and the need to perpetuate war-time controls is no longer justified. With free trade and larger imports, there will be plentiful supplies and prices will adjust themselves in the natural course of trade competition.

Rigid control offers no solution to the economic problem of trade and those engaged in trade would consequently not only cease to exist but also cease to provide a market for the manufacturer and be a source of revenue to the Indian exchequer.

I should like to hear a statement of the Hon'ble Minister's intentions with regard to continuing the controls over drugs and consumer goods after the 30th September. So far as drugs are concerned, the uncertainty of the position is already leading to withdrawal of supplies from the market and blackmarket operations.

Notice has been given by the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of Finance and Health and Local Self-Government of two resolutions under section 103 of the Government of India Act requesting the continuation of the existing controls over drugs and consumer goods by an Act of the Central Legislature. The list of controlled articles includes articles of importance to the ordinary consumer.

The resolution relating to drugs was actually moved by the Hon'ble Minister, but owing to protests from members of his own party, its consideration was postponed. We are now left in doubt as to how Government propose to continue the controls. Will the Hon'ble Minister also please explain the position with regard to the continuation of the Control Orders over food and cloth such as the Bengal Rationing Order, the Foodgrains Control Order and the Cotton, Cloth and Yarn Control Order, all of which were promulgated under the Defence of India Rules? Is it correct that all these Control Orders will be continued by Central Legislation under the recent amendment of the Government of India Act, or is it the case that some of the controls will have to be continued by Provincial Legislation?

The Hon'ble Minister in his reply will no doubt review the food position and give us some indication of his future policy. This, we think, is overdue. We would in particular like to hear his policy with regard to controlling the retail prices of rice. During 1946 there have been considerable fluctuations in retail rice prices causing hardship to the consumer. There has been a slight decline recently, but the average retail price still remains much too high for poor, and even middle-class consumers. According to a recent official statement, in many places the price varies from Rs. 16 to

Rs. 18 per maund and in some places it is as high as Rs. 20 or even Rs. 25 per maund. How does the Hon'ble Minister propose to reduce this price level? His only weapon of control is apparently the stocks procured by Government, and, it is obvious that this year Government procurement has not been adequate. What are the Hon'ble Minister's proposals to ensure a more adequate procurement in future?

The Hon'ble Minister has been in office for nearly five months, but we have not yet heard from him any public statement on the food position or any public indication of his policy. Press Conferences have, we notice, been presided over by officials of the Department. There was a proposal to form a non-official Food Advisory Council, but this appears to have been allowed to go to sleep.

An official circular signed by the Secretary of the department was, we know, addressed to political parties and other organisations, but there the matter seems to have been allowed to rest. Public co-operation and public confidence are essential for a successful food policy, and we feel sure that the Hon'ble Minister could obtain this public co-operation if he would himself take up the matter a little more vigorously.

To stop black-marketing, the local Government should press for the abolition of the restriction on imports so that there can be a plentiful supply of consumer goods at controlled prices.

MR. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the time is extremely short I shall confine myself to distribution of yarn. Without going into the details of the system of distribution of yarn that has been adopted and encouraged by the department concerned, it may be said here that the prevailing system is not at all inseparable from corruption that has already vitiated the economic and social life of this unhappy Province. Before I level my criticism against this system, I like to place before this House the method that has been adopted by the Government to distribute yarn amongst the unfortunate poor weavers and fishermen. I can inform the House that the weavers and fishermen never get their yarn either direct from the mills or through the normal trade channel. The yarn has to pass through many intermediary stages before it reaches the actual weavers and fishermen. From the mills the yarn goes to the quota-holders; from the quota-holders to the wholesalers; from the wholesalers to the handling agent; from the handling agent to the subdivisional wholesalers; from the subdivisional wholesalers to the subdivisional retailers; and from the retailers to the actual weavers and fishermen.

Sir, we, therefore, find that the yarn has to pass through as many as six successive agencies before it reaches actual weavers and fishermen. This system did not in the least facilitate the distribution rather the distribution is delayed and misdirected to the black market in spite of this hierarchy of distributing factors. Further, this system pushed up the prices of yarn and consequently the cost of production of hand-loom clothes and fishing nets becomes much higher. I am mentioning here the rate of commission which is allowed to these different factors of distribution and it will prove the fact that I have just mentioned.

Sir, over and above the ex-mill rate the quota-holder gets 3½ per cent.; the wholesaler 7 per cent.; the handling agent 3½ per cent.; the subdivisional wholesaler 1 per cent. and the subdivisional retailer 3 per cent. Over and above this percentage the Subdivisional Controller of Textile and Yarn has a discretion to allow another 2 per cent. to the subdivisional wholesalers and retailers. It therefore comes to this that the actual weavers or fishermen have to purchase yarn at a rate of 20 per cent. higher than the ex-mill rate.

Sir, now let us examine the functions of these intermediaries. Mills produce yarn. The quota-holders have practically no function but they must earn 3 per cent. though they are absolutely idle in the process of

production. Then the wholesalers get 7 per cent. for storage of yarn from the mills. Then comes the handling agent, Rai Bahadur R. P. Saha, whose only function is to ring up to the wholesalers to book the quantities of yarn to the different subdivisions as per allotment by the Director of Yarn and the Director of Fisheries. If the provincial quota is 6,000 bales per month, this gentleman is getting Rs. 90,000 per month without investing a single farthing. The subdivisional wholesalers are to pay the amount required against railway receipts. They really invest money and earn their one per cent. The actual distribution is really made by the subdivisional retailers.

Sir, in fact, these intermediaries have been created only to camouflage nepotism, which has become the main characteristic of this Ministry. The interest of the favourites of the Council of Ministers is served by the method and not the interest of the poor weavers and fishermen who are at present on the verge of extinction. Sir, in my humble opinion, all these intermediaries should be eliminated here and now and an easier method should be adopted so that the weavers and the fishermen get the yarn promptly and at a much lower rate.

Sir, regarding the despatch of monthly quota I must point out that even the quota of yarn for June and July has not reached many districts of this province though today is the 25th of September. This, Sir, is a criminal negligence on the part of the department concerned. There is not a hank of yarn available at present in many districts and the poor weavers and fishermen have already been thrown out of employment. They are starving and their extinction is a certainty if immediate arrangement be not made for the supply of yarn.

Sir, I very much doubt if the Government have any idea regarding the needs of the weavers and fishermen of this province. Is the Government aware about the crying needs of the weavers and fishermen for yarn? Is the Government aware that there is extreme dearth of yarn in this Province? Do the Government know that at present the total monthly requirement of a weaver for yarn for keeping a loom going is 24 lbs. and the weaver is getting only 8 lbs. per month, that is, every weaver is able to keep his loom active only for 10 days in a month and he is to sit idle for the remaining 20 days? I know that a scheme for establishing a spinning mill was submitted to the Government so that yarn may be available at a cheaper rate and in greater quantity for the development of the handloom industry. But this proposal was turned down by the Government on the advice of the Textile Adviser on the ground that there is no dearth of yarn in this Province, and if necessary, yarn may be procured from Bombay. But every one knows that there is dearth of yarn and Bombay yarn will never reach Calcutta. In this respect it may be safely concluded that the Government cannot be exonerated from the responsibility of shelving the real issue, and thereby bringing misery to the weavers and fishermen, and suffering to the people in general.

Sir, with these words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. AHAMMAD ALI MIR : মাননীয় শ্রীকার মহোদয়, এবারে Civil Supplies Department-এর কর্মকর্তাদের, কার্ধ্যভৎসেরতা দেখে আমরা হতবৃত্ত হয়েছি; বিশেষ করে আমরা ময়মনসিংহের সেক। ময়মনসিংহ এবং জামালপুর পার্শ্বতলিন deficit area নয়। আপনারা সবাই জানেন ময়মনসিংহ surplus district এবং এটা আমরাও সর্গত স্বীকার করি যে, আমরা Surplus Districts বাস করি। অনেকের দরতো বাধা যে, আমরা জামালপুর Surplus Sub-Divisionএ বাস করি, অতএব আমাদের চাউল-ধানের অভাব নেই। কিন্তু বঙ্গের আমি জানি, এই Supply Department দ্বারা যে সব কাত কর্ম হয়েছে তা আলো নতোবজরক নয়। ময়মনসিংহ জেলার বহু চাউল ও ধান বরিন করা হয়েছিল, ও পোলাজাত হয়েছিল এবং পতর্ক-বেশ্ট পোতাউনগুলি ডাঙি করা হয়েছিল, কিন্তু সেখা থেকে সেগুলি দিকটর বেল টেসকে দিয়ে মাসমাতি টিবাও হয়ে বার-এক তার কলে হয়েছে এই যে, চালের দাম বশ বার টাকা বশ হয়ে বার। আমি সেখান থেকে আসবার সময় বেবে এসেছি যে, চাউলের দাম কুড়ি টাকা বশ পর্যন্ত হয়েছে। এবং

ভ্রমতে পাচ্ছি যে, চাউলের দাম ক্রমশঃ বেড়ে তিরিশ টাকায় উঠেছে। ধান এবং চাউলের অভাবে মানুষ তিন-চারদিন পর্য্যন্ত উপোস করছে। আমি কেবল জামালপুর সভাভিষানের কথা বলছি না। whole district-এর কথা বলছি। শুধু তাই নয়, এমন অবস্থা হয়েছে যে, কোন কোন গ্রামের গরীব চাষী মজুরের দল যখন অভাবগ্রস্ত হয়, যখন খেতে না পায় তখন পেটের লারে চুরি করতে যায়; কিন্তু আজ গ্রামের কোন বাড়ীতে চুরি করতে গেলেও ধান, চাল পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না। ময়মনসিংহের অবস্থা এই রকম বঁড়িয়েছে। স্রুতবাং আমি অনারবল সাপ্লাই মিনিষ্টারকে অনুরোধ করছি তিনি জেগে উঠুন এবং Supply যাতে ঠিকমত সকলে পেতে পারে তার ব্যবস্থা করুন। তা যদি না করতে পারেন তাহলে আমি বলবো যে, এই Department রেখে কোন কাজ হচ্ছে না। এই Department থাকায় আমাদের কোন লাভ নাই, বরং ক্ষতি হচ্ছে। আরও বলবো যতদিন এই Supply Department না হয়েছিল ততদিন আমরা মানুষের মত খেতে পরতে পারতাম, বাংলার অভাবে আমাদের উপরাস করতে হতো না। কিন্তু বেলিন থেকে এই Supply Department এসেছে সেইদিন থেকে আমাদের দুঃখ-দৈনা, অভাব দেখা দিয়েছে। আজ আমরা দেখতে পাই যে সর্বত্র দুখের কারবার চলেছে। সকলে বলে পুলিশ দুখ যায়, কিন্তু তাব চেয়েও worst হলো Supply Department. আমি এই কথা বাব বাব বলবো যে, Supply Department এ কোন পুকার ন্যায় বিচার নেই।

অনারবল মিনিষ্টার, আমরা ময়মনসিংহবাসী বাংলাবাসীকে বাংলায় এই আইন সভায় মাঝে মাঝে আসিনি, তাদের বাঁচাতে এসেছি। আমরা বাংলায় গরীব চাষী-মজুরের গোলাম, প্রতিনিমি হয়ে এখানে এসেছি, তারা মরবে আর আমরা বাঁচবো এ কখনও হতে পারে না। আজ আমাদের গরীব দেশবাসীকে সকল পুকার সাধ্যা নিয়ে বাঁচাতে হবে। আমি বাংলার পুশান-মন্ত্রীকে অনুরোধ করি তিনি নিজে জামালপুর গিয়ে সেখানকার দুর্দশাগ্রস্ত অধিবাসীদের অবস্থা পরিদর্শন করুন এবং গরীব মজুর-চাষী যাতে খেয়ে পাবে, মানুষের মত বাঁচতে পারে তার সমর ব্যবস্থা করুন। আমি লীগ মিনিষ্টারকে অনুরোধ করছি তাঁরা বনু ময়মনসিংহের অবস্থা কেন এই রকম হচ্ছে? চাউল কেন সেখানে নেই? কোথায় গেল গোড়াউনের মজুত ধান? আজ বাংলার চাষী মরে গেলে আমরাও মৃত্যুমুখে পতিত হবে। কারণ চাষী হচ্ছে দেশের মেরুদণ্ড, চাষী না বাঁচলে আমরাও বাঁচতে পারবো না। তাই চাষীকে বাঁচাতেই হবে। স্রুতবাং চাষীকে বাঁচাতে হলে, মল্লিনওরীও পুশান কর্তব্য হবে, অন্য দেশ থেকে চাউল এনে, এদের সাহায্য করা। আমি জানি পুতোক চাকুরী-নিয়োগ ব্যাপানে হিন্দু মুসলমানের ভাগাভাগি হবে Communal Ratio মতে। আমি জানতে চাই এই Communal Ratio Rule, Civil Supplies Department এ আছে কি না? যদি না থাকে তাহলে আমি মাননীয় মন্ত্রিমহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করবো যাতে শোকান মজুর ও চাকরী-বাকীগুলি Communal Ratio Rule-এতে বিভবণ হয়, তাব ব্যবস্থা করুন। এটা কবলে অন্ততঃপক্ষে কতগুলি লোকের চাকরী কেটে ফোক, বা অন্যভাবে যেনন করে ফোক, জীবনধারণ করার কিছু সুবিধা হবে। সেইজন্য আমি মিনিষ্টার বাহাদুরকে চাকরী-চাস পূর্বে প্রশ্ন করেছিলাম যে, Supply Department এ কতগুলি লোক (হিন্দু ও মুসলমান) চাকরী পেয়েছে, promotion পেয়েছে ও কতগুলি লোককে degrade করা হয়েছে; কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় তাব হিসাব এখনও প্রকাশ্যে পেলার না। তাই আমার শেষ নিবেদন যে, আমাদের দেশের অবস্থা দেখে অনুগ্রহ করে অনারবল সাপ্লাই মিনিষ্টার কাজে অগ্রসর হউন এবং তিনি নিজে সমস্ত বিষয় বিচার করে দেখুন। আমার কথা যদি সত্য হয় তাহলে তার পুতিকার করুন। মিথ্যা হলে, তিনি না করেন, বিক্ষিপ্ত নাই।

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, despite my being a member of the Government Party I am often confronted with the peculiar situation of having to offer severe criticism of the actions of the various departments. I will speak a few words about this department. Because there is so little in its favour and so much against it that I will try to give a full picture to this House of the working of the procurement and distribution system of the Civil Supplies Department. I want to draw the attention of the House to mal-distribution of the Civil Supplies Department. I need not go into the details of every item. I will just give only one instance which will show how the mal-distribution and the procurement system of the Civil Supplies Department is sapping the vitality of the Bengalis, and how it is becoming a growing menace. Take the case of mustard oil. Mustard oil that is being catered all over the Province can hardly be characterised as mustard oil; it is everything minus mustard. Khulna is the worst sufferer. A certain officer has characterised Khulna as surplus

district with regard to mustard oil. For such a beautiful thesis he ought to be given a Doctorate. Khulna is a district where even two hundred maunds of mustard oil is not produced throughout the year.

Now as regards the system of distribution, in the mofussil there are retail dealers who are mostly selected by Food Committees. You will find that in riverine districts the retail dealers come to headquarters by boats from a distance of 20 to 30 miles. You will agree with me that if the same system of rate is applied to a man coming from a distance of about 50 miles by boat and to a man coming from a distance of five miles by motor car, it is bound to lead to blackmarketing, because the mofussil dealer immediately on drawing his quota will sell a quantity of the mustard oil in the town at blackmarket rate in order to save his own skin. Mofussil dealer at the end of his quota hardly earns Rs. 40 to Rs. 50. But he has got to spend a lot by way of conveyance charges, hotel charges and bribes to the Civil Supplies officers. These people are harassed by the Civil Supplies officers and nothing less than Rs. 10 to Rs. 50 has to be given to the staff of the Civil Supplies Department each time they have to come to the Civil Supplies office. Naturally these people will stoop low and will take recourse to black-marketing endangering the well-being of the community or the society as a whole.

Now, Sir, with regard to the food committees, they are an irresponsible body with no consolidated method of work and no system for supervising their working. Once in a blue moon these food committees were created, and no attempt has since been made to overhaul or re-elect these bodies. When they first came into existence people were not quite conscious that these committees will exercise such a tremendous influence on our very existence, but as days are passing, these committees are assuming a very great responsible position. We are utterly surprised to find that up till now no mention has been made as to when these committees are going to be reconstituted or improved upon with a view to driving out the interested caucus and improving the food position in the towns and villages in the interest of the common people.

As regards the integrity of the department and its intention to remove corruption, we have been doing our utmost by ventilating our points to the best of our ability, but the department refuses to listen to our advice and refuses to take any active steps suggested by us. Whenever glaring instances of corruption and bribery were brought to the notice of the department several months ago, nothing was done. About 1,300 maunds of rice was sold by the District Controller of Khulna as deteriorating rice. It was sold to a relation of the District Controller at a reduced rate who had not had any bona fide licence. But when they were on the transit, the District Magistrate seized this entire stock of 1,300 maunds, and he refused to give a permit for its being sent out elsewhere. The District Magistrate sold this very rice at Rs. 12-12, that is, at the controlled rate. So it is evidently true that the officer who had pronounced the stock to be deteriorating and sold it in auction which was surely a private auction at Rs. 6-4 per maund, definitely cheated Government to the extent of the difference between Rs. 12-12 and Rs. 6-4 a maund for a quantity of 1,300 maunds. But the department did not bring the man to book and take such steps as will discourage officers in a similar position to do so. My friends over there think that control orders should now be withdrawn, but let me utter a word of warning to the Minister of the Civil Supplies Department that decontrol of things like cement and corrugated tin of which the demand is much more than their supply will spell disaster to the poorer sections of the people. If a certain article is all on a sudden decontrolled, and if the demand is much more than its supply, then the entire quantity will go to the blackmarket like cement and corrugated tin just at present. So, as regards the decontrolling of any article, stress must first be given on sufficient quantity of the article being available.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Government's Procurement Policy is to purchase as much as possible of the marketable surplus. The total produce of the Province may be in the region of nine million tons. It would be a physical impossibility for Government to take possession of the whole quantity and redistribute it equitably. It can be roughly calculated that a very large proportion, perhaps as much as four million tons, has to change hands in order that the whole population may be fed. Government does not possess the administrative machinery for handling even that portion of the total and the present policy is to rely on private trade to redistribute the bulk of it while Government itself sets out to get possession of the balance which may amount to anything from 600,000 to a million tons according to the crop results of the year. This quantity, together with some assistance from outside the Province is expected to enable Government to control the market by making supplies to those whose requirements would otherwise be a big drain on the open market, and to make distribution in deficit areas which may temporarily run short before private trade can come to the rescue and in overall rationed areas. By this control of the market it is expected that prices can be kept at a reasonable level and private trade can continue to satisfy the needs of the majority of the people.

The present policy is to persuade holders to sell surplus stocks voluntarily to Government. The advantage is that so long as they have sufficient incentive to do so, they play an important part by themselves moving stocks from the interior towards rail heads, and Government is largely relieved of what would otherwise be a very serious problem, viz., to set up an adequate organisation for fetching stocks from the cultivators' doorstep. If such an organisation were attempted and were not perfected, there would be a real danger that procurement would be slower, and the total quantities procured less, than under the present voluntary system.

Although sales to Government are at present said to be on a voluntary basis, certain measures have been adopted as aids to procurement which have an indirectly coercive effect. The most important of these are—

(a) The Bengal Rice Mills Control Order which requires Rice Mills to sell their products only to Government.

(b) The Bengal Food Grains Control Order, 1945, which is designed to keep the administration informed of the activities of dealers, large producers and carriers and of the quantity and whereabouts of stocks held by them and to enable Government to control any activities which might reduce its own procurement prospects.

(c) The Embargo Order forbidding export of rice and paddy from potential procurement areas. This order is designed to limit export from areas believed to have a marketable surplus, so that competition is reduced and prices kept down, with the result that most of the marketable surplus finds its way to the Government procurement agencies and Government is able to transfer the stocks to the areas in which they are most required from time to time. The effect is, therefore, control and distribution at a reasonable price, whereas if no embargo order existed, traders from deficit areas would tend to invade areas which had the largest surplus, and therefore the lowest price, from time to time, thus causing the price to rise inordinately. The stocks they might thus acquire at continually rising prices, they would in turn have to sell at higher prices, and they would also be tempted to hoard the stocks after acquiring them in order to speculate.

(d) The Bengal Food Grains (Movement) Control Order, 1943, which forbids export of rice and paddy from the province except under permit.

(e) Use of powers under Clause 6 of the large producers license or clause 9 of the dealers license to direct holders of large stocks to sell them to Government and, where necessary, powers under rule 75(a) of the Defence of India Rules to examine such stocks.

At present, Government make purchases in about half of the potential procurement area through Chief Agents and in the other half through their own officers. In both cases the actual procurement machinery at the lower level is similar, i.e., the bulk of purchases is made through private traders who work as the agents of the Chief Agents in one case and of Government Procurement Officers in the other. Milled rice is purchased direct from the rice mills by the Chief Agents or by the official agencies. Facilities exist for cultivators to offer their stocks for sale direct to Chief Agents or to Government officers without having to go through any intermediate agency, but in practice they are not often found inclined to take advantage of such facilities.

The advantage of the chief agency system is that the Chief Agents or, at any rate, their employees have a more intimate knowledge of the trade than Government officers and are better equipped for successful bargaining and to avoid purchase of unsuitable stocks. The advantage of the direct procurement system is that one stage of intermediate agencies between Government and the cultivator is eliminated and Government has a closer control over the actual purchasing operations through its own officers. Government's aim is to extend the direct procurement system to the whole of the procurement area as quickly as is found practicable, the main factor being the rate at which Government employees can be recruited and trained and given sufficient experience to enable them to carry out adequately all the functions of the present Chief Agents' employees.

As regards prices, Government's present policy is to fix reasonable offering prices for each procurement district and to maintain them at the fixed level for as long a period as possible. Government aims at fixing prices sufficiently high to encourage the cultivator and reward him for his labour, to ensure that adequate quantities will come into Government's possession, but at the same time to avoid offering competitive prices which would encourage a rising tendency in the general price level of the province. Government has consistently refrained from making any temporary or local increase in its offering price merely for the sake of a temporary increase in the quantities purchased, in the knowledge that such a policy would inevitably lead to a progressive increase in the general price level to the ultimate detriment of the poorer classes.

Mr. A. F. STARK: On a point of order. When is the Hon'ble Minister going to reply to the debate? The Hon'ble Minister is reading a written reply. Various cut motions have been moved and various speeches have been made in this House. I do not see how he can reply to the debate by continuously reading a previously prepared written reply. (Laughter from the Opposition benches.)

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: I will do that later on.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble Minister is explaining the Government policy and then he will give replies.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: May I make one suggestion to the Hon'ble Minister. He has got a written speech. He must raise his head up and look at us and read; otherwise his tone becomes low and it is not possible for us to follow.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: In 1944 Government purchased over a million tons in terms of rice and in 1945 over 665,000 tons. By the end of August 1946 procurement had exceeded 422,000 tons although the last Aman crop was a mediocre one. Temporary set backs to procurement have not been due to defects in the system employed or in policy, but rather to unfavourable conditions created by the nervous disposition of the public who have naturally been influenced by reports of shortage of food-grains elsewhere in India and outside. The publicity given to such reports has often lacked proper restraint.

Then, with regard to distribution, the distribution of rice paddy under Modified Rationing was introduced at the end of February, that is to say, as soon as prices began to rise in the districts this year. By the end of July, Modified Rationing has been introduced in 46 towns and 1,700 rural unions situated in 16 districts and covering a total population of 19,600,000. So far, therefore, as extension of Modified Rationing in deficit areas is concerned, no criticism can be levelled at Government.

The total quantity of rice and paddy (in terms of rice) issued for consumption in the districts up to first half of August was 281,500 tons. For the non-rationed areas in September the consumption quota (in rice and paddy fixed) is 42,700 tons.

While Modified Rationing has been extended to areas with a total population of 19,600,000, the offtake figures given above will show that even in June when the peak figure in issues was reached no more than 68½ lakh persons could have actually participated in distribution. Criticism, therefore, attaches to the following things:—

(a) Restriction of the numbers of families to which foodgrains are given, and

(b) The small ration scale adopted for Modified Rationing.

Both of these are the results of the over-all provincial food situation and the explanation is to be found, if anywhere, in the policy of internal procurement adopted by this Government, the policy of allotments adopted by the Government of India and possibly also in the policy of inter-national allocations adopted by the World Food Organisations.

While the above relates to major criticism of distribution, there may well be minor criticism of the actual working of distribution in local areas.

It has been said by several members that there is corruption in the Civil Supplies Department. It is impossible for me to deny that there is none but I must also say at the same time that we have often heard general allegation of corruption in the Civil Supplies Department. Supposing for the sake of argument, if today I serve notice upon all the employees of the Civil Supplies Department and tomorrow I substitute them by employing another set of officers, I do not think there will be any the least improvement in the situation. I must say this is the unfortunate position in which we are at present situated. However, we are certainly trying our best to check corruption in the Civil Supplies Department. I have already said on many occasions that if there be evidence in order to raise strong suspicion in my mind regarding any particular officer, I will be quite prepared to tell him, "Friend, we have no need for you. You better go." But unless there be evidence against any particular person regarding his dishonesty it is impossible for us to take any action. I must also say that our friends always make general allegations but when we request them to make particular allegations against any particular officer we receive very hardly any response from them.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: There are instances, Sir, where cases have been withdrawn by Government.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: I have given particular instances; there is no sense in telling the House that particular instances were not brought to the notice of Government.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: I may also tell my friends that whenever any particular instances have been given, I have sent them to the Director-General of Enforcement for necessary enquiry and report. I have never failed from doing that. What else could be done, I do not know.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Suspend these officers first and then make an enquiry afterwards.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: As I have already said, it is impossible to take action against any particular officer unless there be evidence, if not very good evidence but good evidence against him or there be reasonable grounds of suspension.

Then it has been said that there should be more imports from abroad. My friends know it quite well that we cannot at present bring any foodstuff from outside Bengal unless it is granted by the Government of India. Government of India fixes a certain quota for Bengal and that is the only quota that we can bring to Bengal. We have got from the Government of India, from January up to now, certainly a large quantity of wheat and wheat products and also large quantities of gram, pulses and other things, but the quantity of rice has been no doubt not so very large, and often it has been found that although the Government of India had given us hopes to make certain allocations, it has not been possible for the Government of India often to fulfil that promise.

Formerly we used to import from Assam and Burma and also from other Eastern States, Tripura State and Cooch Bihar State, but unfortunately it is not possible to do so now.

Mr. Norton has asked me to say something regarding continuance of the control orders. My friend Mr. Sabur has already stated that as soon as the control orders on certain goods, for example, cement and corrugated iron sheets, were discontinued everything of whatever quantity of those goods that came to Bengal disappeared and those commodities could be had only at night in the black-market. Therefore, the supply position is not yet as satisfactory as would make us think that it would be better for the country to lift the control orders now. So I think it would be necessary for us to examine this question very soon and to re-establish control over some of these essential commodities.

Regarding Non-Official Food Advisory Committee, we had sent requests to several associations and also to the Congress. Only some of those associations have responded to our request and some others have not, but unfortunately owing to the Calcutta Killing no further steps could be taken. Very recently I have asked our officers to take necessary steps in this matter.

Regarding weavers and fishermen, some of my friends have raised the question that fishermen are not getting sufficient quantity of yarn for making nets, etc. I may tell my friends for their information that since April, we have given 3,886 bales for this purpose alone. Now, of course, the position is this: that through the co-operative societies—co-operative societies should also be encouraged—yarn is being distributed, and these fishermen and weavers have been asked to form co-operative societies, so that they themselves might manage the distribution of the yarn. It is impossible for us to give an increased quota to these weavers because the quota that we receive from the Government of India is distributed per capita after keeping certain quantities for specific purposes, as for example, for the fishermen, and the balance is distributed per capita to the weavers of the Province.

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: Are they getting less quota since this Ministry has come to office? Previously they used to get much more quantity of yarn.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: If that has been the case, I believe, there must have been some mal-distribution or inequitable distribution in some places. After I have come to office, I have already taken stocks, I have got a list of the quantities that each subdivision is entitled to get and I have already passed orders that yarn should be equitably distributed to every district and every subdivision, so that it cannot be said that some subdivisions have been getting more and some subdivisions have been getting less.

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: I do not say that some subdivisions are getting more and some less. What I want to say is that previously they used to get about two bundles of yarn. Now they are getting only 8 lbs. whereas previously they used to get about 20 lbs.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: That has already been replied.

Regarding mustard oil also the situation is this: Government of India have fixed a basic quota for Bengal, because Bengal produces a very small quantity of mustard seeds and consequently we have to depend very much upon the quota fixed and given by the Government of India. We have to bring it from U. P. and some other Provinces. Unfortunately it so happens that some of the traders of certain districts purchase mustard seeds in black-market and bring them to Bengal and then that quantity is deducted from the quota fixed for us. That is the reason why some districts are getting larger quantities of mustard seeds than some other districts. However, our basis of distribution is this that the quantity that is available in our Province is to be divided among the people of our Province per capita, and accordingly the quota is fixed for each subdivision.

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: Mustard oil has been decontrolled altogether in the district of Burdwan and the price of mustard oil has risen in other parts of Bengal.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: I do not know. Regarding food committees I must say that although it has been stated that food committees are bad and useless, I do not think a statement like that should have been made from the honourable members of this House. Failure to reconstitute these food committees, particularly village food committees, is due to the fact that the development staff has disappeared and the circumstances for holding the election no longer exists. The present situation being not so much favourable, the opinion of the District authorities has been taken, who believe that this is not the proper time for the reconstitution of these food committees. I have certainly taken steps so that as early as possible, the food committees might be reconstituted.

Mr. A. F. STARK: On a point of information, Sir, Mr. Norton's question was, "how does the Government propose to continue the controls over consumers' goods after 30th of September, when the Defence of India Rules expire". My honourable friend Mr. Norton does not want removal of controls; he wants to know how Government propose to continue.

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: Of course, the control order at present in force would be ineffective from 30th September next, and, if necessary, we shall request His Excellency to issue an Ordinance.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Does the Hon'ble Minister regard it as necessary?

The Hon'ble Mr. ABDUL COFRAN: Yes, we consider it very necessary, because the supply position is not at all satisfactory.

Mr. H. R. NORTON: When will the Ordinance be issued?

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, it is quite clear that it must be before 30th of September, otherwise it will cease to have any effect.

The motion of Mr. Amulya Chandra Adhikari that the demand of Rs. 9,75,77,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary Charges in India", be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Rajani Kanta Pramanik that the demand of Rs. 9,75,77,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary Charges in India", be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Bimal Chandra Sinha that the demand of Rs. 9,75,77,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary Charges in India", be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Iswar Chandra Mal that the demand of Rs. 9,75,77,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary Charges in India", be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Gofran that a sum of Rs. 9,75,77,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary Charges in India", was then put and agreed to.

25—General Administration—General Administration.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 2,72,49,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration".

Sir, looking through the cut motions, it appears to me that most of them refer to other departments and other Ministers whose budget grants have been moved or are going to be moved. Very few of these cut motions actually relate to matters which come under my personal supervision. However, I leave it to the good sense of the House to raise discussion which I hope I will be able to answer.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to institute any planned post-war reconstruction programme.

Mr. BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the poor scale of pay of the Librarian and the Library Assistant of the Library of the Bengal Legislature.

Mr. ASHUTOSH MALLICK: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the disparity of scales of pay of upper division assistants of the Assembly with those of the Secretariat and non-grant of any compensatory allowance to the staff of the Assembly for working late hours.

Sir, I have got another cut motion in my name. If I may be permitted I may move it now.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. ASHUTOSH MALLICK: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the non-grant of overtime or compensatory allowance to the superior and menial staff of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Mr. KAMAL KRISHNA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the delimitation of constituencies in the district board election in the district of Bankura.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25-General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to institute a public judicial enquiry into the Diamond Harbour jetty disaster in which 143 Gangasagore *mela* pilgrims were killed and many other pilgrims were injured by the collapsing of the jetties and their railings at Diamond Harbour on the 12th January, 1946, and to compensate the injured and the relatives of the deceased.

Mr. DHANANJOY ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25-General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Chowkidari Enquiry Committee by making provisions for the salaries of the Chowkidars to the extent of the half from the revenue of the province.

Mr. MANORANJAN DHAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25-General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the general conduct of the present Subdivisional Officer of Kishoreganj (Mymensingh district), with particular reference to his relation with the Union Food Committees, Multi-purpose Societies of Kishoreganj subdivision (Mymensingh).

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25-General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the policy of tank improvement and tank excavation.

Mr. DHANANJOY ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25-General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about mal-administration of the Rationing Department.

Mr. HARAN CHANDRA GHOSH CHOWDHURY: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving the motion is to raise a discussion about the necessity of keeping a regular and permanent communication between the mainland and the islands of Hatya and Sandwip by sea-going craft.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Sir, I must confess that in moving my cut motion, I find myself in a somewhat difficult situation. Naturally I wished to acquaint myself with the Government's Development Plan. I know that the Finance Minister had stated in his budget speech that for the first time in the history of this Province, she had been enabled with the help of the Centre, to embark upon a comprehensive and well-thought-out plan of development embracing every field of nation-building activity. I would request you, Sir, to particularly underline the words "comprehensive" and "well-thought-out plan of development", for was I not surprised when on referring myself to the Five-Year Plan, I found it was stated in the Introduction that it was not a Blue Print, and that on further re-examination all the schemes or perhaps most of them would undergo modification, and, what is more, there were important and obvious gaps in the Plan itself? Now such is the character of the Government's comprehensive and well-thought-out plan of development. Another surprising, if not astounding, statement made by the Finance Minister in course of his reply

to the general discussion of the budget was this that this year's development expenditure was to be regarded as laying the foundation wall and that schemes and plans which are still under consideration and in the process of incubation would be made to fit on to it. Sir, an architect who would lay the foundation without having any precise idea of what the superstructure was going to be stands in a category by himself, and that honour is due to the Finance Minister of this Government. I will not tire the patience of the House by emphasizing the obvious by saying, for example, that the plan is no plan at all, but a collection of disparate departmental schemes, that in its formulation the fundamental principles of planning have little or no bearing, that its primary object is not the raising of the standard of living of the masses but provision of employment for demobilised personnel, that it has been framed by officials about whose knowledge of our problems and appreciation of our needs, the less said the better or that the Ministers on their own admission could give, but little thought to this comprehensive plan.

I could go on adding to this list of perfectly valid criticisms. But I am aware that I might be characterised as a carking critic offering no constructive suggestion. I have wondered, therefore, what I would possibly have done, if I were in the Chief Minister's position which, I consider, to be an unfortunate position. I say unfortunate because of a certain limitation which the policy and the *modus operandi* of the party to which he belongs impose. The first thing that I could do was the assessment of my limitations and my advantages. For example, in the first place I would have known that I had to maintain the party in power by distribution of suitable patronages and by other unorthodox methods even though it were very uneconomic and inefficient. I could not therefore expect any saving out of the general revenues for development expenditure. In the second place the European party had to be kept in humour. Fortunately, the development expenditure does not infringe upon any of their special interests. In the third place no well-thought-out plan exists, but I would have tried to make the utmost out of such materials as were already available to me. In the fourth place I would have to depend on Central funds for development expenditure. I know that the Congress-ridden Central Government is wicked and a pariah and not fit to be touched with a pair of tongs, but I know money has no religion or community. And from whatever source it comes—whether it be from the cursed Central Government or not,—it does not become tarnished or contaminated in the process. What I would be concerned with was the amount that would be available to me. An Hon'ble Minister had said that it would be about 69 crores, although I have doubts about the correctness of that figure. You will recall, Sir, that Sir Archibald Rowlands had said in the Central Legislature that the amount that would be available for distribution to the provinces for development expenditure would be about 250 crores, and that this was to be distributed on a population basis. That would have given us only fifty crores. But let us assume that it is 69 crores which, I presume, is exclusive of such amounts as may be available by way of loans for undertaking self-financial expenditure. This amount of 69 crores, I would not have permitted to be frittered away in the shape of doles to different departments, as has been the practice in the past, but I would have rather concentrated on a selected number of projects which were likely to bring benefit to the masses. For example, I would have suggested these projects: (1) to make Bengal self-sufficient in food by bringing under cultivation the cultivable wastes for which I would recommend (a) adoption of schemes which would be self-financing, and (b) instituting measures for increasing the yield for which I would set apart two crores; (2) I would have a comprehensive scheme of rural water-supply in Bengal having the provision of one source of supply for every

four hundred persons with a view to combating water-borne diseases such as cholera, malaria and typhoid costing six crores (*vide* an unpriced Government publication, "A plan for Better Bengal"); (3) a scheme to combat malaria costing one crore (*vide* scheme, No. 188); (4) introduction of compulsory primary education costing 38 crores (*vide* the Sargent scheme); (5) a scheme for increasing cloth production by encouraging mill production and *charkha*-spinning and handloom-weaving, particularly in villages as a self-financing project; (6) development of roads costing 20 crores as part of expenditure with scheme No. 101.

I would like to conclude by saying a word to my honourable friends opposite. This is what I would say. You have your League Government here. Bengal is virtually a Pakistan province, because of the essentially undemocratic and British sponsored 1935 Act. But what have you achieved? You have generated fear, distrust and resentment in the hearts of the Hindus, but that may not worry you. But what economic benefit have you assured to the masses, and let us say, the Muslim masses. Here was a sum of 69 crores obtained as a gift from the Centre, more than two-thirds of which came from the coffers of the kuffirs and this is going to be wasted on uneconomic projects. I would ask you, what are you going to do in order that this money may not be wasted, but may, on the contrary, be used fruitfully in the interest of the masses.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25-General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving this motion is to raise a discussion about (i) failure of the Government to fix the minimum price of jute at Rs. 40 per maund, and (ii) failure of the Government to abolish the maximum price of jute.

বিঃ শ্রীকার স্যার, আমার cut motionএ বিশেষ বড় বক্তৃতা দেবার কিছু প্রয়োজন নেই, কারণ আমি জানি এই হাউসে বাংলার প্রতিনিধি ঘাঁবা উপস্থিত আছেন, তাঁরা সকলেই পাটচাষীদের দুঃবিস্বাস কথা জানেন। দীর্ঘকাল যাবৎ পাটবাবসাষীদের জন্য বিশেষ করে ইংরাজ ব্যবসায়ীদের স্বার্থের জন্য এদেশে গরীব চাষীদের স্বার্থ বলি দেওয়া হচ্ছে। বর্তমানে পাট চাষ করতে যা সবচ হুয় তা যদি আমরা হিসাব করি তাহলে আমরা দেখতে পাই যে, প্রতিঘণ পাট চাষ করতে অন্ততঃ ৩৫—৩৫ টাকা খরচ হয়ে যায়। এই দুইদিনে যখন চাল ২০ টাকা, ২৫ টাকা মণ দরে বিক্রয় হয়, যখন প্রয়োজনীয় সকল জিনিষই তথাকথিত দূর্শূল হয়ে পড়েছে, যখন জীবনযাত্রা সাধারণের পক্ষে অত্যন্ত কঠিন হয়ে পড়েছে, যখন চাষীরা তাদের বুধে দুটো অনু ঝোপাড় করতে পারছে না, সেই সময় যদি কেবল ইংরাজ ব্যবসায়ীদের বুধের দিকে তাকিয়ে পাটের দরকে নিম্নস্তরে বৈধ দেওয়া হয়, তাহলে আমি ভোর করে বলতে বাধ্য হবো যে, এতে বাংলার পাটচাষীদের প্রতি অত্যন্ত অন্যায় করা হবে। পাটের দর অন্ততঃ ৪০ টাকা হওয়া উচিত, Government দর ১৬, ১৭ বেধে দিয়েছে। কিন্তু চাষীরা ভাও পায় না। তারা যাত্রা আট-নয় টাকা দানে পাট বিক্রয় করতে বাধ্য হয়। এমন অবস্থা যদি চলতে থাকে তাহলে বাংলার চাষী, বিশেষ করে মুসলমান চাষী যারা পাট জন্মিয়ে থাকে তাদের সর্বনাশ হবে। আমি তাই আশা করি, মুসলিম লীগ পরিচালিত এই সন্নিবণী, ধীরা কথায় কথায় মুসলমানের স্বার্থের কথা বলে থাকেন, তাঁরা যদি বাস্তবিক সভায় মুসলমানের স্বার্থ রক্ষা করতে চান তাহলে অবিলম্বে ইংরাজদের বুধের দিকে না তাকিয়ে পাটের দর অন্ত্য ৪০ টাকা ধার্য করে দিন।

বুধের বিষয়, কিছুদিন পূর্বে চাকার বানানীর স্বামী মহাপয়ের সহিত এই বিষয়ে আলোচনা করা হয়েছিল, তখন তিনি এ সবচে যে উত্তর দিয়েছিলেন সেটা অত্যন্ত নৈরাশ্যজনক। আমি আশা করি তাঁর মতে সন্নিবণীর সকলে পরিচালিত করেন না; এবং পাটচাষীরা যাতে উপযুক্ত মূল্য পেতে পারে, অন্ত্য পক্ষে বস্তুতঃ ৪০ টাকা, তা তাঁরা ধার্য করে দেবেন। যদি এই পাটের দর ৪০ টাকা নিম্নস্তর ধার্য করা না হয়, তাহলে আমি ভোর করে বলতে পারি যে এই দুইদিনে বাংলার চাষীরা শীত্রেই নিঃশেষ হয়ে যাবে।

চাউলের দর এখন যা দেখতে পাই, হয়তো ক্রমশঃ আরও বেড়ে যাবে, কারণ উপযুক্ত পরিমাণ চাল নেই। (A voice : আপনি Central Governmentকে বলুন) বৈধা বলুন। আমি বলে করি স্বাক্ষর

দীর্ঘ বহিরগামী যদি পাটের দর ৪০ টাকা বার্ষিক করে দেন তাহলে কেহই তাতে বাধা দিবে না, বাংলায় চাষী বৃত্তান্ত হতে রক্ষা পাবে। পণের বাড়ি শেষ চাপিরে যদি নিজে লাকই গাইতে চান, যদি দরিদ্রের প্রতি দরদ দেখাতে না চান, আব কেবল মুখে দরদ দেখিয়ে, মুসলমানের স্বার্থ দেখি, মুসলমানের স্বজন কামনা করি, একথা বলেই কর্তব্য শেষ করেন, তাদের মজল হবে না।

বাংলায় চাষী শতকরা ৯৯ জন মুসলমান। এই বহিরগামী উচিত ছিল ইতিপূর্বেই পাটের নিম্নতম দর ৪০ টাকা বেঁধে দেওয়া, কিন্তু তা, তাঁরা করেননি। নিজেদের স্বার্থের জন্য, ইংরেজদের খুশী করে বহিরের গদী আঁকড়ে থাকবার জন্য পাটের দর উচ্চতর বেঁধে দিয়েছিলেন। আজ যদি এই কথা তাঁরা অস্বীকার করেন তাহলে আমি বলবো তাঁরা নির্লজ্জ। কিন্তু আমি জোর করে বলতে পারি তাঁরা আজ নির্লজ্জ হতে পারেন, তাঁদের হাতে ক্ষমতা আছে, তাঁরা সেই ক্ষমতাব্যবহার করতে পারেন, এদেশের অধিকাংশ জনসাধারণকে ভুল পথে চালিত করতে পারেন, তাদের ধোকা দিতে পারেন (Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: আপনি ধোকা দিচ্ছেন) তাঁরা অনেক কিছু বলতে পারেন ধর্মের গোহাই দিয়ে, কিন্তু নিশ্চিত জানবেন যে, তারা মতই অধিকারিত হোক না কেন, তারা একদিন বুঝতে পারবে আপনারদের শূকর স্বরূপ (A VOICE: You are flogging a dead horse.) আমি এই কথা আপনারদের সম্মুখ করে দিয়ে দিতে চাই যে, যদি ধর্মের গোহাই দিয়ে আর বেশদিন বহিরের গদী রক্ষা করা চলবে না। যদি সত্যি তাদের মজল চান, তাহলে তাদের মজল জনক কাছে অগ্রগামী হয়ে, তাদের উপকার করুন।

আমি আশা করি যে, যদি পাটের নিম্নতম দর ৪০ টাকা বেঁধে দেন, তাহলে একমাত্র কয়েকজন ইউরোপীয়ান বণিক ভিন্ন এই হাউসে উপস্থিত সকল লোকই সেটা সম্মত করবেন।

ময়িদন ধাঁরা এখানে উপস্থিত আছেন তাঁরা যোগা করা যে পাটের নিম্নতম দর ৪০ টাকা বেঁধে দেবেন, তা না হ'লে আমি জোর করে বলতে পারি তাঁরা দেশের প্রতি, সমাজের প্রতি, বিশেষ করে মুসলমান কৃষকের প্রতি, বিশ্রাসঘাতকতা করবেন।

Mr. J. N. SMART: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to draw the attention of Government to the urgent necessity of giving effect to the recommendations of the Rowlands Committee. This Committee in their Report have provided us with the blue-print of an administrative machine adequate for our post-war needs and their recommendations are of fundamental importance. The keynote of the Report is the emphasis on development, and the Committee make no secret of their view that the present administrative machine is quite inadequate for carrying out large-scale development schemes. Government propose to spend no less a sum than twelve crores of rupees during the current financial year on various development schemes. But can such a large expenditure be properly supervised or can any real progress with these schemes be expected under the present administrative organisation? I would ask the Hon'ble Minister to tell us what, for example, has been done to formulate district plans and to put the District Officer in charge of these plans? Will he tell us what has been done to place the District Officer in a position to discharge his new responsibilities, by increase of staff and reorganisation of his office? Has any action been taken to increase the number of Circle Officers as recommended by the Rowlands Committee?

A notable omission from the Budget Estimates is the important recommendation for the subdivision of the districts of Mymensingh, Midnapore, Dacca and Bakarganj. These districts were pronounced unmanageably large by the Administrative Enquiry Committee of 1913, and the steadily increasing population of the intervening years, cannot have rendered them a less difficult administrative proposition. It is surely a first principle of good administration to work with units of manageable size and this question should receive primary attention.

Turning now to the quality of the administration, this Party would welcome some evidence of Government's determination to tackle the grave problems of bribery and corruption. It is not enough to leave it to the Government of India to give effect to certain recommendations by Ordinance. Government must show determination to deal with these

problems themselves, and I would suggest the best way of doing this is to deal swiftly and decisively with offenders. If bribery and corruption is to be checked, retribution must be swift and sure, but the present position is that cases drag on for years while offenders are seldom suspended and much more often are transferred to some more desirable post! We would like to hear from the Hon'ble Minister, particularly in view of his assurances when he took office, what are his proposals for dealing with bribery and corruption.

The position with regard to the Public Service Commission recommendations is also unsatisfactory. The Rowlands Committee have made three important recommendations, namely—

(1) That Ministers should have no hand whatever in the appointment, promotion, transfer or posting of any officer below the status of Secretary, Deputy Secretary or Head of a Department or Deputy Head:

(2) That the Commission should not ordinarily be asked to suggest the names of more candidates than there are vacancies for: and

(3) That the Commission's Annual Report should be published in toto.

The Hon'ble Minister, in reply to a question on these recommendations by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sawday, stated that the first two proposals were under consideration and as regards the third, it had been decided that this recommendation need not be accepted for the present. These replies appear to us to be merely evasive. It does not require four or five months' consideration for Government to decide whether its Ministers should take a hand in appointment making. Surely an immediate decision can be arrived at on such an important point as protecting Ministers from political pressure and keeping the Services free from political influences. By rejecting the Committee's recommendation that the Commission's Annual Report should be published, it would appear Government wish to conceal the Service Commission's activities and opinions from public. Perhaps the Hon'ble Minister will give the House some explanation.

And finally, Sir, there is Local Self-Government. The Rowlands Committee point out that the Local Self-Government Department has largely failed to give local bodies, the attention, assistance and supervision they require and are entitled to expect. The department has, in fact, failed to develop as it was intended that it should. The Committee recommend that the Department of Local Self-Government should be separated from that of Public Health and that a small Inspectorate of Local Bodies should be attached to this new Ministry of Local Self-Government. This Inspectorate would work in close collaboration with the District Officer and with the Examiners of Local Accounts. The Rowlands Committee describe the general standard of Local Self-Government as being "depressingly low". Government cannot evade a share of the blame for this state of affairs, and it is hoped they will give serious and early consideration to the Committee's recommendations, designed as they are, to raise these standards.

MR. BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the scale of pay obtaining in all the departmental libraries of the Government of India is Rs. 300-500. The librarian of the Bengal Legislative Assembly Library has got a scale of Rs. 130-175, which is rather poor. Our librarian is an efficient librarian; he is qualified enough. He is an M.A. He also holds a diploma in librarianship from the Government of India and also certificates from other foreign Library Associations. I think he should get the same emolument as is given to the holders of library diploma from the Government of India.

Then I come to the question of the scale of pay of the Library Assistant. She is a graduate and has generally been found to be

an efficient worker. She has been working here for the last four years. Her scale of pay is Rs. 45 to Rs. 75—a very poor scale of pay. She gets the pay of a paharawalla! I think, Sir, that the Library Assistant of this Legislature should receive proper pay. The corresponding scale prevailing in the Bengal Library, the University Library and the Government of India Library is Rs. 100 to Rs. 300. I draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge and would request him to revise the scales of pay of our librarian and Library Assistant. That is all that I have got to say.

Mr. ASHUTOSH MALLICK: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not think any long speech is necessary on this subject, but I should like to submit certain facts for the consideration of this House. There are many new members in this House and therefore I would like to speak something here.

Overtime allowance used to be given to the staff of the now defunct Council up to 1931 and was discontinued on the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee. The rate was as follows:—

	Rs.
Upper Division Assistant	5 per diem.
Lower Division Assistant	4 per diem.
Typists	3 per diem.

Allowance used to be given for working overtime beyond 7 p.m. for each day of meeting.

Times without number this matter came up before this House. I shall enumerate those facts. In the July session, 1938, in reply to some supplementary question to starred question No. 211 by Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas, the then Deputy Speaker Mr. Ashraf Ali informed the House that Government would be moved to grant some allowance to the staff for doing Watch and Ward duties. Then, Sir, on the 11th July, 1939, in reply to a question by Maulvi Md. Mozammel Huq, M.L.A., the then Deputy Speaker informed the House that the Hon'ble Speaker would move Government for the payment of some allowance for doing strenuous duties over a period of 8 to 9 hours a day. Then, again, Sir, Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal, M.L.A., now M.L.A. (Central), enquired by question No. 305, about the result of the move to be taken as promised by the Deputy Speaker on the 11th July, 1939. The Deputy Speaker Mr. Hashemy informed that Government did not agree to overtime allowance and that Government would be moved for a compensatory allowance. In reply to a supplementary question by Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu the Deputy Speaker agreed to the desirability of appointing a committee representing all the grievances of the staff in regard to working for extra hours. No such committee has so far been formed. Then, Sir, Mr. Azizul Haque, on the eve of his leaving for England, stated as follows on the floor of the House on the 13th March, 1942. I shall read now the relevant portion. This is what he said:—"The second function which the Speaker has to discharge is in connection with the administrative work of the Assembly Department, and here under the constitution as it at present stands the financial responsibility of every expenditure in connection with the Assembly is with the Government and it is the Government which has to submit budget proposals to this House and has to explain its reasons and justifications. It is in these circumstances that the Speaker has to administer his department under rules framed by the Government. Here he is often powerless at points where he may come into conflict with the views of Government. I propose to write to you later in full as to the lines on which the Assembly Department should work and to place my experience before you so that you might at a time when I shall not be the Speaker

consider the whole question on its merits. There are, however, two questions to which I would like to draw your special attention, namely:—

- (1) that the status of the Department and of its officers should be exactly the same as those in the Secretariat, and
- (2) that the pay and prospects of the Assembly Department staff should in no way be inferior to those working in other Departments directly under the control of Government. I do hope that you will kindly consider this matter as early as possible.

May I also state one other matter. For the last five years, I have tried to build up the working of the Assembly office as belonging to this House and even though in administrative matters we have to accept Government rules, I have all along worked towards the ideal that it is to this Assembly that it should ultimately be responsible and that it must function keeping this House in front to build up parliamentary traditions. Let us remember that a very large part of our success depends on the genuine devotion and work by the office staff and I do honestly, frankly and unequivocally admit, how much I owe to the office staff with whom I have worked for the last five years. They work in silence and they work behind the knowledge of others and their work does not appear before the public gaze. Let us remember that they are also human beings and that they have to work often from morning till evening and even sometimes till midnight. I can assure you that they belong to you and they work with devotion and zeal, day and night, at the sacrifice of their health and comfort. I feel deeply personal grief in parting company with the staff of the department and you all. I speak in no conventional sense, but with my humble experience in various spheres of life, I can say I have hardly come across a better and a more devoted band of officers and men, devoted honestly and devoted sincerely, than the staff of the Assembly Department—be he an orderly, a menial, a clerk or a gazetted officer of this department and if I have got anything to say it is that I leave them to your charge, to your responsibility, individually as well as collectively, and I do hope and trust that you will look after them. My personal responsibility is all the greater; many of them I brought here and I cannot leave them without discharging this duty of mine."

With those words, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. KAMAL KRISHNA RAY : Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমান আলোচ্য বিষয় হ'লো বাকুড়া জেলায় জেলা বোর্ডের সদস্য নিৰ্বাচনের ব্যাপারে যে নতুন delimitation হয়েছে, জেলা বোর্ড ব্যাপারে বাকুড়া ও বেদিনীপুর জেলা বাংলা সরকারের বিধ-কর্তৃতে গত ১৯২৯-৩০ সাল থেকে যে পড়ে আছে তার ইতিহাস। আমি বলছিলাম বেদিনীপুর এবং বাকুড়া জেলায় জেলা বোর্ডগুলির উপর সরকারের ১৯২৯-৩০ সাল থেকে যে বিধ-কর্তৃ পড়েছে, তাদের উপর দিয়ে যে অভ্যাসের অবিচার চলছে, যে আশঙ্কিত চলছে তা নতুন নয়। *delimitation* অপরাধ অন্য কিছু নয়, ব্যবহারই তাঁরা কংগ্রেস-মনোনীত প্রার্থীদেরই পাঠান। এই কারণে দেখা যায় ১৯২৯-৩০ সাল থেকে বাকুড়া এবং বেদিনীপুর জেলায় আজও সরকারী নিযুক্ত Chairman সাধারণের নিৰ্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিগণ চেয়ারম্যান নিযুক্ত করার কথা থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়ে আসছে। যাক—ইউনাইটিং বিষয় হলো যে এই যে delimitation এর কথা উদ্দেশ্য কি এটাই আমাদের দেখতে হবে। কথা উদ্দেশ্য যদি কোন একটা নীতির ভিত্তিতে, কোন একটা বুদ্ধির ভিত্তিতে হ'তো তাহলে আমাদের কিছু বলবার ছিল না। আমাদের বিশ্বাস যে এই জেলাভিত্তিতে কোন রকমে কংগ্রেসকে পুৰুল করা; কোন রকমে লোকের মাঝখানে মনোমালিন্য সৃষ্টি করাই তাদের কথা উদ্দেশ্য। এমন অপ্রত্যাভা দেখুন যে delimitation বা নিৰ্বাচন কেন্দ্র নির্ধারণের নীতি দুটি হতে পারে:—এক জন-সংখ্যা, এক ধান। বাকুড়া জেলায় seat ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে ২০টি—ডাব মধ্যে ১৯টি হিন্দু আর একটি মুসলমানের জন্য সংরক্ষিত। যদি সহজ বুদ্ধির দ্বারা নিৰ্বাচিত হর তাহলে জিলায় ১৯টি ধান আর ১৯টি seat সহজ বাতাবিক এবং বুদ্ধিসঙ্গত; আর যেটি সংরক্ষিত মুসলমান সেটি সংগ্রহ জিলায় কিছু জা না হয়ে করা যোতো কি কেঁদুনি: এখন কয়েকটি ধান আর seat করা হয়েছে। বাকুড়া জিলায় সবসময় বাস দিলে পল্লী অঞ্চলের অবিসংখ্য সংখ্যা যোতো ১,২০,৫০০। তাহলে দেখা যায় এই ২০টি seat

এ পড়ে ৬০,০০০ লোক প্রতি একটি করে seat হয়। এর ব্যবধানে সংখ্যা-বহন কম-বহন যে কর্তি থানা আছে—জাভে কোথা যার, যারপূর্ব, ওঁলা ও বাঁখা থানাগুলিতে জনসংখ্যা যথাক্রমে হ'লো ১০০,৬৪৩, ৮৬,০৩০ এবং ৭৮,৬৬৭। এই এক একটা থানায় একটি করে সদস্যের ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। আবার যেখান্ডে পাঁচি—ডালডাংরা এবং সিমলাপাল থানা যাদের জনসংখ্যা ৪৭,৫৭৬ ও ৪৮,০৯৫ তাদের জন্যও একটি করে আসন। এদিকে পাত্র-সাহার থানার জনসংখ্যা ৬২,০৩০ হলেও সে থানায় কোন আসন না দিয়ে তাকে তিন ভাগ করে তিনটা থানায় লড়ে জুড়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে। ইন্দান থানার সহিত পাত্রসাহার থানার $\frac{২}{৩}$ অংশ, হুটাই ইউনিয়ন, বোপা করে ২টি আসনের যুক্ত ব্যবস্থা করে অথবা জটিলতার সৃষ্টি করা হয়েছে। পাত্রসাহার থানাকে ভেঙে পাণ্ডু/বতী ইন্দান বিকপুর এবং সোনাখুৰী থানাগুলির জনসংখ্যার লম্বে পূরণ করার জন্যও পাত্রসাহার থানাকে ডাঙ্গার পুরোজম ছিল না, কারণ এই থানাগুলির জনসংখ্যা যথাক্রমে ৫০,৬৬৭, ৪৭,৮০৫ এবং ৪৮,১০৫। পূর্ণেই শেখিয়েছি ডালডাংরা ও সিমলাপাল থানায় ৪৭ হাজার ও ৪৮ হাজার জনসংখ্যার উপর এক একটি আসন দেওয়া হয়েছে। সন্ন্যাসভারে অন্যান্য বৃষ্টীক্ষিপসূত পদমগুলির প্রতি দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করা সম্ভব নয়। আমি সরকারকে অনুরোধ করবো যেটা সহজ সরল, যুক্তি ও নীতি অনুযায়ী, তা ডেড়ে এই অর্থোক্তিক ও অসরল delimitationএর দ্বারা কি লাভ হতে পারে সেটা বিবেচনা করুন।

Mr. SPEAKER : Your time is up.

Mr. KAMAL KRISHNA RAY : One minute Sir, এ করার এক্ষা এ কারণ হতে পারে যে লোক-দের অকারণে ভাগ করে তাদের মাঝখানে মনোমোহন্য, যেম-বিষেখের সৃষ্টি করা। আমার অনুরোধ একটা নীতির উপরে ভিত্তি করুন, হয় জনসংখ্যার উপর, না হয় থানার উপর। যেখানে ৬০,০০০ লোক রয়েছে সে থানাকে নাকোচ করে দিয়ে সেখান থেকে কোন লোক না পাঠিয়ে সরকারের কি স্বাধ সিদ্ধি হতে পারে তা আমি বুঝতে পারি না। আমি সরকারকে অনুরোধ করবো যে তাঁরা এই যে কেন্দ্রীয় নিয়ন্ত্রণ ব্যাপারটা কয়েকজন তাঁর স্বকিয়ার করুন, এবং আমার চাঁচিই প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করুন।

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : I wish to discuss the disaster that overtook the pilgrims at Diamond Harbour. The Gangasagore *mela* is famous and pilgrimage is held every year on the last day of the Bengali month *Pous* at the confluence of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal. The place is visited every year by tens of thousands of pilgrims from all over India. The *mela* is managed and arrangements are made by the Government and the 24-Parganas District Board jointly. This year arrangements were made with joint steamer companies of the I.G.N. and R.S.N. to carry the pilgrims to the *mela*. They constructed two jetties at Diamond Harbour, two wooden jetties, for the embarkation and disembarkation of pilgrims. On 12th January, embarkation of pilgrims was proceeding by the southern jetty when the first accident happened at 11 a.m., and 13 pilgrims were killed and 25 were seriously injured. The accident happened by the breaking of the railings of the jetty. Thereupon the executive authorities as well as the steamer companies were given warning and were repeatedly requested to stop embarkation and not to allow embarkation by the second jetty, which was suspected to be a weak structure, but it was not heeded to. Embarkation by the second jetty started according to their plan. In helplessness and desperation the local leaders approached the Subdivisional Officer, but before he could do anything the second accident happened by the collapsing of the gangway of the second jetty and breaking of its railings. This time it was not 13, but 143 pilgrims were killed outright and 55 seriously injured. Sir, the ghastly tragedy aroused resentment and sensation in the public mind and in the press. The ghastly tragedy is unique in its nature, it is unique in the history of pilgrimage in the history of India. There was a universal demand from the public as well as the press to institute a thorough enquiry of a judicial nature.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR : Sir, on a point of order. No Hon'ble Minister appears to be listening to the speech. There seems

to be some conference and commotion going on round a police officer. We should like to know what it is about? There is a police officer inside the House.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: We want to know the subject matter of their discussion.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Because I do not follow what the honourable member has been saying.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. If the Hon'ble Minister does not seem to be following the speech, how will he reply.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. The Parliamentary Secretary is present and is listening to the speech.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Therefore a competent tribunal should have been appointed for determination of compensation to be paid to the relatives of the deceased as well as the injured. But that is not to be, for it was at the time of section 93 Government. It appeared in the Press report, some time ago that the Commissioner of the Presidency Division was enquiring into the matter. That will not do even if it be a fact, because the Government itself is one of the parties considered responsible for the tragedy and one of its officers cannot and should not therefore sit in judgment where its own conduct is in question. This incident does not concern Bengal alone, but the whole of India.

(At this stage the member reached the time-limit, but was allowed one minute more to conclude.)

Sir, it is of all-India importance, because most of the victims were pilgrims—126 out of 143—and came from all other provinces of India; and it is in the fitness of things that Government should do justice by appointing an Enquiry Commission as the honour of Bengal is involved because Bengal was in the position of a host of pilgrims from other provinces, and it is up to the Government of India to appoint a Commission of Enquiry.

Mr. COBINDA LAL BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, within the short time at my disposal, it will not be possible for me to deal squarely with the subject. I shall therefore make my observation in a general way.

Sir, the most encouraging feature of this year's Budget is that the Government is going to spend 52 crores of rupees for, say, the good of the province of Bengal, but the most disappointing aspect of it is that this huge sum of money of this wretched province will be drained away through a leaky and absorbing system and the people who expectantly stand at the other end of the system will get nothing, but drops which evaporate in the heat of their want and privation. Why this happens? Sir, this happens, because of the nature of administrative machinery of the Government. It has been admitted from all sides that the administration is corrupt, inefficient, top heavy and tainted with communalism, and all that. So when this huge sum of money is going to be spent in the name of poor and famishing Bengal through such an administrative machinery, it can have no other purpose than to make the machinery more corrupt, more inefficient and more dishonest. The Ministry has not been able to set up an ideal for the General Administration of the province. It has only laid down a formula for recruitment to Services. I mean, the communal ratio. It has administered a deadly injection of communalism into Services. It has consciously and in a planned way encouraged corruption, bribery and all those unpardonable vices. The other day the Premier had to confess that in one case he interfered with the operation of law in Park Street thana—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: No, he did not.

Mr. COBINDA LAL BANERJEE: But he had no apology for it and he has not the worth in him to realise that one such interference by him means hundred such interferences by others and that will be done by offering bribes. The Communal Ratio in Services has not in the least improved the lot of the Mussalmans. If the Muslim League Ministry really desired to ameliorate the condition of Muslim masses, they could give them more roads, free education, more tanks for drinking water, ree hospitals and better hygienic condition. Since the beginning of British rule the authorities have been trying to train up the officials as Sahibs. They gave them their costume, their language, their fashions and their mode of living. That model still persists in spite of the competency of the Ministry to set up a different model that fits in our poor, unfortunate, but beloved province. Government thinks that efficiency of administration can be increased and corruption removed by increasing the salary and the number of officials, but unfortunately the disease is elsewhere. It has not been able to infuse a spirit of service in the administration. We have seen Premiers and Ministers of other provinces. When they draw as their salaries in hundreds, our Premier and his colleagues draw in thousands and they do not feel shame in making perfection of their dress in English fashion and their demeanour is such that they find no moral sanction in them to set up a model of simplicity and service before the administrative system.

Sir, I am referring to all these, because it has its bearing upon expenditure of the Provincial administration. Government should have set up a standard of living for its officials, high and low, and in the case, it could give more attention and care to low-paid Government servants whose miseries have almost become proverbial.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, are you speaking on cut motions Nos. 47 and 48?

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: No, Sir. He is speaking on the main demand.

Mr. COBINDA LAL BANERJEE: Then, Sir, the desirability of the separation of judiciary from the executive has not, I think, been doubted. The Government may find it difficult to carry that into effect. But this fact cannot give the Government sanction for tolerating the glaring evils that result from the very nature and temperament of the officer who holds the two at one and the same time. One I.C.S. officer who earned his notoriety as the District Magistrate of Jessore and then of Midnapore was charged with malicious prosecution of one Alfred Morris Dean, and the Hon'ble High Court after going through this case convicted and sentenced him to a fine. And such an officer is now tolerated in such a responsible post as the Director of Agriculture.

(At this stage the member reached the time limit.)

With these observations, Sir, I oppose the main demand.

Mr. SERAJUDDIN AHMED : Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমার পূর্ব বক্তা বঙ্গ বিনি পাটের দর নির্ধারণ কল্পের জন্য বলেছেন তাঁর কথা প্রকৃত আনুগত্য কি না এইটাই আমার মনে একটা সন্দেহ হয়েছে। যদি বাস্তবিক ভাৱে প্রকৃত মনোভাব অনুযায়ী হয় তাহলে আমাদের হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে আর কোন মনের বিকার থাকতে পারে না। কারণ আমার অনুগত কিংবা ৪০৭ টাকা দর নির্ধারণ করতে চান? কাদের জন্য? সে আমার বাংলার মুসলমান চাখীর জন্য। এই মনোভাব যদি উদ্দেশ্যের মধ্যে প্রকৃতই থাকে, যদি পুত্রোকেই এই মনোভাব দিয়ে চলে, আর বাংলার বুক বাংলার ঐতিহাসিক ক্ষেত্রে আঘাত করণও পিছিয়ে থাকবে না। বাংলা আর পূর্ব দিক বিস্তারিত দেখা হতে চলেছে; বাংলাদেশ জেগে উঠছে না। বাংলাদেশ জেগে উঠছে কোথায়? আমাদের হিন্দু-মুসলমান

চেয়ে দেখুন একবার যে আপনারা এই ব্যাপারের ক্ষেত্রেও কতদূর পিছিয়ে পড়ে যাচ্ছেন। কেবলমাত্র রাষ্ট্রনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে আপনারা পিছিয়ে নন; রাজনীতি তো আপনাদের হাত থেকে গিয়েছেই। বহুগণ, আপনারা—

Mr. SPEAKER: You should address the Chair and not 'বহুগণ'.

Mr. SERAJUDDIN AHMED : Mr. Speaker Sir, এই বাংলা রবীন্দ্র নাথের বাংলা; এই বাংলা একদিন C. R. Das এর বাংলা ছিল। কিন্তু আজ সেই C. R. Das এর উদারতা এবং দূর-দর্শিতা কোথায়? আজ বাঙ্গালী সকলেই মরতে প্রস্তুত, মরতে নয় বাবতে; এমন কি ছেলে মেয়ে পুতোককেই বাবছে। (noise and disturbance) আর এখানে কি? এখানে, মূৰ থেকে বিষ উৎপীড়ন করছে যাতে আবার সেই আতঙ্কগ্রস্তা ছড়িয়ে পড়ে। Mr. Speaker, আমি এটা আমার বহুগণকে জিজ্ঞাসা করছি যে আপনাদের মনোভাব যদি সত্যিই এই রকম হয় তাহলে আমরা অনেক দূর এগিয়ে যেতে পারি। হতে পারে যে আজ আমরা এখানে তার ব্যক্তিগত দোষছি। আমার leader একজন officer এর সঙ্গে কথা বলছেন সেটা আপনাদের সইচ্ছে না। কেন সইবে না? আমি একথা আপনাদের জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই। সে leader আমাদের Muslim জাতির লোক, Bengal এর সব থেকে সম্মানিত ব্যক্তি। সেটা আপনাদের সইচ্ছে না। তাতে কি বুঝতে পারছি? যে আপনাদের সে উল্লেখ্য ভাব নেই, যা থাকলে আমরা এখনই আপনাদের কোলে টেনে নিতাম, আপনাবাও কোলে টেনে নিতেন। তাই আপনাদের, Mr. Speaker, আমি এই বলবো যে আপনাদের এই যে general administration এর অনেক কিছু লোপ যাচ্ছে। আমি এটা বলবো। আমি একজন বিশিষ্ট ইংরাজ officer কে বলতে শুনেছি যে তোমরা এই যে Government এর চাকরী করছো, যত officer হয়েছে তাবা যেদিন থেকে Government কে payment দিয়ে পুষতে আরম্ভ করবেছো সেদিন থেকে তোমরা কে? তোমরা না হিন্দু, না মুসলমান, না Christian; না কেউ, তোমরা একটা আলাদা জাত। কিন্তু আজ দেখছি না, এখন এই Government এর officer কেবল মূৰ দিয়ে যা ছিল না, আজ সেটা communalism এর ভিতর দিয়ে নষ্ট হয়েই তা এসেছে। Mr. Speaker, আমি বলবো,.....

Mr. SPEAKER: Time is over, please take your seat.

Mr. SERAJUDDIN AHMED : One minute, Sir, আমি একটা কথা বলি, আমাকে অনেকটাই বলতে বলেছেন। আমি আমার leader কে অনুবোধ করি, তাঁরা যে Tram Co বরাদ্দ করতে চেয়েছিলেন, বলেছিলেন যে Tram Co. nationalise করবো, তা নিয়ে resolution পাশ হবে বাববা হয়েছিল কিন্তু আজ পর্যন্ত তাব কোন কাজ হ'লো না। আমি অনুবোধ জানাচ্ছি যে সেটা take up করে নিয়ে এটা nationalise করা হউক।

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up. Please take your seat.

Mr. MANORANJAN DHAR: Sir, with the fullest sense of responsibility I am going to bring a series of allegations against the Subdivisional Officer of Kishoreganj which I am prepared to substantiate before any impartial tribunal, if set up to enquire into his conduct.

Sir, his perverse conduct came up for criticism on the floor of this House more than once in the past. In the month of February, 1945, his moral character was also put into question on the floor of this House. I do not know if thereafter the stigma to his character has been removed.

Then, Sir, you know various allegations had been made before the District Magistrate by the public of Kishoreganj and the District Magistrate enquired into them and his clear finding was that the people's grievances regarding the conduct of this Subdivisional Officer was very real, genuine and well-founded. Sir, instances of his interfering with the administration of justice are many. Only the other day, a case was reported in which the District Judge of Mymensingh observed clearly—I mean the rape case in which Ahalyasundari was the complainant—that this Subdivisional Officer was intent on deliberately bringing the administration of justice into discredit. As the time is very short, I am going to read out the charge-sheet against him and I hope in the interest of fair administration this will be promptly looked into so that the culprit the

Subdivisional Officer himself can also find an opportunity of exculpating himself from the charges. I hope Government will take immediate steps to institute an impartial enquiry into his conduct and pending the completion of the enquiry, I hope the Government will take steps forthwith for his removal from that subdivision, nay, from the district.

Here is the charge-sheet. The Subdivisional Officer has autocratically foisted the multi-purposes co-operative societies upon the unwilling people of Kishoreganj, completely ignoring the vehement opposition of the consuming public of all colours by sheer abuse of power as the administrative head of the subdivision and by resorting to coercive methods.

Government control of various essential necessities has been made a ready weapon in the hands of the Subdivisional Officer to thrust on the people whatever he would like to.

On occasions he adopted repressive measures even to suppress any voice of opposition and criticism against his pet and motivated scheme of multi-purposes societies.

In selling shares of the societies, drastic and high-handed measures were resorted to, such as issuing notices to many respectable persons thereby threatening prosecution and harassing them for months together without disposal of cases till they would give undertaking to support the multi-purposes societies and buy shares. There are hundreds of instances where rationees who could not afford to purchase shares were denied the supply, for several months at a stretch, of controlled articles like cloth, kerosene, salt, sugar, etc., which they were entitled to get under the rationing and control scheme of the Government which was thus defied by the Subdivisional Officer with impunity.

Shareholders were not given their share scripts under his guidance and instructions.

Many educational institutions have been forced by him to buy shares on denial of rations like salt, kerosene and cloth (*vide* orders, dated 23rd May 1945 and 30th May 1945).

He has allowed communal considerations to vitiate the whole system of supply and distribution there through his indecent manoeuvring in the multi-purposes societies dominated everywhere by the unscrupulous Union Board members and Presidents.

People of bad repute and of scandalous anti-social character and known profiteers and black-marketeers have been taken into confidence and management and have been included in the executive committees of the societies, all members whereof are nominated by the Subdivisional Officer, the elective method being quite foreign to that scheme. He never entertains any complaint against any of the members.

His interference has rendered the Food Committees formed under the Government scheme practically non-existent and useless.

He has so bungled the monopoly business of the multi-purposes societies throughout the subdivision that people are constantly faced with various difficulties, because of non-supply of essential things consequent upon the societies' inability to purchase due to paucity of funds at their disposal.

He is directly and indirectly encouraging corruption, bribery, profiteering and nepotism to the detriment of the poor people's interests. Now, some 60 criminal cases are pending against the Secretaries and other authorities of the societies for defalcation, etc.

Many cases of profiteering, etc., were reported to the Subdivisional Officer, but no action whatsoever was taken by him.

The Subdivisional Officer by different orders and instructions encourages the multi-purposes societies to take to profiteering by urging the societies to sell controlled articles at a rate much higher than the controlled one, e.g., kerosene—when the rate in tins was Rs. 5-1 per tin, the multi-purposes societies and the Central Bank under written authority of the Subdivisional Officer sold them at Rs. 7-5 per tin. It was so charged and realised from the Kishoreganj municipality even, about which written complaints were made to the Superintendent of Police and Enforcement Branch authorities. B.O.C. authority also moved in the matter, but no action was taken. The price-rate of kerosene per seer was reduced by one anna (*vide* District Magistrate's memorandum No. 3162(6), dated 4th October 1944). But under Subdivisional Officer's instruction multi-purposes societies were selling kerosene up till 13th May 1946 for 1 year 8 months at the old higher rate thus making an extra profit for kerosene only sold in tins (taking 8,000 tons to be the minimum monthly consumption) of Rs. 1,60,000; but no excess price was charged for kerosene sold to Government officers in tins.

Salt.—Instead of controlled retail price of three annas six pies per seer, it was sold at four annas per seer for a long time thus profiteering to the extent of Rs. 25,000.

Yarn.—Yarns are supplied to weavers by multi-purpose societies who are to deliver produced goods on getting labour charge. The society sell those cloths at an extra profit of Rs. 1-8 or more for each piece of cloth at the expense of the poor weavers.

Paddy.—68,000 maunds of paddy meant for relief in Nihli area were unnecessarily distributed through multi-purpose societies by giving them 3 annas per maund commission. It was complained that the said paddy went into black-market within the knowledge of Subdivisional Officer. Enquiry was made. Result is still unknown thus indicating whitewashing.

Corrugated iron-sheets.—Selling at much higher rate than the controlled rate by Central Bank who purchased this advantage at the cost of Rs. 70,000 for buying shares of multi-purposes societies. Now though decontrolled through Subdivisional Officer's manipulation, its supply (very much short of needs) is monopolised by multi-purposes societies and Bank of Eastern Pakistan, another strange institution created under Subdivisional Officer's unholy patronage without any capital except the Subdivisional Officer's grace.

(At this stage the honourable member reached his time-limit, but one minute was allowed to him.)

Application of the Eastern Bengal Pakistan Bank for food licence being rejected by the Procurement Department, the Subdivisional Officer has given them certain unseemly latitude in the matter of conducting food business even thereby allowing them to earn thousands of rupees. Though black-marketing through the Bank of Eastern Pakistan was detected and reported to the Subdivisional Officer, no action was taken.

The Subdivisional Officer has caused the multi-purposes society to illegally deprive many rationees of their legitimate dues of cloth by suddenly ordering that old ration cards were to be changed for new ones, where arbitrary entries were found as to be—"no balance of cloth quota".

The Subdivisional Officer while persistently neglecting his own functions has usurped to a great measure the duties and responsibilities of the Subdivisional Food Controller who is sitting there as a mere figure-head to enjoy a big salary.

(At this stage the honourable member having reached his time-limit resumed his seat.)

Mr. R. A. COMES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would draw the attention of Government to the matter of recruitment of the members of the Indian Christian community to the public services under the Government of Bengal. There is no reservation for Indian Christians as a separate community. The community has to look for its chances in the joint reservation for "others"—a term denoting the non-Muhammadan, non-scheduled caste members. In actual practice, these "others" are usually other than the Indian Christians. The latest example is found in the list of lawyer Magistrates. They number nearly a hundred, but there is not a single member of the Indian Christian community in the list, although to my knowledge there are several well qualified eligible candidates. I trust Government will hasten to rectify this discrepancy. The Indian Christian community would be prepared to waive the demand for reservation if the other communities would agree. But so long as there exists reservation for some of the communities, the Indian Christians vehemently protest against the use of that reservation for the purpose of their exclusion. The problem of recruitment should also be considered in the light of the bigger problem of unemployment. The Indian Christians are an educated, but working class community. By no means can they be called a business community. Whereas the major communities by virtue of their hold on the commercial world can freely accommodate members of their community in commercial service, Indian Christians can find no such accommodation. Entries in the commercial firms are a matter of favour for Indian Christians from other communities and such entries may become increasingly difficult, if the threatened economic boycott resulting from communal fear materialises. Viewed in this light, sufficiently weighted reservation in the public services for Indian Christians is necessary, just and equitable. In this respect the Government of Bengal may consider the better treatment dealt out by the Government of India. It has also been reported to me by members of the Indian Christian community in public service that in the matter of promotion and transfer their rightful claims are sometimes subordinated to suit the convenience of the members of the present governing communities. Government should keep a vigilant eye so as to ensure that members of this community are not unjustly treated.

Turning to the question of Internal Security of the province, I think that the formation of the Peace Committees is a move in the right direction. But it would be futile to expect of them any tangible work if they are left in the beggarly position of preaching saints. It is desirable to invest them with some powers and prestige. Government should study the advisability of investing them with some degree of magisterial power so as to afford them the opportunity of discharging some of the functions of English Justices of the Peace. The Committee should have the advice and guidance of a group of expert educationists and social psychologists. It would be all for the best if a part of the problem of internal security could be separated from the department of Home and placed in charge of a separate department. The function of this department would be to supervise every piece of legislation and Government order from the point of view of communal harmony and to control press and public expression and carry out the duty of initiating legislation and incurring expenditure solely designed to promote communal harmony.

At all events it is necessary to reckon with the fact that communal harmony in Bengal has suffered a destruction on a volcanic scale. Out of this destruction everyone concerned should learn a lesson that we may not have to learn over again and that lesson is that if we are not prepared to destroy communal hatred, communal hatred is surely prepared to destroy us. It would be multi-headed obstinacy on the part of Government to refuse to take this or that step simply because similar

step is not being taken in other provinces. This is tantamount to say that Government would not prevent crimes in this province, because other provinces are not taking steps to prevent their crimes. It is nothing short of perversion of democratic party Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: It seems that we will not be able to finish this demand to-day, because there are a few members who want to speak and the Hon'ble Chief Minister will have to give an exhaustive reply. (THE HON'BLE MR. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Not exhaustive.) The tramcars will stop at half past five and there is no other means of communication. I want to know whether the honourable members would like to continue. (Cries of "No, no".)

Mr. MIHIR LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA: Sir, I want to say one word in connection with the cut motions moved.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then you want to continue the discussions. You will finish in one word; another gentleman will want to finish his speech in two words, and third in three words.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I won't take much time of the House. I would like to say something not only regarding motions that have been moved, but also about the motions that have not been moved. These relate to some of the important grievances which the honourable members entertain. Although I do not think that much good will come out of the discussions on the floor of this House, I shall be most happy if honourable members will communicate their views to me and I shall look into the matter. Sir, take the case of Hatiya and Sandwip. I am aware of the difficulties of communication there. I have already taken some steps in that behalf. If the honourable member representing those islands will communicate his views to me I shall tell him what the difficulties are and how we propose to surmount them. So, this will also apply to the various other cut motions which they have not been able to move. I think the contact between myself and the honourable members, although they are sitting on the opposite side of the House, will be much closer than before and that they will not feel that this Ministry is hostile to them.

Sir, it has been suggested by an honourable member that the Ministers have no constructive suggestions to offer regarding planning. It is rather regrettable that after all these years of public service, we should at this stage be absolutely devoid of any idea or any conception of the needs of the Province. I think, Sir, if the honourable member looks at the programme which I outlined when I assumed office of Chief Minister, he will find much there which will give food for thought and will also clear up any misconception that he may have in his mind.

Sir, there is a plan called the 5-year plan, as all honourable members know, which is estimated to cost Rs. 160 crores. The honourable member suggests that this will come out of the Congress fund and the Congress will be the buttress of this fund. Unfortunately that is not so. Rs. 69 crores was set apart for the Government of Bengal before the Congress Government came into power. This sum was given to us by the late Government in view of the backwardness of the Province of Bengal and on account of the fact that she has not been able to develop herself due to the iniquitous financial settlement under which she has suffered. It was also proposed to increase this grant in order to enable her to make up her position. The Bengal Government will not lose sight of that. Then, Sir, it has also been suggested that this money comes out of the coffers of the Kafir. It really comes, Sir, from the cultivators who produce the wealth of the country and if ultimately it finds its way into the coffers of Government, it does not mean that the money belongs to the Kafir. I think, Sir, the money belongs

ore to the true believers than to others. There are undoubtedly some important gaps in that plan, notably in the industrial field and that is due to the fact that the All-India and Provincial policies have not yet been finally clarified. Another gap lies in the matter of area planning and the development of large scale housing, etc. Sir, necessary preliminary investigation is being undertaken in that connection. It is necessary to decide on problems of major policy such as freeing of land value, and problems affecting local bodies before the schemes to fill up the gaps referred to above can be taken up.

Now, Sir, another honourable member wanted that price of jute should be raised to Rs. 40 per maund. I am really surprised to hear a member from the opposite side making that assertion after the Nehru Government, which he considers to be his own Government in New Delhi, has turned down every proposal to increase the price of jute. (Cries of "Shame, shame" from the Ministerialist Benches.) Sir, I want to tell the House the complete history of it. So far as this Government is concerned, Government was of the opinion that the price of jute should not be controlled this year and that the cultivators should be permitted to receive whatever price was determined by the law of supply and demand. The Government of India pressed upon us to revise our policy, but we have refused to do so. (MR. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHERJEE: When?) That was, Sir, before the Nehru Government assumed office and now after the Nehru Government came into power we received a letter from the Government of India in which they insisted on the present control of prices being maintained (Cries of "Shame, shame" from the Treasury Benches) and suggested that the Government should pass legislation fixing the price at its present level. That was due to the fact that we said that in future, we were not prepared to give that power to the Government of India. They further suggested that in order to see that prices were maintained at this level they intended to coerce the people here and force the control of price by controlling exports, and they were going to send to countries outside only that jute which was purchased at controlled prices, namely, at prices at this level and the jute purchased at higher rates would not be exported outside. It is clear that the intention of the Government of India was to force the Government of Bengal to keep the price at this level and to export jute outside. (Interruptions by Opposition members.) The situation would therefore take a serious turn, so far as the growers are concerned. The jute would thus remain in the hand of the cultivators who will be compelled to sell it at the present prices. (Interruptions.) The Government of India—I mean the present Government, and not the old one—asked us— (Interruption.) (MR. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHERJEE: When?) I think about 7 days back, to keep the price down. We wrote to that Government to meet us at a conference over this question, because we saw that if they carried out this policy of coercion our cultivators would not get even the present price which they are getting. They are here at the present moment and we are having conferences with them. They have suggested a certain increase—a very small increase at that—

MR. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHERJEE: Did they recommend any increase and has a decision been arrived at?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: No decision has been taken. On the other hand, I suppose honourable members do know that there was a meeting at Delhi presided over by Mr. C. Rajagopalacharia and attended by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other members of the Cabinet. There were also jute magnates like the Birlas present in that conference, and there it was decided that if the price of jute was to be increased, it should not be more than 25 per cent. of the present rate. What I am pointing out to this House is that a resolution like the

present one coming from the Congress Benches is nothing but *mala fide*. It is meant for political purposes only. We know what is to be done in a matter like this and leave that to us. (Interruptions.)

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Did any Minister or any representative of the jute growers attend the conference?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes. You are certainly not the representatives of the jute growers, you are simply the persons who take the money. I do say most definitely that those members who are supporting the Ministry are the true representatives of the people and they are going to suggest steps for their betterment. While on the one hand we want to increase the price, the Government of India on the other is coercing us to keep the price down. So there will be fight with the Government of India on this issue, but the result will be that our cultivators will not get even the price which they are getting at present. Therefore, I think, we have to choose a middle course.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether the Bengal Government representative was present there?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: This conference was no conference at all. As a matter of fact he asked them whether it was a conference, and they said that it was not a conference, but that they had met together and made the decision. We invited a conference, however, in my room with two representatives of the Government of India. Formerly, the Chief Minister and two other Ministers of this province went and saw Sir Gurunath Bewoor, when he was the member in charge and placed before him the views of the Government of Bengal and after that we had no conference at all with the Government of India.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: So you allow the jute growers' position to go by default.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I think the position is quite clear. So far as we are concerned, we do not propose to attend any conference called by the Government of India.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Do we understand that due to the political rancour of the Government of Bengal, the Bengal jute growers' interest has been sacrificed by the Bengal Government—(Loud noise from the Government side benches.)

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I do not wish to refer to any political rancour either of the Congress or of the Muslim League but if you say that we have sacrificed the interest of Bengal jute growers on account of our political rancour, and if you wish to hear in reply to that, I must say that that charge can be definitely levelled against the Congress Interim Government. But I do not wish to level it. But if you go on to do so, then I must say that due to political rancour the Interim Government was trying their best to bring down the price of jute here.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Then why not accept this motion and strengthen your hand?

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: But a countercharge does not absolve the Bengal Government that it has sacrificed the interests of the Bengal jute growers—(Loud cries from the Muslim League benches.)

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I do not want to impute any motive on the members of the Government of India. It is not for me to say that they are doing it on account of any political rancour. They are doing so, because they consider that it is in the best

interests of the country, and in that connection they have to consider many factors. They have to consider the effects of inflation, the fact of getting foodgrains from other countries and they have got to increase the prices of other commodities. But if you talk of political rancour, then I tell you that even if any charge can be levelled against anybody, it cannot be levelled against us. I hope the Government of India will do their duty by this time.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: If Sir Gurunath Bewoor— (At this stage there was tremendous noise from the Government benches as well as from the Congress side in which the voices of Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar and the Hon'ble the Chief Minister were drowned.)

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I find that on the one side some honourable members want that the minimum price of jute should be raised to Rs. 40 per maund and on the other side the Government of India says that they would keep the price down to the present level. I can tell them that the price of Rs. 40 per maund will not be accepted by the Interim Government which is a Government of their party— (Loud noise from the Congress benches.)

A reference has been made to the Rowland Committee's report. So far as that report is concerned, I must confess that we have not been able to examine it with that care which it requires. We have not been very long in office and more than that we have had to spend a pretty long time in formulating and discussing the development plan which we consider to be of very great importance. Undoubtedly, as it has been pointed out that in order that this development plan may succeed, in order that we may spend the money allotted, the administrative machinery has got to be increased. We are looking into the matter and considering the question of increasing the number of officers and we are also arranging for the building of smaller circles in order that a circle officer may be able to give more time and attention to it.

Sir, we have taken a note of the points which have been raised by the member of the European group. They are very valuable and I can assure him that each point will be duly considered by our department.

Now, Sir, a reference has been made about the pay of the Librarian of the Assembly Department. He is an efficient person, but unfortunately the pay of the Librarian is the pay attached to the post and not a pay fixed in consideration of the efficiency of the present Librarian. At the same time, I shall be glad to discuss the matter with you, Sir, to see if anything can be done. Regarding this matter, however, I can only say that this pay was agreed to by the then President and Speaker. I need hardly refer to the other assistants, because I believe that the Speaker has got the right to give special allowances to those employees who had been in the Legislative Department and who have now got to work hard beyond office hours. But I must say there is compensation on the other side as well, because for the major portion of year they have not got enough work to do. As regards compensation for hard work beyond office hours, we do not grudge it to them if they really deserve it.

As regards the suggestion made that I interfered with the work of the police in one instance, I may tell them that the persons regarding whom I went to the Park Street station were not under arrest and consequently it was not necessary for me to interfere on their behalf.

As regards the Subdivisional Officer of Kishoreganj most of the charges against him refer to the multi-purposes societies. I regret that I cannot agree with the honourable member's charges against him, but I am prepared, if the honourable member pass those charges on to me in writing, to enquire into and consider them. But I may tell you that

this Subdivisional Officer is a pioneer in the experiment of establishing Consumers' Co-operative Societies. Sir, these are things which are considered to be of great importance and if this experiment succeeds, I shall have it considered by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies whether instead of condemning him, he will have to be put up as a pioneer in that direction. Indeed I am personally in favour of the establishment of consumers' co-operative societies in various parts of Bengal, and I think members opposite will agree with me.

As regards Indian Christians, I wish to say this that if there are able men they will certainly be taken up. I do not think that any Indian Christian who could have passed the competitive examination has been turned down, because he is an Indian Christian. But I am quite prepared to tell the honourable member that whatever may be the stress that is made on the Muslims, Scheduled castes and the caste Hindus, I can assure the minorities in this House that so far as this Ministry is concerned this Ministry will pay special attention to the minorities and I can say from my position in the House that Muslims will be even prepared to give up some of their rights in order to see that the minorities are properly encouraged. This I know is the sense of our party and I am sure that the minorities will accept my bona fides so far as this assurance is concerned. I am sure you will have to accept my bona fides. It is not for the purpose of getting the honourable gentleman's vote. As a matter of fact, that honourable gentleman voted against us in the no-confidence motions. But I do know what is the view of this Ministry and what is the view of the party behind this Ministry and I say categorically that we are in sympathy with them and we shall continue to support and encourage them in every possible manner.

I hope that the House will pass the grant.

The motion of Mr. Bimal Comar Ghose that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Bhupati Majumdar that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Ashutosh Mallick that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Kamal Krishna Ray that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Charu Chandra Bhandari that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Rajendra Nath Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Manoranjan Dhar that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Dhananjoy Roy that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Haran Chandra Ghosh Chowdhury that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharjee that the demand of Rs. 2,72,49,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—60.

Adhikari, Mr. Amulya Chandra.
Bandyopadhyaya, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerjee, Mr. Gebindalal.
Banerjee, Mr. Susil Kumar.
Barman, Mr. Mohini Mohan.
Basu, Mr. Hemanta Kumar.
Basu, Mr. Jyoti.
Bhandari, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharjee, Mr. Ganendra Chandra.
Bhattacharjee, Mr. Munindra Nath.
Bhattacharyya, Mr. Shyamapada.
Birsha, Mr. Bir.
Bose, Mr. Satish Chandra.
Chakraborty, Mr. Benode Chandra.
Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Mihir Lal.
Das Gupta, Mr. Suresh Chandra.
Datta, Mr. Dharendra Nath.
De, Mr. Kanai Lal.
Dhar, Mr. Manoranjan.
Dolui, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Sukumar.
Dutt-Mazumdar, Mr. Niharendu.
Ganguli, Mr. Bepin Behari.
Gayen, Mr. Arabinda.
Ghose, Mr. A. K.

Ghose, Mr. Bimal Comar.
Ghosh Chowdhury, Mr. Haran Chandra.
Guha Roy, Dr. Protap Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. J. C.
Mahanty, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Maiti, Mr. Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Mr. Nishapati.
Majumdar, Mr. Bhupati.
Mal, Mr. Iswar Chandra.
Mallick, Mr. Ashutosh.
Mandal, Mr. Annadaprasad.
Mandal, Mr. Sankubehari.
Mukherji, Mr. Dharendra Narayan.
Panja, Mr. Jadabendra Nath.
Pramanik, Mr. Purna Chandra.
Pramanik, Mr. Rajani Kanta.
Ray, Mr. Kamal Krishna.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy.
Roy, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar.
Sarker, Mr. Prafulla Ranjan.
Sen, Mr. Debendra Nath.
Sen, Mr. Satindra Nath.
Sen Gupta, Mrs. Nellie.
Sinha, Mr. Bimal Chandra.

NOES—102.

Abdul Ahad, Dr.
Abdul Awal, Mr.
Abdul Aziz Munshi, Mr.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mirza.
Abdul Hal, Maulana.
Abdul Hakim Mia, Mr.
Abdul Hakim Vikramপুরi, Mr. Md.
Abdul Halim, Mr. Molla Mohammad.
Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
Abdul Hannan, Mr.
Abdul Karim, Mr.
Abdul Khaleque, Mr.
Abdul Mannan, Mr. Fakir.
Abdul Momin, Mr.
Abdullahel Baqui, Mr. Md.
Abdur Rahman, The Hon'ble Mr.
A. F. M.
Abdur Rahman Khan (alias Nuru Mia), Mr.
Abdur Raschid Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rashid, Maulana Khondkar.
Abdus Babur Khan, Mr.
Abdus Salam, Mr. Md.
Abul Kalam Shamsuddin, Mr.
Abul Masud, Mr. Kazi.

Ahmad Ali, Mr. Mir.
Ahmed Ali Mridha, Mr.
Ahmed Hosain, The Hon'ble Mr.
Ahmed Kabir Chowdhury, Mr.
Akbar Ali, Maulvi.
Ali Ahmed Khan, Mr.
Anwara Khatun, Mrs.
Arif Chaudhury (Dhanu Mia), Mr. Md.
Asan Ali Muktear, Mr.
Azizur Rahman, Mr. Syed.
Bediuzzaman Muhammad Ilias, Mr.
Befatuddin Talukdar, Mr. A. K. M.
Barman, Mr. Haran Chandra.
Barury, Mr. Dwarka Nath.
Emaduddin Ahmad, Mr.
Eskandar Ali Khan, Mr.
Fazlul Karim, Mr.
Fazlul Qadir, Mr.
Fazlur Rahman (Mymensingh), Mr.
Fazlur Rahman (Noakhali), Mr.
Gladding, Mr. D., C.I.E.
Gomes, Mr. D.
Habibul Huq, Mr. Syed.
Hafizuddin Chowdhuri, Mr.
Hassan Ali, Mr.

Hatem Ally, Khan Sahib.
 Haywood, Mr. R.
 Husan Ara Begum.
 Ilias Ali Molla, Mr.
 Kabir Ahmed Choudhury, Mr.
 Khairat Hossain, Mr.
 Khuda Bukhsh, Mr. Md.
 Lutfar Rahman, Mr. Dewan.
 Madar Bux, Mr.
 Mahzuddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Muhammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur, Syed.
 Mohammad Owais, Mr.
 Mohammad Sayeed Mia, Mr.
 Majibar Rahman, Maulvi.
 Malik, Dr. A. M.
 Mandal, The Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath.
 Martuza Reza Chowdhury, Mr.
 Masiduddin Ahmed (alias Raja Miah),
 Mr.
 Mazharul Haque, Mr. Abu Talyab.
 Mobarak Ali Ahmed, Mr.
 Mohammed Ali, The Hon'ble Mr.
 Morriss, Mr. I.F., O.B.E.
 Mozammel Hossain, Dr.
 Mudassir Hossain, Mr.
 Muhammad Habibullah Chaudhury, Mr.
 Muhammad Idris, Maulvi.
 Muhammad Ishaque, Mr.

Muhammad Quasem, Maulana Haji.
 Muhammad Qumruddin, Mr.
 Muhammad Rukonuddin, Mr.
 Muhammad Siddique, Dr. Syed.
 Muzaffar Rahman Choudhury, Mr.
 Nawab Ali, Mr.
 Nazir Hossain Khandkar, Mr.
 Nurazzaman, Mr.
 Osman Gani, Khan Sahib Md.
 Paniruddin Ahmed, Mr.
 Pentony, Mr. L. R.
 Ray, Mr. Nagendra Narayan.
 Salim, Mr. S. A.
 Serajal Haque, Mr. Syed.
 Serajuddin Ahmed, Mr. (Midnapore).
 Scraju'din Ahmed, Mr. (Galbandha).
 Serajul Islam, Mr.
 Shamsuddin Ahmed, The Hon'ble Mr.
 Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar, Mr.
 Shamsuddin Sikdar, Mr. Md.
 Sharfuddin Ahmad, Mr.
 Stark, Mr. A. F.
 Suhrawardy, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S.
 Tafazzal Ali, Mr.
 Wilkinson, Mr. G.
 Yusuf Hossain Chowdhury, Mr.
 Zahur Ahmed Choudhury, Mr.

The Ayes being 50 and the Noes 102, the motion was lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy that a sum of Rs. 2,72,49,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: The remaining demand for grant stands over till tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 5.45 p.m. till 2 p.m. on Thursday, the 26th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under
the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 26th September, 1946, at 2 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 7 Hon'ble Ministers and 192 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Construction of cheaper houses in Calcutta.

***54. Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Local Self-Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(i) that after the last census in 1941, the population of Calcutta has risen from 20 lakhs to 40 lakhs;

(ii) that due to lack of accommodation people are being huddled together;

(iii) that this condition continuing an epidemic of a very serious nature is likely to happen; and

(iv) that due to shortage and excessive price of building materials very few new houses are being constructed in the city?

(b) If the answer to (a)(iv) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he has already taken or proposes to take to relieve congestion in the city by making construction of new houses cheaper and easier?

(c) Has the Government any plan to undertake any such construction itself?

(d) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the nature of the plan and when it is likely to be executed?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT of LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali): (a)(i) The population of Calcutta has risen from 1,123, 790 in 1931 to 2,070,619 in 1941, according to the Census Reports.

(ii) There is a dearth of accommodation in the city.

(iii) Overcrowding and consequent unhealthy surroundings foster outbreaks of epidemics.

(iv) Yes.

(b) Control of bricks has been lifted. The Government of India have been moved to lift petrol rationing and thereby to make transport cheaper, as well as to counter hoarding by checking stocks of steel, especially section steel.

(c) Proposals for rehousing of *bustee* dwellers, industrial labourers, and the middle class population are under examination.

(d) The proposals include erection of quarters for industrial labour by employers with Government assistance; building of workers' tenements in the city; building of suburbs or satellite towns; and renovation of existing dwellings by landlords. The agencies to be employed will be Government, the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the Calcutta Corporation and private enterprise.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, when the examination of the proposals is expected to be completed, and when actual work is going to be taken up?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The examination of many proposals has been completed and we have started work. But all the proposals have not yet been examined; most of the proposals however, have been examined and we are now in the process of starting work.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state which of the proposals have now got the sanction of Government and are in the process of being translated into practice?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, if the honourable member will refer to answer (d) he will find that so far as provision for the construction of tenements for the poorer classes of families are concerned, Government have examined the proposal of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, and have sanctioned about 6 lakhs of rupees as subvention, and work will be started very soon by the Calcutta Improvement Trust. So far as the acquisition of lands for our own construction is concerned, we are starting the land acquisition proceedings. The first step, that is to say, proceedings for the acquisition of land have been taken up, and immediately we are in possession of those vacant lands, we shall start our construction. We have also set in motion our machinery for the preparation of plans and estimates for the construction of these tenement flats.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what immediate steps he has taken or proposes to take in view of the fact that a large number of Muslim bustees have been destroyed during the recent Calcutta riot, for the purpose of providing housing accommodation to such displaced bustee dwellers?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, we have taken that matter also in hand. We have a list of about 40 vacant lands, or almost vacant lands, and it is now proposed by Government to secure as many of them as possible. We have now at our disposal over and above the quinquennial sanctioned amount, a sum of rupees one crore for works to be undertaken by the Housing Board. Before the Housing Board is constituted we propose to acquire as many lands as possible that have been rendered vacant recently. In this connection we have got two schemes—one short term and the other long term. So far as the short term scheme is concerned, we propose to take nissen huts now available from the Military and in these we will accommodate the displaced persons and refugees of the last riot. We also propose to construct temporary huts out of the salvage materials available from the Military on vacant bustee plots. They will also serve as a sort of short term plan for the immediate housing of displaced persons as a result of the last riot. I hope the honourable members will realise that it is not possible to start the work of construction on all available vacant lands. So far as our long term proposals are concerned, I have said that our plans and estimates are being drawn up and our construction will start as soon as possible.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what will be the composition of the Housing Board which he just referred to in his last answer?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I think I have stated on more than one occasion on the floor of this House that the Housing Board will be composed of experts, Government officials and non-officials.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: In view of the widespread communal distrust prevalent in this Province, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how does he propose to ensure that the Housing Board will be free from any communal bias?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise. It is a matter of opinion.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to where the lands have been acquired for the short term and long term plans—in which part of Calcutta?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I have already stated that we have a list of about 40 such plots of lands submitted by the Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, and by the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation, and by various other officers who are in charge of relief operations. We have now asked the Land Acquisition Collector of Calcutta to acquire all those lands for us. After we have acquired we shall start our short term as also the long term schemes.

Mr. FAZLUL QADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is going to localise these destitute people—Hindus and Muslims, in the same flat or in separate flats.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: It is a matter of policy on which no decision has been arrived at. We hope to come to a decision after the Housing Board has been composed.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to say what is the number of the people he expects to be re-housed as a result (a) of the short term scheme under consideration and (b) of the long term scheme under consideration?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid, I am unable to give a reply at this stage as to how many people we will be able to accommodate as a result of the short term scheme and the long term scheme. The short term schemes are of two kinds, namely, (i) buying of nissen huts from the Military, and (ii) constructing of temporary huts out of the salvage materials available from the Military.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: With reference to answer (d) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the nature of Government assistance that would be available in this connection?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Is the Hon'ble member referring to industrial labour?

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: If that kind of assistance is proposed to be given, yes; and if there are other forms of assistance, I want to know what are those for each case.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I cannot understand what is in the honourable member's mind. Is he referring to housing the industrial labour?

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Is it the intention of Government to give assistance to all kinds of labour? If so, then I want to know about the nature of assistance proposed to be given to each kind of labour. But if it is only in connection with industrial labour, then it is only in regard to that matter that I want to know.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: We propose to give assistance not only to large employers but to public bodies as well. We have given a substantial sum of Rs. 5,90,000 to the Calcutta Improvement Trust for building houses for bustee dwellers. If our assistance is asked for, we propose also to give contribution or subvention to the Calcutta Improvement Trust and the Howrah Municipality, but the condition attached to these grants is that the plans and estimates have to be approved by the Government and on our approval of the scheme we give grants or subventions to a public body and similarly we are agreeable to give financial assistance to large employers in the matter of housing industrial labour.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the original consideration, namely, housing of Hindus in a Hindu majority area and of Muslims in a Muslim majority area will be given effect to in connection with the short term scheme?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think, the Hon'ble Minister has already given answer to that.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: I submit, Sir, he only referred to the long term scheme. He was not clear as to the immediate short term plan which is going to be given effect to.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I have already said that that is a matter of policy, but no decision has been arrived at as yet by the Government; and so far as this policy is concerned, it will depend very largely on the conditions prevailing when we have these temporary structures available for housing.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: With reference to answer (d) relating to the proposal of erection of quarters for industrial labour, is it the idea of Government to insist upon every employer to erect sufficient quarters so as to accommodate all their employees, or is it to erect houses irrespective of what number of employees are covered or not?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: So far as this matter is concerned, no definite programme or policy has yet been laid down. It is a matter in which the Government of India and the Government of Bengal are still in negotiation. We expect the Government of India to lay down certain principles on which the policy of housing all industrial labour can be carried on by the Provincial Government. But there has been some disagreement between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal primarily on the question of rent that will have to be charged. The Government of India lays down certain standard of rent which is more or less the economic rent, but the Government of Bengal insist on a lower rate, that is a subsidised rate, so that it may be more or less in conformity with the standard of rate at which the labour people are at present accustomed to pay.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government has formed any estimate of the number of industrial workers for whom housing accommodation is needed and a plan has to be formulated?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot answer this question because this matter is being dealt with by the Minister in charge of Labour, Commerce and Industries Departments.

General election of the Bankura district board.

*55. **Mr. KANAILAL DE:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Local Self-Government be pleased to state whether the general election to district board, Bankura, has long been overdue?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the next election will be held?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali): (a) Yes.

(b) The matter is under consideration of Government.

Mr. KANAI LAL DE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether a representation has been filed by certain members of the District Board?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Yes.

Mr. KANAI LAL DE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is contemplating postponing the election at present?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: A representation has been received from a large number of members in this connection.

Mr. KANAI LAL DE: Sir, my question has not been answered. My question is, whether Government is contemplating postponing the election for the present?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: The representation is under the consideration of the Government.

Dismissal of a process-server of Contai Criminal Court.

***56. Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state--

(a) whether he is aware of the fact that a process-server named Surendra Nath Ghosal of the Contai Criminal Court has been dismissed from service on the 29th June, 1944;

(b) what are the reasons for dismissal; and

(c) if the reasons are sufficient for such a dismissal under the circumstances?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain): (a) Yes.

(b) The charges were insubordination and neglect of duty.

(c) The Board of Revenue has since set aside the order for dismissal of the process-server and directed his reinstatement in service.

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী বঙ্গীয় অন্তর্গত করে বলবেন কি, the Board of Revenue কি অকৃতান্তে এই আদেশ বিবাহিত?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: The charge was insubordination. But the charge did not constitute any insubordination because he was asked by the Subdivisional Officer to cleanse his bicycle. But it was not his usual duty, and so the Process-server did not commit any neglect of duty or insubordination by refusing to do that.

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: Supplementary question, Sir, মাননীয় মন্ত্রী বঙ্গীয় অন্তর্গত করে এই কথা বলবেন কি? Process serverরা আমাদের চাকরদের ব্যক্তিগত চাকর নন। সুতরাং তাঁরা ব্যক্তিগতভাবে তাঁদের কাজ করতে বাধ্য নন,--এ সম্বন্ধে কোন circular দেবেন কি না?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Not at all necessary.

Abolition of zamindary system of Bengal.

***57. Mr. MOBARAK ALI AHMED:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Land and Land Revenue be pleased to state whether the Ministry contemplates the abolition of the zamindary system of Bengal?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state--

(i) when they intend to take up the matter; and

(ii) when the Bill is likely to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT of LAND and LAND REVENUE (the Hon'ble Mr. Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain): (a) Yes; Government have accepted in principle the main recommendation of the

Land Revenue Commission to bring the actual cultivators into direct relation with the State by acquiring the interests of all rent-receivers.

(b) Necessary proposals for legislation are under consideration. Every attempt will be made to introduce the Bill in the next Budget Session.

Certificate system in Khasmahal.

*58. **Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

- (a) whether it is a fact that the rent realisations by certificate system in *khasmahal* areas have been abolished or are not in vogue in all the districts of Bengal;
- (b) if so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why the certificate system still exists in Contai subdivision; and
- (c) whether Government is considering the desirability of abolishing the certificate system in Contai subdivision?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: (a) No; application of the certificate procedure for realisation of rent in *khasmahals*, which was suspended in April, 1938, was re-introduced throughout the Province since December, 1943.

(b) and (c) Do not arise.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, with reference to answer (a), why the application of certificate procedure was re-introduced since 1943?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Because it was thought necessary both in the interest of the raiyat and the Government. It was found that for realisation of rent if Government had to go to the Civil Court, then the raiyats could not retain their holdings at all. Generally they were saddled with costs and other things so much that they could not save their holdings, and consequently it was also found that it was more quick and so Government realisation would be better if this procedure is followed.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if landlords applied for certificate procedure and if they were granted the right of certificate during this period?

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: I cannot say if they had applied.

Murder of two young boys at Parbatipur.

*59. **Mr. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware of a recent incident of murder of two young boys of 12 and 13 years of age at Parbatipur?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the murder is connected with a class of people described as Kafri?

(c) If the above alleged murder actually happened, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) what steps had been taken to bring out the real offender or offenders to light;

(ii) whether any enquiry was made into the matter; and

(iii) if so, with what result?

(d) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) whether there had been lately any other murder case at Parbatipur; and

(ii) what steps, if any, he intends to take to stop recurrence of such acts of murder at Parbatipur?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy):

(a) Yes.

(b) No such connection could be traced.

(c) A case under section 302, I.P.C., was started and duly investigated. The case remained undetected and a final report true under section 302, I.P.C., was submitted by the Police which was accepted by the Magistrate.

(d) (i) No.

(ii) Does not arise.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in connection with these murders any suspected persons were taken under arrest?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: No.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government made any attempt to take dying statements from those boys?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: The whole case was duly investigated. I cannot say whether dying statements were recorded.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any attempt was made to ascertain the whereabouts of the culprits and to take them under arrest pending investigation?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: The culprits could not be detected.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the answer already given covers this question, because when investigation was held it means that an attempt was made to arrest the culprits, and then the final report was submitted which was accepted by the Magistrate.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who was the officer placed in charge of conducting this investigation?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I cannot say offhand. I want notice.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government deputed any special officer for this purpose or it was left to the ordinary officers of that jurisdiction?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: It was done by the local police in co-operation with the military authorities.

Irrigation projects in Dinajpur.

***80. Mr. HASSAN ALI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Irrigation be pleased to state, regarding the Dinajpur district—

(a) how many irrigation projects (with a view to grow more food) have been extended up till now;

(b) how many acres of lands belonging to private persons have been acquired for the purpose and at what costs;

(c) whether prices of these lands have been paid to the owners as yet;

(d) if not, why not;

(e) what results have been achieved by means of these works;

(f) whether any measures have been taken with regard to any of the irrigation works for safeguarding from any harm that might be done to the cultivable lands concerned; and

(g) if not, why not?

MINISTER in charge of the IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. Abdur Rahman): (a) Nineteen.

(b) Four hundred and forty-five acres at an estimated cost of Rs.1,95,000.

(c) and (d) No. Land acquisition proceedings have not yet been completed.

(e) Area benefited is 4,800 acres (approximately).

(f) Yes, wherever considered necessary.

(g) Does not arise.

Mr. HASSAN ALI: With reference to answer (d) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the land acquisition proceedings will be completed?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: I ask for notice. I cannot give the answer offhand.

Hours of work and length of holidays in Government offices.

***61. Mr. S. K. SAWDAY:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Chief Minister's Department be pleased to state—

(a)(i) whether the recommendations of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, 1944-45, with regard to hours of work and length of holidays in Government offices have been—

(1) accepted, and

(2) implemented,

(ii) if not, why not;

(b) what are the present hours of work in the Bengal Secretariat; and

(c) what steps have been taken to ensure that these hours of work are observed by all Government officers?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy):

(a)(i) The recommendations have been accepted with modifications and implemented.

(ii) The seven-hour working day recommended by the Committee has been adopted but the recommendation that work in Government offices should start at 10 a.m. has not been accepted in view of the very real inconvenience that would thereby be caused to the large number of assistants who are daily passengers and attend Calcutta offices from the suburbs.

The number of Government holidays by executive order has been somewhat curtailed but it has not been found feasible to abolish such holidays altogether as that would cause inconvenience to the litigant public who would be forced to attend the courts on the days of their festivals.

(b) The hours of work in the Bengal Secretariat are from 10-30 a.m. to 5-30 p.m. on week days and 10-30 a.m. to 2 p.m. on Saturdays.

(c) An assistant who arrives late has to report immediately to the Assistant Secretary of his department and an assistant wishing to leave early has to obtain the permission of the Assistant Secretary. Officers have been instructed to take disciplinary action against these assistants who habitually come late to office.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: In view of the answer (ii), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Government think it desirable to introduce the Indian Standard time instead of the Bengal Time?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: The matter is under the consideration of the Government.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how long the Government will take to make this decision?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: I cannot give you any date but it would be done very shortly.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the net result of having curtailed some holidays by executive orders and the Government not finding it feasible to abolish these holidays?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: The point is that they are getting more days for work.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Have holidays been curtailed at all as a net result?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Yes, for the benefit of Government.

Ratio of appointment reserved for members of Scheduled Castes.

***62. Mr. HARAN CHANDRA BURMAN:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Chief Minister's Department be pleased to state—

- (a) what is the present ratio of appointment in services for the Scheduled Castes in various departments of the Bengal Government and the actual statistics of the same;
- (b) whether the Scheduled Castes ratio in appointments is fulfilled in every department;
- (c) if not, whether the vacancies are kept reserved for the Scheduled Castes applicants; and
- (d) if not, the reason thereof?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy):

(a) According to the Communal Ratio Rules the ratio is 15 per cent. The actual statistics are not readily available.

(b) Yes, as far as practicable.

(c) and (d) When qualified Scheduled Caste candidates are not available to fill up posts reserved for that community, such posts are filled up by members of other communities in accordance with the provisions contained in rule 10 of the Communal Ratio Rules.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, if any Scheduled Caste candidate is not available in Bengal, whether it is the practice of the Government to have Scheduled Caste candidates from other provinces as is often done in the case of the Muslim candidates?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: The usual practice is that a notification is made and applications are called for. If suitable candidates do not apply from outside Bengal, then the rule is not observed.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if suitable candidates often do apply from other provinces or not?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: As far as my information goes, yes.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that on the 19th June, 1945, Mr. S. B. Bapat, Joint Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in a memorandum admitted that on many occasions posts reserved for one community are given to the other community on the plea that suitable candidates are not available though actually applications are lying in the Writers' Buildings?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Yes.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps Government took or propose to take for the infringement of Communal Ratio Rules like this?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Government is contemplating to appoint an officer shortly to go into the question of the Communal Ratio Rules.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps Government generally takes when a post reserved for one community is being usurped by another community by a process like this?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: When a post is reserved for a particular community and qualified candidates of that community do not apply and have not been found, then according to rule 10 of the Communal Ratio Rules, the appointment is thrown open to everybody.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: That was not my question. When a post reserved for a particular community is usurped by another community by underhand means, then what happens?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: No information to that effect has been received by Government and if such a case is brought to the notice of the Government, that question will be looked into.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Is Government aware that in the Hindu society the backward communities are known as Scheduled Castes?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Yes.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of giving preference to those communities?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: They come under the category of the Hindu community and not under the category of the Scheduled Castes.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Does Government consider the desirability of giving preference in the matter of appointment to such communities when they make appointments?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: From the quota of the Hindu community.

Mr. BIJOY KRISHNA SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether communal ratio has been observed in the Court of Wards estates?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: No, Sir.

Mr. FAZLUL QADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many days before the last date for receiving applications are advertisements generally given?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry I could not follow the question.

Mr. FAZLUL QADIR: How many days before the last days for submission of applications are advertisements given?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: As far as advertisements are concerned, they depend more or less upon the rules framed by the Public Service Commission and they are advertised in all the prominent papers of the province.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: What is the margin between the date of advertisement and the date of appointment?

(No reply.)

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, if a suitable candidate for a post reserved for a particular community is not available within the province, whether it is the Government's policy to import somebody from outside of that community or to throw that post open to other communities in the province?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: As far as possible, attempt is made to get the candidate from the province. If it is not found possible, then candidates applying from other provinces are also given preference.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Dying rivers in Sundarban area.

15. Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Irrigation aware—

- (i) that the rivers in the Sundarban area of the 24-Parganas are gradually silting up, thus creating easy conditions for floods and other problems;
 - (ii) that the river Jamuna in the Basirhat subdivision of 24-Parganas has almost silted up;
 - (iii) that the river Peali in the Alipore Sadar subdivision has completely silted up;
 - (iv) that as a result of the complete silting of the Peali, extensive and permanent water-logging has taken place covering thousands of acres and laying waste valuable agricultural land; and
 - (v) that such silting up and water-logging have created unfavourable health conditions and helped the spread of malaria and other diseases?
- (b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—
- (i) whether the Government propose to make an enquiry into the problem of dying rivers in the Sundarban area; and
 - (ii) whether the Government consider it desirable to take immediate steps for reopening the channels of the Jamuna and the Peali and for preventing water-logging by cutting suitable diversion canals?

MINISTER in charge of the IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. Abdur Rahman): (a)(i) No. Except the upper reaches of the Peali and the Matla and some smaller channels.

(ii) Yes.

(iii) and (iv) A portion of the upper reaches of the Peali river has silted up. This has resulted in the drainage congestion of a part of the upper basin.

(v) The figures for malaria mortality in the Sadar, Basirhat and Diamond Harbour subdivisions during the 5 years 1941-45, show an increase over the previous quinquennium, but this increase might have been due to the conditions that prevailed in the Province during that period. I am, however, informed that the death rate from malaria in these areas has come down considerably from the beginning of 1945. Silting up of rivers and water-logging have, I understand, little direct bearing on the spread of other diseases.

(b) The whole matter is under investigation. After the investigation complete, Government would decide upon the measures to be taken for the

revival of the Jamuna. As for the Peali, a scheme for its improvement is under investigation and model experiments are being made in the Bengal River Research Institute.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that at many places in the Sundarbans bunds have been breached because of the silting up of river channels?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Yes, I am aware of that.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: In view of the answer just given, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is considering the desirability of having an extensive survey as to what rivers and what channels are being silted up in this fashion?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Yes, a detailed survey is being made.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that as a result of recent rains there has been very extensive waterlogging in the Sonarpur and Baruipur areas?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Yes, I myself went there. I myself have seen the place and I have taken steps to provide relief. With regard to water-logging I have consulted the Chief Engineer and we are devising some means as to how we can relieve the congestion of water.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: With reference to answer (b) and with reference to the answer just now given by him, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has received any suggestions from his department as to how this solution of water-logging can be made immediately?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: It is being examined. I took the Chief Engineer with me, but he could not give me any suggestions offhand. In answer (b) the suggestion there has been made in connection with the Jamuna. With regard to the Peali at present we are having a model experiment in the Bengal River Research Institute. I think the model experiment will take about a couple of months to be completed, and as soon as the result of the model experiment is known, we shall be able to do something with regard to this river.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I understand that is a long term proposal. In view of the statement made will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is considering the desirability of adopting some short-term proposal for letting out the flood water that is standing in those areas?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: I do not think any short-term measure will help in removing the congestion of water. At least that is the opinion of my Chief Engineer.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many schemes are under investigation of Government at the present moment and how many years will they take to complete the investigation?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise, because the main question generally refers only to rivers in certain areas.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has under his examination any scheme regarding re-excavation of the river Jamuna in the subdivision of Basirhat?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Yes; it is under investigation.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to when that scheme will come up for final decision?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: I am sorry I cannot give you the exact date.

Pay of chowkidars and dafadars of Faridpur district.

16. Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Local Self-Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(i) that the District Magistrate of Faridpur has of late given an order to the effect that the pay of chowkidars will be raised from Rs.7 to Rs.14 and that of dafadars from Rs.10 to Rs.20 a month and that the additional expense is to be met by increasing taxation, the rate of which will not be flat but vary with individuals; and

(ii) that the maximum tax chargeable by the union board is Rs.84 a year and that the tax already charged from the few rich men within a union is already near the maximum limit?

(b) Does the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of asking the District Magistrate of Faridpur to suspend the execution of the order increasing the union rate for so long famine conditions persist?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT of LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali): (a)(i) The District Magistrate, Faridpur, has given an order—

- (1) raising the pay of chowkidars and dafadars as stated, and
- (2) directing that the increase in expenditure shall be met partly by decreasing the number of chowkidars and dafadars and partly by proper assessment of rates on persons who are at present under-assessed.

(ii) It is a fact that the maximum tax (union rate) assessable on a person is Rs.84 per year. Only a very small number of rich persons within a union pay the maximum union rate. There are other rich persons who are at present under-assessed.

(b) In view of the fact that only the persons who are under-assessed and are going to be properly and reasonably assessed in order to give relief to the ill-paid chowkidars and dafadars who are hard hit by the increased cost of living, it is not contemplated to ask the District Magistrate to suspend the execution of the order for increasing the union rates of such persons.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the District Magistrate of Dacca has issued a similar order?

Mr. SPEAKER: That does not refer to the question at all.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Yes, Sir, it does.

Mr. SPEAKER: Certainly not. The question refers to certain orders of the District Magistrate of Faridpur. That cannot refer to all the orders of all the District Magistrates in Bengal.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: In view of the disturbed situation in the rural areas of Eastern Bengal does the Government consider the desirability of increasing the number of chaukidars and dafadars?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: No; there is another scheme of Government for the formation of a volunteer organisation.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: In view of the answer will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how the necessity of increased tax can be justified if the order of the District Magistrate was to decrease the number of chaukidars and dafadars?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: As far as the District Magistrate is concerned, he may increase the chaukidars and dafadars to see the work of a particular union. That does not concern all unions. As far as the distribution is concerned 7 chaukidars are necessary for work in a union, but the District Magistrate may think that 9 chaukidars are necessary for any particular area.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Does the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of giving effect to the recommendation of the Chaukidari Enquiry Committee?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise. That is again a general question; that does not form part of this question.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Does the Government consider the desirability of commending the example of the District Magistrate of Faridpur to other districts?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: The question will receive due consideration of Government.

Disposal of Agmark ghee in Rajshahi.

17. Mr. PRAVASH CHANDRA LAHIRI: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries be pleased to state whether he is aware—

(i) that a large quantity of Agmark ghee was indented to Rajshahi in March, 1945; and

(ii) that no steps were taken to get the said product consumed by this time?

(b) Is it a fact—

(i) that the ghee has by this time decomposed and become unfit for human consumption;

(ii) that requests to examine the ghee have not been heeded to;

(iii) that for the last 3 or 4 months sweetmeat vendors have been compelled to purchase the said ghee;

(iv) that the food committees objected to the sale of this decomposed Agmark ghee on hygienic grounds; and

(v) that the controlled price of certain sweetmeats have been increased?

(c) If the answers to (a) and (b) are in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of making an enquiry into the matter and taking steps against the officer or officers concerned if any responsible for decomposition of such product and disposing of the decomposed commodity to the sweetmeat vendors?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, FORESTS and FISHERIES (the Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain): (a) Of the 60 maunds of Agmark ghee allotted to Rajshahi, 40 maunds were taken by the dealers. The arrangement was that the ghee would be sold by dealers nominated by the Collector. The Town Food Committee was first asked whether they would agree to handle the commodity, but on their unwillingness to do so, the ghee was made over to ordinary traders for sale in the open market.

(b) (i) No; there is no undisposed of stock.

(ii) There was no such request.

(iii) No.

(iv) A report was received by the Collector in May, 1946, that the quality of the undisposed stock had deteriorated, but no objection was received from the local public health authorities.

(v) Government have no information.

(c) Does not arise.

Mr. PROVAS CHANDRA LAHIRI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons, if any, given by the food committees for their unwillingness to handle the commodity?

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: I have not got any reasons.

Introduction of legislation with regard to Bengal Fisheries.

18. Mr. ABDUL HAKIM VIKRAMPURI: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture be pleased to state whether he is considering the desirability of introducing a comprehensive Bill with regard to the Bengal Fisheries?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is considering the desirability of introducing the Bill as early as possible?

The Hon'ble Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: (a) A Bill to provide for close seasons for the protection and preservation of fishes is under consideration of Government in the Fisheries Department. Another Bill to safeguard the rights and interests of fishermen is also under consideration of Government in the Land and Land Revenue Department.

(b) Yes.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that large tracts of valuable agricultural lands in the district of 24-Parganas, particularly in the Sundarban areas, are being turned into *bheries*? বন্যায় বাহ্যে ?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I am not aware of that.

Mr. AMULYA CHANRA ADHIKARY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the object of the Bill is to convert the fisheries into a capitalistic concern and to convert the fishermen into labourers under those capitalists?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: The Bill has not yet been drafted. I am unable to anticipate the provisions of that Bill.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is making any attempt to elicit the opinion of any Fishermen's Organisation before making provisions of the Fisheries Bill?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Yes.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what Fishermen's Organisations are being consulted by Government for the purpose of eliciting such opinion?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I have not got a list of all the Fishermen's Organisations here. I want notice.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is understood by the word "*bheries*" as used by Mr. Sinha?

Mr. SPEAKER: I disallow that question; that has already been answered.

Mr. A. T. MAZHARUL HAQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he has taken notice of the fact that a Bill regulating the fisheries of Bengal was given notice of by one of the members of the Opposition?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I cannot follow; repeat.

(The question was not repeated.)

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that *bheries* are constructed around the agricultural lands more to prevent the saline water from entering inside than for the purpose of catching fish?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Yes.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: In view of the answer given to my question that valuable tracts of agricultural lands are being turned into *bheries*, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it does not conflict with the Grow More Food policy?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: It is a matter of opinion.

Mr. NIHARENDU DATTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with regard to the latter part of his answer regarding the rights and interests of fishermen whether the Bill will embody provisions on the same principle as in the case of rights and interests of cultivators in land with a view to securing the fishing rights of fishermen?

Mr. SPEAKER: I can tell you, Mr. Dutta Mazumdar, that you will get sufficient opportunity to discuss this matter when the Bill will come up before the House.

Mr. NIHARENDU DATTA MAZUMDAR: In the answer the Hon'ble Minister states "another Bill to safeguard the rights and interests of fishermen is also under consideration". And, Sir, I am therefore entitled to elicit from the Hon'ble Minister whether with regard to these rights and interests Government would consider the desirability of drawing an analogy of the same model as the rights and interests of the cultivators in lands with a view to ensuring the fishing rights and interests of fishermen in the fishing areas of Bengal.

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I would request the honourable member to put this question to the Revenue Department which is dealing with this matter.

Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there is a legislation from the Forest Department by which fishermen catching fish in the Sundarbans areas are to be levied a certain tax?

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: I want notice.

Message.

The Secretary then read the following message:—

"That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Calcutta Disturbances Commission of Enquiry Bill, 1946, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, at its meeting held on the 20th September, 1946."

Privilege of Members.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT MAZUMDAR: Sir, I raised a matter yesterday with regard to the infringement of members' privilege to which you said that, so far as rules were concerned, you considered yourself in

a helpless position, with a view to compel compliance of the Hon'ble Ministers concerned, in respect of Rule 24 relating to the members' right of putting questions and getting answers to them. Sir, I find that you are really not so helpless as you thought yourself to be yesterday. I would invite your attention to Rule 116 of the Assembly Procedure Rules.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I know that. You need not read the rules, but simply submit your arguments.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I submit that it is perfectly within your power to give such directions or orders as you may consider necessary with a view to compel compliance of the departments concerned in making them honour members' privileges given them under Rule 24. It is for you to consider what orders or directions would be appropriate in this connection. What I would suggest, Sir, is this that you may be pleased to consider framing certain orders and directions with a view to compel that the Hon'ble Ministers shall honour the privileges under Rule 24. In this respect, Sir, I would request you to be good enough not to drop the matter to which I drew your attention, but to refer it to the Committee of Privileges, and in consultation with the Committee of Privileges frame such orders and directions as you think adequate to compel the compliance of the Hon'ble Ministers with the provisions of Rule 24. You said yesterday that you did not find anything in the rules which specifically laid down any manner whereby you could do what I ask you, Sir, to do. You have been given full powers to devise how exactly you can compel compliance of the Hon'ble Ministers.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do you refer to Rule 31?

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: No, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I know it is Rule 24, but are you referring to Rule 31 also?

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Yesterday I referred to Rule 24—but Rule 31 also helps us in the matter. I therefore think that in view of the grave calamities we have suffered, these privileges are of great value, both to members of this House and to the public in general. I therefore submit to you, Sir, that this matter which I raised yesterday, and which I raise again today in this context should not be dropped without any remedy being furnished. I would like, Sir, that you may be pleased to tell the House what course you propose to adopt. My humble suggestion is that the Committee of Privileges which is soon going to be elected may be the instrument through which you can get the suggestions, assistance and co-operation of all sections of the House, and ultimately, Sir, decide as you think proper what orders and directions will be adequate to compel compliance of the Hon'ble Ministers with the privilege given us under Rule 24. And this, Sir, is an essential point. As for the particular question in relation to which I raised this matter, I was informed by the Assembly Department that that question may be treated as an ordinary one if I agree to it. I have intimated my agreement to that effect, but I think, Sir, it will be impossible to get an answer in the course of this session, unless, Sir, you may be pleased to give direction to that effect in view of the fact that notice had already been given as early as 14th of August, and this question may be answered before the termination of the present session, so that on the floor of the House before the House prorogues we get an answer on this point; and, as you will have noticed, Sir, from the question itself, it is a grave matter which should have been answered before. I submit it should in any case be answered before this session is over. So my submissions to you are two: (i) on the point of the exercise of your powers, and (ii) to ensure that the question to which I gave notice on the 13th—and which was communicated to the department on the 14th—may without fail be answered before this session is over.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the general question is concerned raised by Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, I feel it affects the fundamental right of the members of this House, but as rules stand now I have not been able to find myself properly armed to compel compliance to answer questions, or take action according to the wishes of the members. I shall certainly take into serious consideration the suggestion given by Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar whether any solution can be found out, out of these rules, and, if necessary after consideration the matter may be referred to the Committee of Privileges. So far as the particular question referred to by Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar is concerned, I shall ask the Hon'ble Leader of the House, who is not present here, what he proposes to do in the matter, or to such person who may be working in his place if he comes to my Chamber and discusses the matter with me.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I thank you, Sir. I will also request you to take into consideration the fact that the question is not of such a nature and there is nothing in it which may delay an answer being given tomorrow if the Hon'ble Minister wishes to reply.

Mr. FAZLUL QADIR: I have got a similar grievance. I put questions as far back as June last, but I have not heard anything as yet.

Mr. SPEAKER: It will strengthen my hands if all the members join hands in the matter and make it a common cause.

Committees of Privileges and Public Accounts.

Mr. SPEAKER: Members are aware that the polling for the Election to the Committee of Privileges and the Committee on Public Accounts has been fixed on Friday the 27th September, 1946. But I have received a representation jointly signed by the three Chief Whips of the Government, Congress and European Parties. "They have agreed to select the following personnel to the two Committees mentioned above and desire that no formal election is necessary on the 27th September, 1946. I do not think there is any objection of the House in the matter and the agreed list of names of members may be formally declared elected."

Committee of Privileges.

- (1) Mr. Aulad Hossain Khan.
- (2) Mr. Hassan Ali.
- (3) Mr. A. F. Stark.
- (4) Mr. Jasimuddin Ahmed.
- (5) Mr. Dewan Lutfar Rahman.
- (6) Mr. Hafizuddin Chowdhury.
- (7) Mr. Asan Ali Muktear.
- (8) Mr. J. C. Gupta.
- (9) Mr. D. N. Datta.
- (10) Mr. Banku Behari Mandal.
- (11) Dr. Profap Chandra Guha Roy.

Committee on Public Accounts.

- (1) Mr. Akbar Ali.
- (2) Mr. Sharfuddin Ahmed.
- (3) Mr. S. K. Sawday.
- (4) Mr. Habibullah Chowdhury.
- (5) Mr. Mohammad Rafique.
- (6) Mr. Amar Krishna Ghosh.
- (7) Mr. D. N. Mukherji.
- (8) Mr. D. P. Khaitan.

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

13—Other Taxes and Duties.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 10,01,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "13—Other Taxes and Duties".

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 10,01,000 for expenditure under the head "13—Other Taxes and Duties" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for moving this motion is to raise a discussion about not abolishing sales tax as demanded by the traders as well as by the consuming public specially in respect of necessary commodities of life, namely, cloth, medicine, etc.

Sir, I do not like to make any speech, but I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, in opposing the main motion I like to speak a few words. The sales tax was imposed in 1941 and it was settled then that it would be only one pice. At that time there was a great opposition in the country, both in the Press and on the platform, but the Government said that in view of the war situation and in order to balance the budget they required it and so the Legislature assented to it. Since then it became 2 pice. Then it increased to 3 pice. This year an attempt was made by the Government to make it one anna in the rupee. There was again a hue and cry, and the Opposition both from the Press and the platform created such a strong feeling in the country that the Government had to stop and did not venture to proceed with it.

Now again, Sir, in the Budget expenditure has been increased over this head by Rs. 1,04,000 over the last year's actuals. In this way the Government is playing ducks and drakes with the public money. Sir, the sales tax has greatly affected the people—the poor and the rich all alike. It makes no distinction between the communities, it has affected both the communities—Hindus and Muslims. Sir, this Act has endangered even the barest necessities of life. It has increased the cost of essential commodities of life: it has increased the cost of medicine, of cloth and of all other necessities of life.

With these words, Sir, I support the motion for reduction of the demand by Rs. 100 moved by my honourable friend Mr. D. N. Datta.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I rise to oppose the out motion moved by Mr. Dharendra Nath Datta. He has referred to the question of the imposition of sales tax on cloth and medicine. He is perhaps aware that we have a schedule of exemptions and in the list of Schedules there are all articles which are necessary for the poorer sections of the people. And even so far as cloth is concerned, a certain standard has been exempted and handloom cloth has been exempted. Therefore I think the honourable member will realise that this imposition of sales tax is not meant for poorer people who are not able to bear the burden. This is a system of tax which is more equitable than income-tax, because it is a tax on the purchasing power of the individual. Whatever be the purchasing power of the individual in my opinion no other just and equitable form of taxation than this can be devised. Therefore there should be no grudge for the payment of this tax for the improvement of the condition of the masses.

Sir, so far as the criticisms of Mr. Sushil Kumar Banerji are concerned, with regard to the establishment and other expenses of the department, I think he will realise that this demand is for only 10 lakhs whereas we expect a receipt of 3 crores, that is on an average of one crore per pice per rupee of taxation. Government had proposed to increase the tax from 9 pies to 12 pies in the rupee, but as a result of vehement protest from traders and

shopkeepers Government agreed to keep the tax to the level prevailing in 1945, that is, 9 pies in the rupee. At that time Government of course proposed to increase the tax but at the same time they intended to include a larger number of articles in the Schedule of exemption, namely, fresh fruits and flowers and other commodities. In view of the fact that the rate has again been reduced, Government have not got a large list of schedule of exemptions: only one article has been included in the Schedule of Exemption, namely, fresh fruit.

So far as the question of medicine is concerned, Government have under their consideration a proposal for exemption of certain class of articles and items, and I can assure the House that the question of exemption of essential medicines will be sympathetically considered by Government.

The motion of Mr. Dharendra Nath Datta that the demand of Rs. 10,01,000 for expenditure under the head "13—Other Taxes and Duties" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali that a sum of Rs. 10,01,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "13—Other Taxes and Duties" was then put and agreed to.

38—Medical.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 3,64,65,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "38—Medical".

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about failure of the Government to encourage (i) Ayurvedic, (ii) Hakimi, and (iii) Homeopathic systems of treatment.

Mr. KANAILAL DASS: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the lack of Government policy and Government's failure to have hospitals in each and every union of Bengal.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA MAHANTY: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the unsatisfactory nature of the working of the Medical Colleges and Schools of Bengal and institution of an enquiry into it.

I also beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the paucity of number of seats allotted for women students in Medical Colleges and Schools of Bengal and want of hostels for them.

Mr. HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to introduce the Homeopathy System of treatment in this province during the present scarcity of allopathic medicine.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমার এই প্রতিবেশে সাধারণের এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থার সারা নাই। বিশেষতঃ আমরা বিগত বছরের সময় যেখানে যে বিশেষ থেকে এলোপ্যাথিক ঔষধ এখানে আসতে পারেনি। এমন কি সাধারণ কুইনিনের অভাবে এখানে পড় পড় রহত রহত নরনারীর বিনা চিকিৎসায় প্রাণ হিতে হইতেছে। যে দেশের চিকিৎসা এত দুঃখের, একজন ডাক্তার ডাকতে হলে তাকে পাঁচ টাকা ডিজিট দিতে হবে, একটা ইন্সপেক্টর দিতে হবে

ভিন্ন প্রণালী দিতে হবে, ঔষধের Prescription আনতে হবে এবং ঔষধ আনতে হ'লে প্রত্যেক দ্রব্যের জন্য অত্যন্ত আট আনা, এক টাকা দাব দিতে হবে। এই বহুব্যয়সাধ্য চিকিৎসা এই দেশের দরিদ্র জনসাধারণ করতে পারে না। কাজেই একেশের উপযোগী চিকিৎসা করতে হ'লে সহজসাধ্য, অল্প ব্যয়ের সহজসাধ্য, চিকিৎসার প্রবর্তন প্রয়োজন। আর আমাদের দেশে বহুকাল থেকে আয়ুর্বেদিক এবং হাকিমী অর্থাৎ হুনানী চিকিৎসা প্রচলিত ছিল। আজও তা আছে এবং সে সব চিকিৎসাতে জনসাধারণের আশাও আছে এবং সে সব চিকিৎসা সম্বন্ধে একথা বলা চলে না যে সেগুলি বাজে চিকিৎসা, যাতে রোগ আঘাত হ'লে এবং সে সব চিকিৎসা হয় এবং সেখা গিয়েছে যে অনেক ডাক্তার তাঁরা যখন চিকিৎসা করে বাধ্য হয়ে যান তখন তাঁরা বলেন যে আমাদের এই চিকিৎসার আর হবে না, তেমনবা অন্যান্য চিকিৎসা, আয়ুর্বেদিক, হাকিমী বা অন্য কোন চিকিৎসা করে দেখতে পাবে। এবং এও দেখা গিয়েছে যে আয়ুর্বেদিক, হাকিমী বা হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসাতে আমাদের দেশে বহু নোক আরোগ্যলাভ করেছে, যারা Allopathic চিকিৎসাতে বিশ্বাস করেন না। হাই হোক আমি যে চিকিৎসার গুণাগুণ আলোচনা করবো না; আমি শুধু নিবেদন করছি একেশের দারিদ্র্যের কথা। হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা অতি অল্প পরসার হয়; তাতে এক dram ঔষধ হয়ত দু' আনা দলেই হয়। এবং সেটা সহজসাধ্যও বটে। বাস্তবিক যদি হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার প্রচার প্রদর্শন করা হয় তাহলে হবে তবে অনেক ডাক্তার হতে পারে, যার আমাদের আর্থিক অভাব আছে। আরবা প্রত্যেক গ্রামে বসেই জনসাধারণের সেবা করার সুযোগ পেরে পাবি। কিন্তু দুর্ভাগ্যের বিষয় যে আমাদের government এই চিকিৎসার প্রতি উদাসীন এবং তাঁরা অনুকূল দৃষ্টি দেন না। তার মধ্যে তাদের কারণ রয়েছেও বস্তু বড়। একেশের government যে কোন ভিনিয়কেই ব্যবসায়ীর দৃষ্টিতে দেখেন; তাঁরা দেখেন যে একেশে যদি এনোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার প্রচলন থাকে তাহলে ইংল্যান্ড বণিকদের অনেক সুবিধা হয়; কারণ বিদেশ থেকে, বিদেশ থেকে অনেক ঔষধ একেশে আনানী হয়। তাতে তাদের সুবিধা হয়। তারা সেই সুবিধার জন্য বিবেচনা করে একেশের জনসাধারণের যে চিকিৎসা, আয়ুর্বেদীয়, হাকিমী বা হোমিওপ্যাথিক, তার প্রতি তাঁরা দৃষ্টি নিক্ষেপ করেন না। আর এই প্রত্যাব উপস্থিত করার একমাত্র কারণ হচ্ছে যে এই গভর্ণমেন্টের কাছে আমি এই নিবেদন করতে চাই যে তাঁরা এখানে প্রত্যেক সহরে সহরে আয়ুর্বেদিক, হাকিমী এবং হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার জন্য উপযুক্ত হাসপাতাল এবং শিক্ষার স্থান কলেক্ট স্থাপন করে তার শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করুন। এবং এর যাতে অনুশীলন হতে পারে, একেশের জাতীয় চিকিৎসার এই আয়ুর্বেদিক, হাকিমী ও হোমিওপ্যাথিকের যাতে ভাল ভাল পাক নতুন নতুন আবিষ্কার করে এই সব চিকিৎসার উন্নতিসাধন করতে পারে সেই ব্যবস্থা governmentএর অবিলম্বে করা উচিত। যদি তাঁরা একেশের জনসাধারণের দারিদ্র্যের কথা একটুমাত্র চিন্তা করেন, যদি তাঁরা জনসাধারণের কোন রকম স্বাস্থ্যের জন্য ভাবেন, তাহলে আমি বিশ্বাস করি যে তাঁরা এ বিষয়ে উদাসীন থাকতে পারবেন না। আমি চাই যে ব্রহ্মচর্যীয় পক্ষ থেকে, governmentএর পক্ষ থেকে এইভাবে ঘোষণা করা হোক যে তাঁরা একেশের জনসাধারণের স্বাস্থ্যের জন্য, জনসাধারণের উপকারার্থে এই সকল চিকিৎসাপদ্ধতির প্রবর্তন করবেন। এই কথা বলে আমি আমার প্রস্তাব উপস্থাপন করছি।

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA MAHANTY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, regarding cut motions Nos. 45 and 46, that is, the unsatisfactory nature of the working of the Medical Colleges and Schools of Bengal, I would invite the attention of the Hon'ble Minister and of the House to the fact that in these days of Indianisation when we are supposed to be on the threshold of complete independence, we have yet in the Medical College and Campbell School European Principals and Professors. These gentlemen generally do not know the language of the province properly to understand the requirements of those for whose services they are meant, though fit and qualified Bengalees are not wanting for those jobs. Even in hospitals, the nursing staff is headed by non-Bengalee. This state of things should be remedied.

Regarding admission of students and patients in the Colleges, Schools and Hospitals, it is an open secret that much jobbery, nepotism and bribery is prevalent. As the seats are limited and the candidates are too many, such jobbery and bribery and nepotism come into play. Very few patients are admitted into the hospitals without having paid a fee to the Physician or Surgeon in charge of the ward in which those are to be admitted. Even then they are to wait for days and months to get a seat. In the Medical College more than one thousand students applied this year for admission; so also in the Campbell School, but only a fraction of them are admitted

or in the case of Campbell Medical School are going to be admitted. It is often reported that students have to spend hundreds of rupees before they hope to get admission. There is no end of diseases in Bengal and it requires an army of Doctors to remedy this state of affairs, specially in the villages. Hence the number of seats are to be increased both in Schools and Colleges as well as in Hospitals.

There is a great paucity of proper medicine and instrument in some of the hospitals. In some cases such easily available medicine as morphia is at times found wanting. At the time of the Great Calcutta Killing there was a great want of instrument for giving saline injection to patients in the Campbell Hospital. The wards of the hospitals are not properly cleaned. The privies and urinals are not sometimes washed in time. In Campbell hospital, children's ward is not properly cared for. Children are not fed and clothed as they should be.

It is alleged that marks obtained by examinees are sometimes tampered with at the office according to the money available for the office staff. (Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: কখন ?) In Campbell Medical School.

Medicines meant for patients are sometimes sold away for the black market and food allotted to the patients is very often misappropriated. The quality of teaching has in recent years greatly deteriorated. Communal consideration has come in and unqualified teachers may find themselves in responsible jobs because of the community to which they belong.

All these matters should be enquired into by a responsible committee consisting of non-officials and others.

Regarding cut motions Nos. 47 and 48 I beg to draw the attention of the House to the facts that there are only two Government colleges, one in Calcutta and the other in Dacca. There is a non-Government college at Belgachia. Belgachia college does not admit girl students. As regards Dacca, the college has been started this year and as Dacca is notorious for communal riots, women students are and will be afraid to go there, and it is not known how many seats are reserved there for women.

In the Calcutta Medical College only 14 or 15 girls have been admitted this year though there was a larger number of women applicants. Even girls passing I.Sc. examination in the first division could not secure admission.

There are six Government Medical Schools in Bengal of which only two admit girls, namely, Dacca and Campbell. In the other four schools girls are not ordinarily admitted.

In the Campbell School, the number of girls applying for admission is very much in excess of the seats allotted. Even girls passing or reading I.A. or I.Sc. cannot find entrance into it.

The number of girls passing Matric has very much increased during recent years. So more seats should be provided for girls in the Medical Schools and Colleges.

Regarding women hostel, the Calcutta Medical College has only one hostel named Swarnamoyee Hostel. There the seats are too inadequate to admit all the girls of the college who desire to remain in the hostel. Even now the number of girls residing in the hostel is in excess of the number of seats allotted. A number of girls cannot find seats there and have to live as best as they can and have to wait for years to get a seat there. The Elliot Hostel of the Campbell Hospital which is the only hostel for Campbell girl students is also in the same condition.

Sir, I have one point to make. Midnapur students are not permitted to take admission in the Campbell School. The Burdwan school is meant for them though Midnapur is much nearer to Calcutta than Burdwan and is connected in several ways with Calcutta. Students of Midnapur find it

extremely hard to go to Burdwan leaving Calcutta behind. So Campbell School as it is situated in Calcutta, the chief town of Bengal, where people of all districts have to flock, should have no bar for admission of all students from Bengal especially from Midnapur.

So, Sir, first a committee should be appointed to enquire into the working of these schools and colleges and secondly more seats for women should be provided in the schools and colleges and more hostels should be started; and thirdly Campbell School should have no bar for admission of students of other districts especially of Midnapur which is so near to Calcutta and the relevant rule should be amended accordingly.

Dr. MOZAMMEL HOSSAIN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমি হাসপাতাল সম্বন্ধে দু' চারটে কথা বলতে চাইছি। হাসপাতাল আমাদের দেশে বা আছে তার সংখ্যা খুব অল্প। তবুও আমাদের স্বামী মহোদয়কে আমার অন্তর থেকে বনাবাদ জানাচ্ছি যে তিনি হাসপাতালগুলি দেখতে গিয়েছেন। হাসপাতালে যে staff আছে এবং হাসপাতালে বা চিকিৎসা হয় তা সভাকারের অবস্থাপনু লোকদের জন্য নয়, গ্রামের গরীব মুখী যারা তাদের জন্যই হাসপাতালের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু তারা সন্তা সন্তা সেখানে চিকিৎসিত হয় কি না তা সন্দেহ। ঢাকা, কলকাতা বা বকঃসলের হাসপাতালের অবস্থা না জানেন এমন কোন সভা এখানে আছেন বলে আমার মনে হয় না। হাসপাতালের রোগীর উপর যে ব্যবস্থা করা হয় তা আমাদের স্বামী মহোদয় কলকাতা ঘুরে চক্ষু কর্ণে দেখেছেন এবং সেখানে যে staff আছেন তাতে communal ratio মোটেই নেই। আমার খুলনা জেলা, উদায় প'চ per cent. ৭ ডাক্তার মুসলমান নেই; এবং patients সেখানে যে ব্যবহার পায় তা অনেকেই জানেন। ঢাকা না গিয়ে কেহ ভক্তি হতে পারে না, বা ভক্তি হলেও তাদের ঔষধ পথ্য সবই সম্বন্ধে অতীব দুর্গুণবাহ্য পায়। ঔষধ সম্বন্ধে দেখা গিয়েছে যে, যে ঔষধ সরকার থেকে মত্তর হয় তার অর্ধেক ঔষধও তাদের জাগো জোটে না। সেখানে যে অবস্থা হয় তা অনেকেই বিগিত আছেন। এবং পথ্য সম্বন্ধে ঠিক একই ব্যাপার। কলকাতার হাসপাতালের পথ্য যে প্রতিদিন ছুরি হয় এবং যথেষ্ট অপব্যবহার হয় তা সুবিদিত। কলকাতার হাসপাতাল থেকে বকঃসলে আরো বেশী : আমার মনে হয় যে ৫০ p.c. হিসাবে বাকি যেতে পারে; সেখানে বা সরকার থেকে মত্তর করা হয় তার অর্ধেকও রোগীর কাছে পৌঁছায় না। এ ছাড়া কতগুলি ঔষধের ওপর আমাদের এখানে heavy taxation আছে, যেমন Tincture card..... ইত্যাদি। এ সব ঔষধের দাম বাংলা দেশে বা হয়েছে তার তুলনায় অন্যান্য প্রদেশে আমার মনে হয় যে অনেক কম। যা এখানে ১১ টাকা কি ১০ টাকা পাউণ্ড, আসবে বা অন্যান্য প্রদেশে আড়াই টাকা বা তিন টাকা। এই রকম heavy taxation দিবে ব্যবহার করা সত্যি গরীবদের পক্ষে খুব কষ্টকর হচ্ছে।

তারপরে আমার বক্তব্য এই student admission সম্বন্ধে Campbell বা Medical College যে কয়েকটি government প্রতিষ্ঠান আছে তাতে মুসলমান ছেলেদের সংখ্যা বা ভক্তি হয় তা আমাদের লোকসংখ্যার পক্ষে অতীব কম। এ ছাড়া বেলগাছিয়া মেডিক্যাল কলেজ বা Calcutta Medical School এজন মুসলমান ছাত্রদের সংখ্যা শতকরা বর্ণ জনও নয়। এক্ষেত্রে যে সব government school আছে তাতে যদি শতকরা ৬০ ভাগ মুসলমান ছেলে ভক্তি না করেন তাহলে আমাদের দেশে মুসলমান ছাত্র বা ডাক্তারদের উপযুক্ত সংখ্যা মোটেই পাওয়া যাবে না। এখন আমি বলতে পারি যে গ্রামে যে সব dispensary আছে তাতে মুসলমান ডাক্তারদের সংখ্যা শতকরা ৫ জনের বেশী নয়। এছাড়া যে সব ছেলে Campbell থেকে পান করে Medical College এ ভক্তি হয় তাদের রেজনের দ্বারা এত বেশী যে কোন মুসলমান সেলে সন্নিবেহ হবে না যে সেখানে গিয়ে ভক্তি হয়। এ ছাড়া আমাদের ছেলেদের শিক্ষার জন্য নাকি ১১ লক্ষ টাকা আছে : এখানে আমরা কি বলতে পারি যে ডাক্তারী পড়ার জন্য বার্নিকটা টাকা যদি না বাধেন তাহলে মুসলমান ছেলেরা এদেশে ডাক্তার হয়ে বেরোবার সুবিধা পাবে না। তার কারণ দেশ ছেলেরা বকঃসল থেকে আসে তাদের অবিকাল সংখ্যক ছেলেই হ'লে পরীক্ষের। মুসলমান বাবা অবশ্যাবশীল তাদের তাঁদের ছেলেরা প্রায়ই কেবাপড়ার ভাল নয়। আর এ ছাড়া যদি তাদের stipend district by district না দেন তখনই এমন হবে যে অনেক district বাক পড়ে যাবে, সেখানে মুসলমান ছেলেদের কোন সুযোগ থাকবে না। এ ছাড়া এতকাল ধরে আমাদের Muslim League government চলে আসছে, কিন্তু সেখানি এই ডাক্তারী ছাত্রদের জন্য কোন hostel এ বন্দ্য হ'লি এবং উন্নিবাস্তেও শীঘ্র যাতে হয় তার জন্য

সহী মহোদয়কে আমার অনুরোধ জানাচ্ছি। এ ছাড়া government থেকে কতগুলি ঔষধ নতুন নতুন আবিষ্কৃত হয়েছে, যেমন Penicillin এগুলি যাতে দেশে সর্বত্র ছড়িয়ে পড়ে এবং এর বহু চিকিৎসা ক্ষেত্রে এর তার জন্য ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত।

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Dr. MOZAMMEL HOSSAIN: দু' মিনিট লাগবে,

Mr. SPEAKER: One minute.

Dr. MOZAMMEL HOSSAIN: Expert research আমাদের চিকিৎসায় থাকা উচিত। সেই সত্ত্বেও জন্ম, বিলাত, জার্মানী ও অন্যান্য দেশে বহু নতুন নতুন ঔষধ তৈরী হচ্ছে, অথচ আমাদের দেশে সেই সত্ত্বেও কোন বন্দোবস্ত নেই। এ পর্যন্ত আমরা এক Urea Stibamine যা আমাদের Dr. Brahmachari মহোদয় আবিষ্কার করে গিয়েছেন, এ ছাড়া কোন ঔষধ দেখি না। তা ছাড়া heavy chemicals এর জন্য আমাদের দুর্ভোগ লগ্ন্য করতে হচ্ছে। সভ্যকরে যথেষ্ট chemicals যাতে উৎপন্ন করা যায় এবং দামও যাতে বেশী না পড়ে তার চেষ্টা করা উচিত। এখন যা হয়েছে তাতে দাম দণ্ড গুণ, বিপণ্ড গুণ পড়ে গিয়েছে। যাতে chemicals আমাদের দেশে তৈরী হয় তার জন্য government এর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি। আর একটি কথা বলতে চাই public health এর সর্বক্ষেত্রে—সেখানে যেন government ব্যবস্থা করেন।

(Here the member having reached the time limit resumed his seat.)

Mr. HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: Sir, সাম্রাজ্যবাদী বৈদেশিক শাসন যতদিন এদেশে চলছে ততদিন আমরা সেখানে পাবিছ যে, প্রজাপণের নিকট হ'তে নানাপ্রকার কর আদায় দ্বারা অর্থ সংগ্রহ করা এবং তাহার দ্বারা শাসনব্যয় পরিচালনা করিয়া ভারতকে দুর্ভায়ে বৃষ্টিপের কবায়ত্ত করা ও এই ভাবে ভারতবাসী তথা বাঙ্গালী জাতিটিকে চিরতরে পঙ্গু কবে দেওয়া হচ্ছে। এ ছাড়া জাতি হিতকর কোন কার্যই এই শাসনভরের আদেশে শেষতে পাওয়া যায় না। বহু সাধনার ফলে, বহু দেশপ্রেমিক ও স্বাধীনতাগী মহাপুরুষ-গণের আত্মত্যাগের দ্বারা, ভারত আবার স্বাধীনতার দ্বারে উপনীত হয়েছে। এই শুভ মুহূর্তে আমরা চাই গড়ে তুলতে আমাদের বাঙ্গালী জাতিকে একটি শক্তিশালী স্বাধীন জাতিতে। অর্থনৈতিক উন্নতি, সামাজিক রূপান্তর, শিক্ষার আবুল পরিবর্তন প্রভৃতির দ্বারা আমরা যেমন জাতি গঠন কার্য আরম্ভ করবো, ঠিক তেমনিভাবে আমরা জাতির সর্বল, স্মরণ দ্বারা ও সম্পদ আনবার জন্য চাই শক্তিশালী ঔষধ ও স্বচিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থা রাখবো। বাংলা গভর্ণ-মেন্ট কয়েক বৎসর ধরে এই চিকিৎসা ব্যাপারে হতক্ষেপ করছেন। কিন্তু তাঁদের সে চেষ্টা নিষ্ফল বলাই হয়। ঔষধ ও চিকিৎসার অভাবে রোগীগণের মৃত্যুর হার ক্রমশঃ বৃদ্ধি পাইতেছে। এ বৎসরও সেই আতলাতনিক হুঁচকি যে বাজেটবানি রচিত হয়েছে তাতে দেখা যায় যে, নাকুরিয়া লোক অকলে আর একটি প্রকাণ্ড হাসপাতাল খোলা হবে এবং তাতে বাশি বাশি অর্থ ব্যয় হবে সন্দেহ নাই কিন্তু তাই দ্বারা এই দেশের চিকিৎসা অভাবের যে সমস্যা তাহার সমাধান হওয়া সম্ভব নয়। সম্ভব গরীব পরীবারী তাতে কোন উপকারে লাগবে না। সেইজন্য এই ব্যয়বাহুল এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা প্রণালীই কেবল একমাত্র অবলম্বন না করে এই দেশে অন্য যে সকল চিকিৎসা প্রণালী প্রচলিত আছে, যথা আয়ুর্বেদিক, ইউনানী ও হোমিওপ্যাথিক প্রভৃতি, সেগুলিকে সরকারী সাহায্য ও বিত্তীয় পরিকল্পনা দ্বারা উন্নতির পথে চালিত করে বহুল বিস্তার করা একান্ত আবশ্যিক। কয়েক বৎসর হইল বহু সাধনার ফলে বাংলা গভর্ণ-মেন্ট ঐ চিকিৎসাগুলির ক্যাক্ট বহু করিয়াছেন, ইহা বাস্তবিক এক সুখবর কিন্তু কেবলমাত্র ক্যাক্ট করলেই কার্য সিদ্ধি হয় না ইহাদের পিছনে চাই প্রচুর অর্থ। অর্থভাবে এই ক্যাক্ট গুলি ঠিকভাবে চালু হতে পারছে না। বোর্ডের সভ্যগণ নিজেদের পকেট হতে টাকা দিয়া আর কতদিন ক্যাক্ট চালাতে পারে? বোর্ডের যথেষ্ট খরচ আছে। এলোপ্যাথির জন্য গভর্ণ-মেন্ট যে হারে অর্থ ব্যয় করিয়া থাকেন, তাহার $\frac{2}{3}$ অংশ যদি এই সমস্ত চিকিৎসাগুলির নিমিত্ত ব্যয়িত হয়, তাহা হ'লে দেশের ও প্রাচীর চিকিৎসা অভাবের সমস্যা অনেকাংশে সমাধান হতে পারে। হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার সহিত কোন অংশে কম নয়। ইহা বিজ্ঞানসম্মত চিকিৎসা। এলোপ্যাথির বড় ইহাতে এনাটমী, জারনাকোলজী ও হিষ্টোরিকলী, লার্জারী প্রভৃতি সর্ব প্রকার শিক্ষা দিবার সুন্দর ব্যবস্থা আছে। এই চিকিৎসা দ্বারা নানাপ্রকার সংক্রামক রোগ যথা, কলেরা, বম্ব, টাইফয়েড, ডিসেন্ট্রী, ডাইরিয়া, এমন কি পুরাতন ঘাঘি ও লাসিবি প্রভৃতি এবং হারলেরিয়া প্রভৃতি রোগ, অল্প ব্যয়ে ও অল্প সময়ের মধ্যে সুন্দরভাবে আরোগ্য হয়। বাংলা দেশের প্রত্যেক ঘরে ঘরে এই হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা বেশ আদর আছে। ছোট ছোট ছোট মেয়েদের কঠিন কঠিন ব্যায়াম এই চিকিৎসার

যা আবার হয় বলে বেশ স্থান আছে। আবার এই চিকিৎসার বিশেষ ব্যয় বাড়ানো দায়। একশত টাকা ব্যয়ে এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার যথা বস্তুগুলি বোম্বী আরোনা লাভ করবে ডায়া অপেক্ষা হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার জন্য আটতশ বোম্বী আরোনা লাভ করিতে পারে। অতএব এই সর্বজন সনাতন হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা মায়াতে প্রত্যেক পরীতে পরীতে ব্যাপক ভাবে পরিচালিত হয়, এবং বাংলাদেশে প্রত্যেক মিউনিসিপালিটি, ডিস্ট্রিক্ট বোর্ড ও হোট বড় সকল সহরেই হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা কেন্দ্র খোলা হয় এবং হোমিওপ্যাথিক কলেজগুলি মায়াতে গভর্ণমেন্ট নিজ হাতে পরিচালিত করেন, তাহলেই চিকিৎসা বিভাগের ভারশ্রাব্য বহিরহোসদের দূরী আকর্ষণ করিয়া আমার প্রস্তাবটি পরিষদে গ্রহণের জন্য উপস্থাপিত করিলাম।

Mr. L. R. PENTONY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are participating in the discussion on the Medical Budget, in order to bring to the notice of the Hon'ble Minister in charge, certain points, vital as they are.

The medical men appointed by the Government have to perform two distinct functions. Some are meant essentially for the actual treatment of patients, while others are primarily entrusted with the duty of teaching students in Medical Institutions. Everyone realises that the two functions are essentially different, each requiring specialisation in order to achieve the ideal. Teaching is an art as well as a science, and it takes years to become a finished teacher and, in order to attain efficiency in teaching, one should be a "whole-timer" as is the case with teachers of post-graduate departments of the University. It is these people too on whom depends post-graduate medical work and research, realities which are conspicuous by their absence in our Province and to our utter shame.

Consequently, to attain real efficiency and success in the medical profession, the cadre of treating and teaching doctors should be absolutely separate. This is no new suggestion, as the point was stressed strongly by an expert body like the State Medical Faculty. It is not an uncommon experience that a doctor who has passed most of his life in a laboratory, and as such has achieved distinction in Research work, has been suddenly posted to a district office, where his technical skill is of no avail, where he is made to face duties quite foreign to him—while another, who has passed most of his life in actually treating cases is transferred to a medical teaching institution and entrusted with teaching or technical duties in laboratories, merely because the latter was able to influence his relief from the mofussil. It is a deplorable situation, and I am sure you will appreciate the very awkward moments when such professors previously employed in treating malaria, cholera, etc., in the districts, have to solve the difficulties of keen and intelligent students.

Surely efficiency and specialisation in both offices must be our objectives and therefore the creation of two district cadres is an urgent, immediate and indispensable necessity.

The Government has of late taken a decision to send abroad some students for post-graduate training. May we know on what conditions? Is there any condition that they will have to serve the Government in some capacity or other for at least a stipulated period on their return? In this Province, of all the branches of education and research, it is the medical side which is lagging hopelessly behind. It is probably common knowledge that Indian students spend not less than about Rs. 80 lakhs abroad, apart from Government stipends, in acquiring degrees in various sciences, and of these, medical students outnumber the rest. Is such an expenditure not an appalling national drain? Don't you think, Sir, that instead of sending individual medical students abroad, it is more desirable and wise to select brilliant teachers from different medical institutions and to send them abroad for specialised courses and research work, so that on their return these teachers would in turn be able to train hundreds of medical research workers in our Province and much more economically. The achievements of the post-graduate department in Science of the Calcutta University on these lines surely is an eye-opener in this respect.

In the Budget Rs. 19 lakhs is provided for the institution of a condensed graduation course for licentiates to be started at the Lake Hospital, presumably to turn out the much needed extra medical relief required for the Province. More doctors are needed in the districts, and that requires an outturn of more medical men. If this health re-organisation scheme is intended to bring about machinery to tackle the medical and health problem, why spend such a large amount for a merely temporary scheme? Why not put the project on a permanent basis in order to produce the numbers of qualified doctors that are continually needed to save the continuous loss of life in the mofussil? Surely it is a sheer waste of money and a financial tragedy to decide now to scrap in five years an Institution after its creation has entailed such a huge sum?

A number of hospitals came into being during the war and a more widespread spirit of co-ordination was shown than in the past. The old conception of a general hospital for the treatment of all types of cases must give way to the new specialist idea. A patient must have the choice of a hospital best suited to his needs. Hospital services should be co-ordinated in order to provide specialist treatment for all classes of diseases with facilities for the interchange of services between hospitals of all types—transport being effected by a common inter-hospital Ambulance service. Grouping of special treatment centres would eliminate uneconomical competition in specialised fields. Staff equipment and experience should be concentrated instead of being scattered, and wastage and overlapping would be avoided to achieve the more efficient use of available resources, with objects (1) to provide a system of medical service directed towards the achievement of positive health and the prevention and cure of disease, (2) to make available to every individual all the necessary medical services, general and specialist, domiciliary and institutional.

I am sure it is an accepted principle that the treatment of patients does not depend on doctors only—however good and efficient they might be. Efficient nursing, adequate supplies of medicines and diet form an integral part of treatment. As such, the training of an efficient nursing staff, the ensuring of proper and prompt medicinal supplies and the procurement of good nourishing food are *sine qua non*.

The nursing profession should be made more attractive—better rates of pay and living conditions, with definite opportunities of permanent post-training employment, so as to attract new elements competent to take up the onerous task and so that the present trainees get a fillip for further improvement in their professional dexterity. Here again, provision for an immediate adequately staffed and equipped central training school for nurses is vital to the needs of the province if we are really serious in improving their efficiency, remedying waste due to unsuitability, etc., and the institution of more scholarships to provide for specialised training abroad for administrative posts.

Authority has said that our hospitals are well staffed with nurses, as they find that the ratio of patients to nurses is 2:75, obtained apparently by dividing the total number of patients that can be accommodated in a hospital, by the total nursing staff. This theoretical ratio is obviously absurd, as surely in so far as the patient and the nurse are concerned, it is the total number of cases in a ward divided by the total number of nurses on duty in that ward that should be the criterion of an adequate nursing staff.

Improvement in hospitalisation is impossible without a 100 per cent. increase in the nursing staff implemented essentially with encouragement and sympathy from the public and the press, as well as from all senior administrators. (As this stage the red light was on.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Pentony, you have spoken for eight minutes and your time is up.

Mr. L. R. PENTONY: May I have one minute more, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKERS: Try to be as brief as possible.

Mr. L. R. PENTONY: I would further point out that, taking into consideration the present economic conditions prevailing and the high prices of medicines, medical accessories and articles of diet, the Government should seriously consider the question of substantial increases in grants accorded to different private medical institutions. It should be remembered that these private institutions brought into existence through laudable efforts of private enterprise and monumental sacrifice of members of the profession, are really performing a duty that should devolve on the State and the Government. As such, it is the sacred moral duty of the Government to see that such humanitarian missions do not become stranded on the shoals of financial difficulties. I understand that some of the institutions have been receiving the same grants from the Government for the last thirty years, although the extent of their activities in the form of expansion has been more than five times the initial number of beds. These are inequities that call for immediate reconsideration and relief if these useful institutions are to carry on their duties efficiently and up to the proper standard.

Let us have vision amidst the squalor of reality and put aside determinedly dead prejudices, dead ways, dead reasons, issues, customs and symbols, and instead raise the province's precious inheritance to living truths, living laws and living deeds.

Sir, Government must ensure that in future every man, woman and child can rely on getting all the advice, treatment and care needed in matters of personal health; that what they shall get shall be the best medical and other facilities available; that their getting these shall not depend on whether they can pay for them or any other factors irrelevant to the real need—

(At this stage the red light was again on and the member resumed his seat.)

Mr. Md. ARIF CHAUDHURY : সভাপতি মহোদয়, মাননীয় বন্ধুরা যে বিতর্কমূলক প্ৰস্তাবটি উপাধন করিয়াছেন আমি কয়েকটি কারণে তাহার বিরোধিতা করিতেছি। প্রথমতঃ তিনি দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের উন্নতি ও প্রসারের ব্যাপারে বাংলা সরকার বিষয় ও উপাধীন—সেই কারণ উপর জোর দিয়াছেন যাহা নিত্যই বাস্তবনৈতিক ব্যাপার। বন্ধুরা এই বিতর্ক প্ৰস্তাব উপাধন করিয়া দেশীয় চিকিৎসাশাস্ত্রসম্বন্ধে বাস্তবনৈতিক অসম্বন্ধপূর্ণ বর্তমান সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে প্রয়োগ করিতে চান, ইচ্ছা আমার দ্বারা নাই। যদি ইচ্ছা সভা হয় তবে এম চেয়ে যুগ্মসদস্যক ব্যাপার আর দ্বিভাষ্যটি নাই। দ্বিতীয়তঃ তিনি একটি সাম্প্রতিক মাননীয় স্বাক্ষরিত হইলে বাবলারের প্রচেষ্টা করিয়াছেন, ইচ্ছা যে সমাজসেবী প্রচেষ্টা বন্ধুদের এ কথাটি জানা না থাকিলেও প্রনী সমাজের বিশেষতঃ এই শাস্ত্রের সঙ্গে যাহাদের সম্পর্ক পঠিয়াছে তাহারা বেশ ভালভাবেই জানেন। আমি জানি না বন্ধুরা আব্দুল হুসাইন শাহুজি সম্পর্কে কতটুকু জানা রাখেন। কিন্তু আমি ইচ্ছা জ্ঞাপন করিয়া বলিতে পারি যে, তিনি যদি দেশীয় শাস্ত্রের বর্তমান সুবিস্তার কার্যসমূহ খোঁজ করিতেন, তাহা হইলে এই অভিযোগ বাংলা সরকারের প্রতি আরোপ করার পূর্বে মহাশয় গাছী, পণ্ডিত নেহেরু প্রমুখ কংগ্রেস নেতৃবৃন্দকে জবাবদিহি করিতেন।

একথা কে না জানে যে, সর্গভরমান নেতা মহিউল মুন্সক হাকিম আজমল খান বর্তমান দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের পুনঃ প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য অসম্বন্ধে সমস্ত পদবিহীন করিয়াছেন। তিনি অসম্বন্ধে আন্দোলনের অন্যতম নেতা ও গাছীজীর অন্তর্গত ছিলেন। একথা বহু গাছীজীও স্বীকার করেন। সেই গাছীজী ১৯১১ সালের ২০শে ফেব্রুয়ারী দিল্লীর আব্দুল হুসাইন এণ্ড ইউনাইটেড কলেজের ব্যবস্থাপনা করিতে হইয়া দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞান সম্পর্কে যে বিস্তারিত বহু কথার কথা ছিলেন, আশা করি বন্ধুরা দিল্লী প্রিভিয়া কলেজের কল্পপক্ষে মিকট হইতে সেই বক্তৃতার এক কপি আনাইয়া তাৎক্ষণিক অনুবাদ করিবেন। মাননীয় বন্ধুরা যে বাস্তবনৈতিক প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রতিষ্ঠা দিয়াছে এই বিতর্ক প্ৰস্তাব উপাধন করিয়াছেন, সেই পাঠ্য বর্তমান সভাপতি পণ্ডিত নেহেরুর মৃত জীয় স্মৃতি স্মরণে স্থাপিত এলাহাবাদ কবলা নেহেরু হাসপাতালে একটি আব্দুল হুসাইন মোহাম্মদ খান আব্দুল হুসাইন মোহাম্মদ এবং অন-ইতিহাস-আব্দুল হুসাইন এণ্ড ইউনাইটেড ভিলি কলকাতার পক্ষ হইতে পণ্ডিতজীর কাছে যে আবেদন করা হইয়াছিল, তদুত্তরে

পতিতকী বাহা বলিয়ারিগেন তাহা যদি কুবুয়ের জানা থাকিত, তাহা হইলে এইরূপ দুঃসাহস তিনি করিতেন কি না, তাহা একমাত্র তিনিই জানেন। তবু ইথাই নহে--অধুনা বহু বিজ্ঞাপিত মালর হইতে প্রত্যাপ্ত কংগ্রেস নেভিগেল মিলন প্রেরণের প্রত্যাব উত্থাপন কালে অল ইতিয়া আবুদুদুদু মহানগরের পক্ষ হইতে গান্ধীজী, বওয়ানা আজাদ এবং ভারপ্রাপ্ত ডাঃ বিধান রায়ের কাছে বহু আবেদন করিয়া আজ পর্যন্ত কোন উত্তর পান নাই, বলিয়া জানি। জাতীয়তাবাদী হিসাবে পরিচিত বন্দরগারী ডাঃ বিধান রায় যিনি স্বয়ং কংগ্রেস ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির সভ্য পর্যন্ত ছিলেন, তিনি Bhoze Committeeর সদস্য হিসাবে দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানকে Bypass করার জন্য যেভাবে আশঙ্কিত বাইয়া লাগিয়াছিলেন তাহা জাতীয় সম্পদ দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের প্রতি বীনের দরদ আছে, তাঁরা ভাগভাবেই জানেন। তথাকথিত জাতীয়তাবাদী কর্তৃক দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের বিরোধিতার এখানেই শেষ নহে। কংগ্রেসী মহল যে সমস্ত প্রদেশে রাসরাজ্য স্থাপনে সক্ষম হইয়াছেন উন্মোচ্য রাসের বেশ বৃদ্ধপ্রদেশ অন্যতম। সেই প্রদেশের সরকার আজ পর্যন্ত তিথিয়া কলেক্টর বত আদর্শ প্রতিষ্ঠানকে সাহায্য দান তো প্রেরণ কথা, সেখানেই পাশকরা ছাত্রদিগকে Practice পর্যন্ত করিতে দেওয়া হয় না। অথচ এই তিথিয়া কলেক্টর প্রতিষ্ঠাতা হইলেন ১৯২১ সালের কংগ্রেস সভাপতি বিখ্যাত হাকিম আজমল খান বরহর এবং উপাচার্য হইলেন কংগ্রেস ছাত্র কন্যাও স্বয়ং গান্ধী মহারাজ। জাতীয়তাবাদীদের ক্রমাগত বহুকালব্যাপী ইচ্ছা-হৃত অবহেলার দরুন বিদ্বদ্ধ হাকিম কবিবাজ ও দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিদ্যার্থীদের সমরভে সংগঠন ও আলোচনের ফলে পক্ষান্তরে উক্ত ক্রমবর্ধমান আলোচনে আপাততঃ শিথিলতা আনয়নের জন্যই মুক্তপ্রদেশের স্বাস্থ্য, সচিব মিসেস বিজয়লক্ষ্মী পণ্ডিত দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের উন্নতির জন্য এক বিল পাশ করাইয়া শাক দিয়া মাছ চাকিবার চেষ্টা করিয়াছেন। অথচ তিনি স্বয়ং মাচর্চ মাসে অনুষ্ঠিত নিখিল ভারত দেশীয় বিদ্যার্থী সম্মেলনে যোগদানের প্রতি-প্রতি দান করা সত্ত্বেও পূর্ত্যাবশতঃ তাহা রক্ষা করেন নাই। বর্তমান রাষ্ট্রপতি পণ্ডিত নেহেরু ও গান্ধীজীকে বার বার অনুরোধ করা সত্ত্বেও দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের আদর্শতর প্রতিষ্ঠানে নেওয়া সম্ভব হয়নি। সেখানে কয়েকদে আজম মিসঃ জিন্না প্রত্যেক বারই অনুরোধ রক্ষা করিয়াছেন।

এতো গেল বন্ধুদের কূটনৈতিক বিতর্কের প্রতিবাদ। কিন্তু আসল সমস্যা সম্পর্কে অনতিবিলম্বে আমাদের একটি positive policy and programme অনুযায়ী কাজ করা নানা কারণে একাত্তই আবশ্যিক হইয়া পড়িয়াছে। স্বাস্থ্য ব্যাপারে মুসলিম বাংলা বর্তমানে কতদূর দুর্বলতায় ও অসহায় অবস্থায় পড়িয়াছে তাহা সরকারী ভাষাপত্র দেখিলেই বুঝা যাইবে। সরকারী সাহায্যপুষ্ট Medical College এবং school ভুলি হইতে কতজন মুসলিম ছাত্র পাশ করিয়াছে? জনস্বাস্থ্য বিভাগে কতজন মুসলিম কর্মচারী আছেন? সহর এবং পল্লী অঞ্চলে সরকারী হাসপাতালগুলিতে মুসলিম রোগীদের সংখ্যা এবং তাহাদের চিকিৎসার জন্য মোট ব্যয়ের পরিমাণ ইত্যাদি, এতাত্ম্যিত বেসরকারী চিকিৎসকদের মধ্যে কতজন মুসলিম আছেন? এবং বাংলা দেশে বর্ত্তনিত pharmacist and dental works আছে উন্মোচ্য মুসলমানদের কি অংশ বহিয়াছে? এমন কি Muslim chemist and druggistদের সংখ্যা একটি তুলিয়া দেখিলেই লজ্জায় আত্মদান শিব নহে হইয়া যাইবে। এর কারণ আর যাহাই হউক না কেন অনুসন্ধান প্রতিষ্ঠানে সরকার কতক ইংরেজী চিকিৎসা শাস্ত্রের পুঁটপোষনই যে অন্যতম ডাহাতে কাহারও সন্দেহ নাই। যদি পূর্ণ পাকিস্তানের স্বাস্থ্য সমস্যা সমাধান কবতে হয় তাহা হইলে আমাদের প্রথম কর্তব্য হইবে জাতীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের প্রচার এবং প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য আশ্রয় চেষ্টা। যাবৎ বাংলায় অতি অল্প সংখ্যক জেলাবোর্ড নাহি মাত্র কয়েকটি stipend বন্ধুর করিয়াই খাদ্য হইয়াছেন। কিন্তু policy and programme হিসাবে কেহই এ পর্যন্ত জাতীয় চিকিৎসার প্রয়োজন সম্পর্কে বাধা ঘাষান নাই।

বর্ত্তমানে প্রত্যেকটি দেশের গড়ম গড়ম দায়িত্ব বহুগুণে বাড়িয়া গিয়াছে। নিতা নূতন সমস্যার উত্তর খটিয়েই এবং তাহা সমাধানের পথ না বাংলাইয়া দায়িত্ব এড়ানোর হস্ত অবস্থা আর নাই। বাংলার নীপ হস্তী-সভ্যও দায়িত্ব বহুবৃদ্ধি। জাতীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের সমস্যাও তাহাকে নিশ্চিত সমাধান করিতে হইবে। সেই জন্যই ভারত সরকারের স্বাস্থ্য Planning Committee এই ব্যাপারে প্রাচৈশিক সরকারসমূহের উপরেই এই দায়িত্ব চাপাইয়াছেন। এই সম্পর্কে ভাব করিবার বিগোচ্যের ৪নং Volumeএর ২৮৪ ও ২৯০নং প্যারাগ্রাফের প্রতি দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করিতেছি।

এরজাবদ্যর আমি হস্তী-সভ্য ও নীপ সমস্যাদের খেদরভে আবদ্ধ করিতেছি যেন তাঁহারা অনতিবিলম্বে দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের প্রচার ও প্রতিষ্ঠার উদ্দেশ্যে নিম্নলিখিত প্রত্যাব গ্রহণ করিয়া আগামী বছর হইতেই বাহাতে কাজ আরম্ভ হইতে পারে উদ্যোগ বাধা করেন। দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের উন্নতি ও প্রচারের জন্য অতি সম্বর কোন কার্যকরী পরিকল্পনা বিলের আকারে গ্রহণ করা যদি সম্ভব হয় তাহলে কবিবাজ ও হাকিমদের সহিয়া রপ্তিত ইষ্ট বিভিন্ন কমিটির সমন্বয়ে একটি বৃদ্ধ কবিনন কমান হোক। এই কবিননের সাধারণ সভাপতি ভারপ্রাপ্ত হস্তী

হইবেন এবং একজন I. C. S. কর্তৃক কনিশনের সভাপতিত্ব আশা করিয়া রাখিবেন। উক্ত শাখার (আই.সি.এস. ও ইউনাইটেড) সভাপতির সভাপতিত্ব লইয়া বুদ্ধ কনিশনের সম্পাদক নিযুক্ত হইবেন। এই কনিশনে অবসানী সভা একজনের বেশী থাকিবে না এবং তিনি শুধু পরামর্শ দাতা হিসাবে কাজ করিবেন।

প্রয়োজনবশত বুদ্ধ কনিশন বিভিন্ন Sub-Committee গঠন করিতে পারিবে। সভাপতির অন্ততঃ $\frac{2}{3}$ অংশ অবশ্যই চিকিৎসকগণ থাকিবেন।

উপসংহারে নিম্নে এই যে, এতদিন দেশীয় সব কিছুই সরকার কর্তৃক সংস্থা-হীনভাবে ব্যবহার পাইয়া আসিয়াছে। একবার সেই জন্যই আর দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের এই অবসানীয় দুঃস্বপ্ন। আমার বৃষ্টি-বিশ্বাস এই যে, দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানকে যদি সুযোগ দেওয়া হয়, তাহা হইলে দেশের স্বাস্থ্য-সমস্যা সমাধানে ইহা বৃষ্টি-বিশ্বাসের স্বাস্থ্য-বাণিজ্যের বিলাতীবাচন এলোপ্যাথী অপেক্ষা অধিক যোগ্য বলিয়া প্রমাণিত হইবে। যদি আমরা বাংলাভাষা বুঝ করার জন্য দেশে দেশে চাউনের জন্য ধন্য দিতে পারি, আর যদি চাউল বাড়িরের আমলের অনুবিধা হইতে পারে—তাহা হইলে দেশীয় চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের পরিবর্তে বিলাতী চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞান এবং দেশীয় ঔষধাদির পরিবর্তে বিলাতী ঔষধ কি করিয়া আমাদের স্বাস্থ্য কিরহিয়া দিতে পারিবে? ইহা সাধারণ বুদ্ধির কথা। এতলে অনাধারণ কিংবা বৈজ্ঞানিক বুদ্ধির আশলশী করিয়া পরোক্ষভাবে ব্যবসায়ের পথটা চহুত প্রশস্ত করা চিহ্নিবে, কিন্তু স্বাস্থ্য-সমস্যার যে সমাধান হইবে না, অন্ততঃ ১৯৪৪ সালের মহামারী ও বর্তমান ত্রীমণ পালাহালাকার পরে কোন বুদ্ধিমানের সঙ্গেই থাকা উচিত নহে। আশাকরি প্রত্যেকটি দেশভক্ত সভা এবং মহিষগণী আমার এই প্রস্তাবটি সম্পর্কে সহানুভূতিসূচক কল্পপন্থা গ্রহণ করিবেন।

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I propose no cut, support no cut. This party wishes to compliment the Hon'ble Minister on the courage, purpose and promise in his budget. It is long since we were given such stimulating medicine. Wars are great evils but great evils sometimes leave a little good behind, and this war has left the Minister in the position of being able to do something to enrich, if that is not an extravagant word, our hospital and medical equipment in Bengal. Let us have a word of gratitude to the Army that have gone from Bengal leaving this behind. They could not take their hospitals with them, but anyhow they did not try to, they did not want to. I think they have seen a good number of hospitals in Bengal and did not want to look into them again.

Yesterday or the day before yesterday we were given a very valuable document—a rich mine of knowledge and information, the Bhore Report. Some of us have already studied it. It tells us how we are situated, what we ought to do. If you look at page 37 you will see how Bengal is equipped with hospitals, and it shows that we want hospitals everywhere, in towns, in the countryside, and hospitals are not only buildings. You want besides everything for their working beds and linen and furniture and medical equipment, medicines, doctors and last but certainly not least the nurses. It is a rule of thumb; that is a rule of experience in many countries that for public health you want three nurses to one doctor. I have asked the nurse friend what that means. What she told me I tell you. It is not only the patient that wears down the nurse, it is the doctor. She has to decipher his handwriting, correct his mistakes, keep an eye on him generally, keep all manner of reports, statistics and tables. I have not submitted this opinion to any doctor for his opinion and therefore I give it to you as one-sided unsubstantiated opinion, not as official opinion but, shall I say, as semi-official.

Now, we want three nurses to one doctor. India has ten doctors to one nurse. Think of her miserable existence. In Bengal what is the situation? The Bhore Report gives the figures on page 40, if you have the report on hand—42 institutions in the rural areas, 928 in urban areas, fewer than a thousand, and that is for a land of 60 million people where the index of health is not very high. The only small comfort, a mean, selfish comfort, on that page for us in Bengal is that we are better off than Madras which has 655 and the United Provinces 257.

Now, what is the aim? The aim is set out in the second volume—the Recommendations of the Bhore Report. India has now 7,000 nurses. The Bhore Report aims at 50,000 in ten years. Where are they to come from? Here, some who are interested would welcome a reference to an article in the April, 1946, Number of the Journal of the United Service Institution of India. It is by a Matron—Hinchey and is entitled "Wanted An Indian Nursing Crusade". She deals with this problem. She said India has 7,000 nurses. The Bhore Report wants 50,000 in ten years, but India's needs want 778,000. India cannot be regarded as properly equipped with administration for Public Health until it has 778,000 nurses, that is to say, 100 nurses for every one today and her article is an attempt at an answer to this question. How are we to find them, and she says, the only hope is by a Nursing Crusade, one with determination by every interest by Government, by the Press, by publicity experts, by every organisation that can bring influence to bear on the family, the school and the college.

Now, we know what are the conditions of our hospitals. We know hospitals with one or two nurses; we may know some with no nurses at all. I have been in large hospitals where the patient takes with him or her the whole family which does the nursing during the day and sleeps around or under the bed at night. What chance has the Doctor in those conditions? What chance has the patient, what chance has the country's health? What is wanted is skilled nursing as well as tenderness. Now tenderness India can supply in amplitude; India can supply tender nurses in millions, but skill must be given. It does not come by nature. To get a proper kind of nurses in proper number means proper nursing conditions, reasonable pay and all the rest that makes a comfortable living and skill in the profession and always considerate treatment both during training and afterwards during hospital or private service. Some here may be acquainted with the Report of the Horder Committee on nursing in England in 1944. That makes a suggestion, but one suggestion is the American system that nurses training should be a kind of University experience and study, that nurses should be treated as students paid perhaps by scholarships from private or public funds and not used as convenient sources of cheap domestic labour for the convenience of hospital administrations.

(At this stage the member reached his time-limit but was allowed to continue for one minute more.)

Sir, there are two other points which I would like to mention at the end. One is the department of medical education in America and in England. I have no time more than to refer to it, but shall certainly hear about it, and the Hon'ble Minister who I daresay will be in his present office for the next 15 to 20 years (laughter) may have an opportunity of helping the Medical Faculty. The point—to put it briefly and therefore, accurately—is this. Is not medical education being damaged because medical principles are thrust out of sight by a mass of detail as the student has to get up during his years in a medical school. Should they not pay more attention to principle and less to detail?

The last word that I should like to say is on the Education budget had we had an opportunity. For 20 to 30 years we have been talking occasionally and making small efforts at medical service. I want to know if the efforts will go on and some day we shall have one adequate centre for this province. It is our belief and the belief the world over on public health that the care for the health of growing children is a very necessary element in that policy.

Mr. P. D. JALAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, while we are discussing this subject, I want to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this Department to a matter which has engaged the attention of this House previously.

With regard to the tuberculosis hospital which is going to be established at Kanchrapara, I agree that there should be a tuberculosis hospital in this province. My objection is with regard to the site which has been selected for this province. 5,000 *bighas* of land are being utilised for the purpose of the tuberculosis hospital. These 5,000 *bighas* of land belong to another charitable institution, namely, the Calcutta Pinjrapole Society, which preserve about 6,000 cattle, which has got a dairy farm and supplies milk and is trying to improve the cattle breed under modern scientific methods and this 5,000 *bighas* of land are being snatched away from the Pinjrapole Society. It will sound a death knell to the further good things that the Society can do. After 60 years of hard labour for the acquisition of these 5,000 *bighas* of land and production of fodder and grains, if this piece of land is taken away, it will be impossible for the Society to do its duty any more. As a matter of fact in 1943, these 5,000 *bighas* of land were acquired by the Military for war purposes. It was impossible for any person to object to the same in the exigencies of the situation. Notice was given to the Society that the land would be returned six months after termination of the war, but when the war terminated and the Society was expecting to get back the land, it is being deprived of its land. As a matter of fact, Sir, recently on the 25th July, 1946, this plot was inspected by Lt.-General Bird, Special Commissioner, Food Department, Government of India; Mr. Sethi, Food Commissioner, Government of India; Mr. N. M. Khan, Director of Agriculture; Sardar Bahadur Sir Datar Singh, Cattle Utilization Adviser, Government of India; Mr. Bellinger, New Zealand Dairy Expert, Government of Bengal and others. Mr. Bird remarked: "I am delighted to have had the opportunity of visiting this excellent institution and hope that it will be given all possible help to expand and increase its useful purpose".

With regard to this matter Sardar Bahadur approached the Governor of Bengal as well as the Prime Minister and other Ministers and the letter which he has written to the Society was to this effect: "I have spoken to His Excellency the Governor, Chief Minister, Minister for Agriculture, Secretary of the Agriculture Department and Director of Agriculture, and I hope they will consider the matter sympathetically. I have emphasised that it will be in the interest of the milk supply and for the improvement of cattle in the province to return this land to your Society." The C.S.P.C.A. also passed a resolution drawing the attention of Government: "there is no reason that when on the one hand the Government are trying to improve cattle breeding and spending so much money under the new scheme they should hamper the cause which the Society is doing on the similar lines. It is better that the Government should help those institutions which already exist and improve them first instead of planning out, new scheme of the same kind."

So far as the Society is concerned, I do not know whether Government has taken medical advice with regard to the propriety of the site of the proposed tuberculosis hospital. But so far as my information goes, it is a low lying land and a malarial land. There is a jute mill in the neighbourhood and the population of labourers is about one lakh. If Government is allured by the structures which have been built by the Military Department, then I may say that the structures are temporary. As a matter of fact the road which was built by the Military Department is a very bad road and it will have to be absolutely replaced by a better road. Therefore the structures should be no consideration so far as the site of the hospital is concerned. I would draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this department to consider impartially the *pros* and *cons* and I hope that he will see his way not to prick the Society, because if 5,000 *bighas* of land are taken away from the Society, it will be impossible for the Society to acquire a similar area in the next few generations to come. If Government wants any

land for its own purposes or for the establishment of a tuberculosis hospital, it can utilise its machinery to acquire such land as may be necessary. Moreover the land which is being acquired is very fertile land and in the special situation in the province about food crisis, we should not be deprived of the utility of these 5,000 *bighas* of fertile land.

So far as the tuberculosis hospital is concerned, it can be established on less fertile land or barren land can be found for that purpose. That is a point which I want the Hon'ble Minister to consider.

Then, Sir, Government is going to have a Medical College in the Lake area. Everybody knows what shortage there is in Calcutta at present of houses. If the Lake area which is an ideal place for residential sites is utilised for the establishment of a Medical College, we shall deprive Calcutta of good housing sites. I would also implore the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this department to consider whether it would be advisable to have a Medical College in another suitable site.

With these few words, Sir, I resume my seat. I hope that the Hon'ble Minister will consider these matters sympathetically.

Mr. KANAILAL DASS: মিঃ স্পীকার, স্যার, আজকে আমার cut-motionএর প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য হইতেছে গ্রামে প্রতিটি Unionএ Hospitalএর ব্যবস্থা করা। যম্মী মহাশয় এবং অপররা সকলে জানেন যে, বর্তমানে যে কোনও রোগের বাংলার মৃত্যু সংখ্যা অত্যন্ত অধিক। সহরে সহরে ভাল Hospitalএর বন্দোবস্ত থাকার দরুণ নানা রোগের চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা হইয়াছে, এবং সেই জন্য সহরের অবস্থা গ্রামের চেয়ে অধিক উন্নত, এবং গ্রামের অবস্থাপন্ন লোকেরা গ্রাম ছাড়িয়া সহরে আসিয়া উপস্থিত হয়। কিন্তু গ্রামে সেইরূপ Hospitalএর কোনও ব্যবস্থা না থাকায় গ্রামের অবস্থা দিন দিন অধিকতর খারাপ হইতেছে।

মিঃ স্পীকার, স্যার, কুড়ি বৎসর আগে বাংলার গ্রামবাসীদের সহিত আজকের গ্রামবাসীদের অবস্থা তুলনা করিলে আমার বক্তব্য বিষয়ের কথা সকলে বুঝিতে পারিবেন। তখনকার দিনে গ্রামবাসীদের স্বাস্থ্য ভাল ছিল, এবং গ্রাম ভিত্তি লোক থাকিত, কিন্তু এখনকার দিনে গ্রামের এবং গ্রামবাসীদের স্বাস্থ্য একেবারেই নাই। এবং মৃত্যু হয়ে হয়ে গ্রামের জনসংখ্যাও হ্রাস কমে গিয়েছে। ট্যাক্স আদায় কবিরাব সময় চাড়া অন্য সময়ে গ্রামবাসীদের কথা গভর্ণমেন্ট একদম ভুলে গিয়েছে। ট্যাক্স আদায়ের সময়, গভর্ণমেন্ট যেমন ট্যাক্স দিতে বাধ্য করে সেইরূপ গভর্ণমেন্টের পক্ষে গ্রামবাসীদের স্বাস্থ্য রক্ষার জন্য ন্যায়তঃ বাধ্য। বর্তমান গভর্ণমেন্ট যদি popular Government বলে পরিচয় দিতে চান, তাহা হইলে গ্রামবাসীদের স্বাস্থ্য রক্ষার জন্য তাহাদের সর্বপ্রকার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত।

গ্রামে সাধারণ রোগের ভাল চিকিৎসার অভাবে, ডাক্তার ও উপযুক্ত ঔষধের অভাবে বহু লোক মৃত্যুমুখে পতিত হয়। অথচ অতি সাধারণ Hospital এবং সাধারণ চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা করা হইলে ঐ সমস্ত লোক মারা যাইত না। ছুচিকিৎসার অভাবে যে বহু লোক মারা যাইতেছে তাহার জন্য স্বাস্থ্য বিভাগের যম্মী মহাশয় দায়ী। সাধারণ গ্রামবাসীরা অতি গরীব, তাহারা চিকিৎসার জন্য visit দিয়া ডাক্তার দেখান বা ঔষধ কেনা, তাহাদের সকলের পক্ষে সম্ভব নহে। সেইজন্য তাহারা Quack ডাক্তারদের সাহায্য গ্রহণ করিতে বাধ্য হয়। এবং তাহাদের ফলে বহুক্ষেত্রে উপকারের চেয়ে অপকারই বেশী হয়।

মিঃ স্পীকার, স্যার, proper surgical helpএর অভাবের দরুন বহু লোকের প্রাণহানী হইয়াছে। বহু case আমি জানি কিন্তু সময় অভাবে সব বলি না, কেবল একটি ব্যাপারের বিষয় বলিব যেখানে surgical helpএর অভাবে তাহার মৃত্যু হইয়াছিল। যদি ঠিক সময়ে surgical help পাওয়া যাইত তাহা হইলে সেই লোকটির মৃত্যু হইত না। বর্তমান জেলার কোন একটি গ্রামে একটি কর্ণকারের ছেলে accidentally গরুর পাড়ী চাপা পড়ে এবং তাহার ফলে, তাহার পিঠের হাড় (ribs) s lungs damage হয়। পাড়ী কবে তাহাকে Burdwan Hospital লইয়া আসা সম্ভবপর হয় নাই। সাত দিন পরে ফোসটি মারা যায়।

মিঃ স্পীকার, স্যার, গ্রামের ভিতর epidemic বাবস্ত হইলে তাহার কবল হইতে গ্রামবাসীদের রক্ষা করা এক পুরাকার অসাধ্য হইয়া উঠে। পড়ন্ত লোক এই epidemic রোগে মৃত্যুমুখে পতিত হয়। গভর্ণমেন্ট থেকে এমন কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই যাহার দ্বারা গ্রামের লোকদিগকে মৃত্যুর হাত হইতে রক্ষা করা যায়। গ্রামে খুব অল্প সংখ্যক ডাক্তার পাওয়া যায় এবং তাহাদের পক্ষে সমস্ত case attend করা অসাধ্য হইয়া উঠে, এবং সেই সবর তাহাদের visit (attending fees) এত বাড়িয়া যায় যে, গ্রামবাসীদের পক্ষে ডাক্তারের সাহায্য নেওয়া অসম্ভব হইয়া উঠে।

মিঃ শ্রীকার, স্যার, আমি আর একটি বিষয়ে Health Ministerএর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করিতেছি। যে সকল ভাগ্যান গ্রামবাসীদের নিকটে Government Hospital আছে, সেখানে দেখা যায় যে দরকারের দরব কোনই সাহায্য পাওয়া যায় না। হরত সেখানে ৫০টি bed আছে, কিন্তু তার মধ্যে ২৫টি কি ৩০টি bed পায়। ভাঙ্গা অবস্থায় পড়ে আছে আর বাকী ৩০টি bed কোন প্রকারে চলিতেছে। টাকা খরচ নগন্যভাবে হচ্ছে কিন্তু medical help সেবার কোনও ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে না।

মিঃ শ্রীকার, স্যার, malaria, cholera, smallpox প্রভৃতি রোগে আমাদের দেশে প্রতি বৎসর লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক মারা যায়। কোনও সভ্যদেশে এত লোক মারা যায় না। ইচ্ছা করিলে অতি নীশু এই সকল রোগকে সম্পূর্ণভাবে দূর করা যায়। ২০ শতাব্দীতে, বৈজ্ঞানিক যুগে যে কোন গভর্ণমেন্টের পক্ষে এই সকল রোগকে চিরতরে বন্ধ করা সম্ভব। দুইটি উদাহরণ দিনেই আপনাকে ইহা বুঝিতে পারিবেন। আমেরিকার পাশায়া দেশের কথা আপনাকে সকলে অবগত আছেন। সেখানে ম্যালেরিয়াতে আগে বহু লোকের মৃত্যু হইত, কিন্তু সে দেশের গভর্ণমেন্ট প্রতিকারের ব্যবস্থা করিতে সেখানে ম্যালেরিয়া একেবারে বন্ধ হইয়াছে। এবং সে দেশ এখন স্বাস্থ্যের স্থানরূপে পরিগণিত হইয়াছে। ইরাক ম্যালেরিয়া cholera ও smallpoxকেও সম্পূর্ণরূপে বন্ধ করা যায় আমাদের দেশে যদি গভর্ণমেন্ট উপযুক্ত steps নেন।

পূর্বে Dutch Governmentএর অধিনে Java দীপে, বাংলা দেশের বর্তন, অত্যন্ত cholera দেখা দিত। সেখানকার Dutch Government cholera রোগ প্রতিকারের ব্যবস্থা করিতে, সেখানে cholera সম্পূর্ণভাবে বন্ধ হইয়াছে। Statistics দেখিলে জানিতে পারা যায়, সেখানে পূর্বে লক্ষ লক্ষ লোকের মৃত্যু হইত এখন সেখানে বার্ষিক দু-একটি লোকের মৃত্যু হয়, এবং সেখা গিয়াছে তথ্যসমূহই মৃত্যু হইয়াছে বাহায়া। গভর্ণমেন্টের নিয়ম না মানিয়াছে। আজ অনেক foreign diploma লাভ doctors আছেন, বৈদেশিক যুদ্ধ থেকে ফিরেছি যে তথ্যদের ডাক্তারি শিক্ষার সময়ে কলকাতা বিষয়ে practical training নিতে হ'লে তথ্যদের অন্য continentতে যাইতে হয়, কারণ সেখানে কোনও hospitalত cholera case বড় একটা দেই।

মিঃ শ্রীকার, স্যার, আমি Health Ministerকে অনুরোধ করি যদি তিনি Popular Government বলে পরিচয় দিতে চান তাহলে, যে সকল উপায়ে অন্য দেশে এই সকল রোগ দূর করিয়াছে, সেই সকল উপায় অবলম্বন করিয়া এই দেশের প্রকৃত উপকার করুন এবং গ্রামবাসীদের জীবন ও স্বাস্থ্য রক্ষা করুন। মিঃ শ্রীকার, স্যার, আমাদের Health Minister এবারে development programmeত ২,৪৬,৩২,০০০ টাকা বরাদ্দ করেছেন এবং ইহা হইতে ১,৭০,০০,০০০ টাকা "for increase in the number of hospital beds and provision of new bed in Rural areas" ব্যাটে ব্যয় করিতেছেন। আমি মাননীয় হেলথ মিনিস্টার মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করি তিনি যেন প্রতি Unionত একটি করিয়া Hospitalএর ব্যবস্থা করেন এবং সেই হাসপাতালে Medical ward, Surgical ward, Maternity ward, ও Children ward, এর ভাল ব্যবস্থা থাকে। বাংলা দেশে শিশু মৃত্যু এবং জননী মৃত্যুর দার যে কোনও দেশের চেয়ে অত্যন্ত অধিক, এবং ইহা বাংলা দেশের পক্ষে কলঙ্ক স্বরূপ।

মিঃ শ্রীকার, স্যার, আমি আর একটি বিষয়ে কথা বলে আমার দরদা শেষ করিব। প্রায়ই দেখা যায় যে কোনও কাজ, যাচাতে দেশের প্রকৃত উন্নতি হয়, এইরূপ করিতে হইলে, গভর্ণমেন্ট থেকে এত অল্পমাত্রা দেখান হয় যে, টাকার অভাব। কিন্তু যে দেশে বাজেট বাজেট ৫২ কোটি টাকার বরাদ্দ দেখান হইবে, সে দেশের পক্ষে জনগণের জীবন ও স্বাস্থ্য বিষয়ে উন্নতির ব্যাপারে টাকা নাই বলা অত্যন্ত অন্যায়।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Dass, your time is up.

Mr. KANAILAL DASS: One minute Sir, কিন্তু এ দুর্ভাগ্য দেশে সবই সম্ভব। সাম্প্রদায়িক বিষয়ে ভয়ঙ্করিত হইয়া কোনও ভাল কাজ হওয়া সম্ভব হয় নাই। কোন ভাল কাজ করিতে গেলেই প্রাণ উঠে হিন্দু ও মুসলমান মধ্যকার মতভেদ। কলকাতা, smallpox ও ম্যালেরিয়া রোগের প্রতিকার করিবার দরদা এই সকল রোগে করটি মুসলমান বা করটি হিন্দু মরিতে, এবং সেই অনুপাতে প্রতিকারের ব্যবস্থা করার যেন প্রাণ না উঠে। পরিশেষে আমি মাননীয় বড়ী মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করি যে, তিনি যেন হিন্দু মুসলমান বিদ্বেষের দেশের প্রকৃত উপকারের জন্য, সাম্প্রদায়িক মনোভাব দূরীকৃত করিয়া বিভাগের কার্যে আগ্রহ করেন।

Mr. MADAR BUX: Sir, after looking through the Budget, I feel myself much disappointed, because the needs and requirements of the mofussil people have been completely overlooked. Sir, the budget has been shaped and presented in the most stereotyped fashion in spite of

the fact that serious changes have taken place around us. We cannot, but take notice of the fact that the people in the mofussil have become conscious, and have come to assert their rights, and the time is very near when they will call an explanation from us. Sir, it is a fact that epidemics, cholera and small-pox are very frequent in the mofussil, and the people in the mofussil—both men, women and children, die like cats and dogs without attention of the leaders. Sir, it is a funny thing and very deplorable that in this age of civilization, we find not a single hospital within a thana, we find not a single dispensary within a union, and we talk of Rural Development, Post-War Reconstruction, and things like that. Sir, another funny thing is that the interest of the mofussil people in the budget, not only in the matter of Medical, but in other subjects such as Special Education and such other things, has been sacrificed at the altar of the interest of the city and towns people. So, Sir, my suggestion is this that the Hon'ble Minister will kindly take notice of these facts, and will take immediate measures for starting dispensaries in each union, and for starting hospital within an area comprising of 6 unions. Sir, some of my honourable friends might be of the opinion that hospitals might be started within every thana, but I differ from this view, because the area of different thanas differ; some thana consists of 14 unions and some 6 unions. So, if you are really sincere and if you really sincerely feel for the mofussil people then please do not delay taking immediate steps for starting hospitals within an area of 6 unions.

Sir, unless we do it, we would not be able to face the people and we would not be able to submit a proper explanation to the people. Sir the condition of my constituency—and not only of my own constituency but my entire district and also of each district in the province of Bengal—is horrible. In my constituency just about a year ago there was an epidemic of cholera in the month of November, and thereafter there was an epidemic of small-pox in the months of May to June. Sir, there was no vaccination available there.

MR. SPEAKER: This again is a subject for the Public Health budget

MR. MADAR BUX: I think the time at my disposal is very short and though I have given a cut motion under Public Health, I would not be able to mention it at the proper time and therefore I am making a passing reference to it. Sir, our grievance is that when an area is visited with cholera and small-pox in quick succession, even then no assistance is forthcoming from Government. So my appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this budget is that immediate steps should be taken to send medical relief to the mofussil areas as soon as an epidemic breaks out there. I urge upon the Hon'ble Minister to take steps so that we may have the advantages of state dispensaries and hospitals in each union and each thana.

MR. HARIPADA CHATTERJI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমার বর পেলান আমার শাখাহাঙ্গার আসন্ন হয়েছে; এই অবস্থার আশা এখানে বসে বাজেট আলোচনা করছি। আপনারা এখানে, Hon member কি করবেন না করবেন জানলে ভাল হয়, কারণ যে অবস্থা সহরের, আমার শাখাহাঙ্গারা চলতে সব জায়গায়ই ভুগি ছোয়া চলছে; বাজেট আলোচনার লাভ কি? এখনই আমাদের কিসে বেড়ে হবে।

MR. SPEAKER: I am afraid, I cannot help you in the matter.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not propose to mince matters: rather, I propose to face facts squarely, and therefore I admit that the medical facilities for the people of Bengal are inadequate and far from satisfactory. But before I deal with the question generally and outline the policy of Government, I would first of all like to deal with the various criticisms that have been made during the discussion on my motion for voting of supplies.

Sir, Mr. Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharjee has raised the question of facilities to be granted for the Aurvedic, the Unani and the Homeopathic systems of medicine. Before 1937, no help was given to any of these systems of medicine and to medical practitioners in those systems. But after 1937, Government constituted three faculties for the Aurvedic, the Unani and the Homeopathic systems of treatment, and Government have also given financial assistance to these State faculties for the purpose of recognising institutions and for registering the names of successful candidates so that the names of the doctors who practise in those systems are registered. But apart from that no other facilities have been granted by Government, because Government held the view that under modern conditions, the Homeopathic and the Unani systems are not so progressive. I personally feel that even these systems of medicine have been prevalent in this country for a long time past. Government should not therefore ignore these different systems and therefore there is a scheme under examination of Government under which a sum of Rs. 12,000 a year will be given to the Dacca University for the institution of a diploma courses of the Aurvedic and the Unani systems of medicine. It is a moot point whether Government should pay due attention to these systems in view of the fact that in modern times in fighting modern disease, we require modern methods. Just as it is no use in modern warfare taking recourse to swords and spears which are hopelessly out of place, so also in tackling modern diseases it is no use taking recourse to old and antiquated systems of treatment. What is needed is to take recourse to modern scientific method of treatment.

Sir, Mr. Mahanti has raised the question of inadequacy of seats in medical hospitals. I admit the number of seats are inadequate. We have increased the number of seats by the establishment of a medical college in Dacca and we propose to raise the existing medical schools to the standard of a college, so that they may be provided with more seats for hospitals.

Mr. Mazumdar has referred to the question of F.R.E. hospitals. I wish to deal with them when I deal with the general question of medical hospitals. Sir, I have found that sometimes the treatment in our medical institutions are not satisfactory. I had before me a case yesterday where I found that a very responsible medical officer in charge of a big department in the Medical College was guilty of culpable neglect and it was proposed by the department that the head of the directorate should give a censure to the medical officer. But I was not satisfied with that. I said that I should congratulate the person who by sending the complaint was doing a very good public service by bringing to the notice of Government, the culpable neglect of duty of medical officers. It is true that many such cases of neglect of duty is not brought to the notice of Government, but when they are brought to the notice of Government and when a person is proved to be guilty, Government will certainly not be satisfied by simply letting off the negligent officer with a mere censure, but that drastic action should be taken and exemplary punishment should be given so that other responsible officers will be more careful in future. Sir, if any complaint is brought to the notice of Government and if a medical officer is found guilty of neglect, severe steps will be taken against such defaulting officers.

Mr. Dolui has referred to the question of temporary Lake College. I have discussed this in my reply to the general discussion of the Budget, and I simply want to point out that this is a scheme under the P.W.R. project. The Government of India will finance, so far as the capital cost is concerned, cent. per cent; so far as the maintenance of the college is concerned, the Government of India will pay cent per cent. It is only for the maintenance of the hospital with 1,000 beds that we are to share the cost between the Government of India and

the Government of Bengal on a 50-50 basis. Therefore we do not think we should grudge this expenditure, because this expenditure will be incurred by the Government of India, whereby the Government of India proposes to give facilities for war service licenciates to obtain the degree of Bachelor of Medicine.

I am grateful to Mr. Pentony for the valuable suggestions that he has made for improvement in the Medical Department of Government and for the improvement of medical facilities in the city. He has said that in the teaching department, there should be two separate cadres, viz., a cadre for teaching in the medical colleges and schools and a separate cadre for medical practitioners. That suggestion is very valuable, but I cannot give an opinion on it, because neither he nor myself are experts in medical science. So, I think this matter will have to receive very careful consideration of Government. The problem certainly bristles with difficulties. It may be argued that if a teacher, to be a successful teacher in a medical college, does not receive first-hand practical experience, he will simply be a theoretical teacher and in the practice of medicine, the practical side of medicine and surgery is a very valuable factor. The reference that he has made to the Science Department of the Calcutta University, I am afraid, bears no analogy so far as the teaching of medicine is concerned, where more practical training is essential and imperative than theoretical training. But certainly this question should be very carefully considered by Government.

So far as the grant of overseas scholarships is concerned, he says in his speech that we should import teachers or we should send teachers for training overseas so that they can come back and impart the benefit of their learning from overseas to the students here instead of sending our students for training abroad. That may be one side of the picture. But the other side of the picture is that if our teachers go for training overseas and they come back and train our students, the experience that they gain overseas will be conveyed second-hand. It is much better for our students to go abroad and receive first-hand training from recognised medical colleges and colleges which have progressed very far ahead in medical research and scientific discovery. I think Mr. Pentony will realise that this is a subject which should be very carefully considered and we should not be content merely by importing teachers from abroad or by sending our teachers for training abroad, so that they can come back and train our students here. It is necessary that our own students and our own doctors should go abroad and get the benefit of the tremendous stride medical research has made in foreign countries.

Sir, he has made a very valuable suggestion regarding the institution of special hospitals for special diseases. It is unfortunate that in Bengal we have no hospitals for tuberculosis, but we have made a start. We have got the hospital at Kanchrapara. We also propose to start a hospital at Amulia. There was another project to start a hospital in the district of Midnapore, but we are scrapping that project. We do not propose to go ahead with it, because we feel that hospitals in the Province should be equally distributed so that the benefits of the hospital may be available to the people in all parts of the Province. If we have a hospital at Amulia and also one at Midnapore, the people of East Bengal can have a legitimate grievance. So, instead of going ahead with that post-war reconstruction project, we are now amending that scheme, so that we can start a hospital at Dacca for the benefit of the people residing in the eastern parts of this Province. Therefore, we have now got three tuberculosis hospitals in contemplation—one in Central Bengal, viz., at Kanchrapara, one in Western Bengal at Amulia and another in Eastern Bengal at Dacca. I know that these three hospitals will not meet the needs of the tubercular patients in the Province, but

I am sure that will be a very good beginning and hitherto the people of the Province were denied the benefit of a single State institution for the treatment of tubercular patients.

Sir, I am grateful to Mr. Wordsworth for his very kind appreciation of the provisions in this year's budget for development of medical facilities and I agree and voice with him, our gratitude to the Army for the contribution they have made, viz., they have made it possible for us to acquire very valuable medical equipment and apparatus. It was due to the military equipment that it was possible for us to start the Kanchrapara Hospital and it is also due to the military equipment and military buildings that we can start a thousand-bedded hospital in the Lake Area.

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: No tuberculosis in North Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The Kanchrapara Hospital will serve that purpose.

So far as his reference to the Bhow Committee is concerned, I agree with him that there is inadequacy of nursing in the Province. That is a stumbling-block for the expansion of medical facilities in this Province. We are badly in need of nurses. To meet this problem we now contemplate starting a diploma course in Nursing, so that we may have a Provincial Nursing Service in the Province. It is also one of our P.W.R. projects, so that we may have a Provincial Nursing Service in order to give better remuneration and more attractive emoluments to the nurses. Then we propose to institute a sort of vernacular training for nurses. It is unfortunate that there exists a certain amount of prejudice among the Bengalee girls against this service, but it is very gratifying to note that this prejudice is being gradually removed.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Is it a fact that Indian nurses do not get the same treatment as European nurses in the Medical College in the matter of food facilities and boarding facilities and is it also a fact that the nurses supplied by the Indian Council of Nurses or some such sort of organisation are not within the control of the Medical College authorities and of the different authorities—

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot allow you to make a speech.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: The statement in substance reflects the actual position. We have here in Calcutta an institution known as the Calcutta Hospital Nurses Institution and they supply nurses to some of our hospitals: not to all the hospitals, not to the Sambhunath Hospital, but to the Medical College Group of hospitals. That is a system by which a sort of dual control is exercised over nurses and I feel that there are certain difficulties in the way of immediate removal of control of C.H.N.I., but that is a matter which is receiving my attention and I hope we shall be able to improve the existing condition. It is also correct that in the matter of scale of stipends granted to the nurse trainees, there is some amount of discrimination and also there is discrepancy as between hospital and hospital. A trainee in certain hospital receives Rs. 10 per month and in another hospital receives Rs. 40 per month. There are matters which are engaging my attention and I hope I shall be able to remove these anomalies in a very short time. But the most important point is that I would request all members to help Government in the matter of doing propaganda for inviting trainees in nursing. I am shortly going to constitute a committee which will tour all over the Province in order to examine whether training in Nursing can be given in our mofussil institutions and if that can be done, I am sure that that would facilitate our giving training to a large number of Bengalee girls in the language

of the country. At the present moment there are certain difficulties in giving higher training in Nursing, because the minimum prescribed standard is Matriculation and I feel that this operates very harshly against some of our very eligible Bengalee candidates. I hope that with the removal of these difficulties, the problem of inadequate nursing staff in our hospitals will be solved.

I cannot help referring to some comments of Mr. Jalan. He has made a grievance that Government have acquired 5,000 *bighas* of land for the Kanchrapara Hospital, but 5,000 *bighas* is not for the Kanchrapara hospital only. The big plot in Kanchrapara is for various other development projects of Government. One point I would like to point out to Mr. Jalan. He has given stress on the necessity of cattle, but I want to tell him that this Kanchrapara Hospital is meant for the suffering humanity. Does he not consider that the suffering humanity should have precedence over the needs of the cattle?

Now, I come to one important aspect of our medical facilities, viz., F.R.E. hospitals. During the famine a large number of F.R.E. hospitals were started in the Province. We had about 20,000 beds available in our F.R.E. hospitals in different parts and very useful, very popular and very good work was done by these hospitals in rural Bengal. In our P.W.R. scheme we have adopted these rural hospitals and we have converted these F.R.E. hospitals, which were primarily intended for sick destitutes, into Auxiliary Government Hospitals. We propose to retain 20,000 beds as a permanent feature of rural medical facilities in our department. But, Sir, I must bring to the notice of the members the fact that the existing sites of F.R.E. hospitals are not at all suitable and have not been distributed on rational basis. They were distributed at a period of emergency only in areas where scarcity was prevalent and where immediate buildings were available. But in order to have permanent rural hospitals in the Province, it is necessary that these hospitals should be uniformly and equitably distributed on the basis of morbidity and population. Therefore, though we were to distribute these hospitals and allot them immediately, in view of the impending scarcity of food and consequently of the threatened famine, it is not considered advisable to take up the question this year. Therefore, the matter was deferred and was allowed to rest. As soon as we tide over the present difficulties and as soon as we turn the corner, in January next year, this question will be reexamined and I am sure this grievance regarding the distribution of hospitals will be redressed. We shall then distribute the hospitals districtwise on the basis of morbidity and population. These hospitals will serve the rural people of the Province, who were hitherto denied the amount of medical facilities they deserve. I want to assure the House that this Ministry has definitely a rural bias and it will do its best to remove the grievances of the rural people which will be a contrast to the policy hitherto followed, namely, to give medical facilities for the people living in the urban areas only. We want to reverse that policy. The urban areas have got the benefit so long. In future, we may assure the House that the benefits of medical facilities must go to the rural people of this Province.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House and I oppose all the cut-motions.

The motion of Mr. Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharjee that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Kanailal Dass that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Charu Chandra Mohanty that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Charu Chandra Mohanty that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Harendra Nath Dolui that the demand of Rs. 3,64,65,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali that a sum of Rs. 3,64,65,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" was then put and agreed to.

39—Public Health.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 1,88,82,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health".

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the (1) inadequacy of the demand, (2) necessity of larger number of vaccinators, (3) large number of maternity homes in rural areas, (4) necessity of larger number of trained midwives in rural areas, (5) free distribution of quinine in affected rural areas, (6) opening kala-azar centres in larger number in affected areas, (7) fallibility of so-called anti-malaria schemes, (8) absence of plan in the matter of development programme under the head "Public Health", and (9) inadequacy of the number of Sanitary Inspectors and their incompetence.

Sir, I am not in a mood to speak on the subject. Moreover, the motion speaks for itself. I find that a new disease has entered into the Society and unless this is eradicated, the discussion is a sham.

Mrs. ASHALATA SEN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about inadequacy of the demand on the head "maternity and child welfare".

Mrs. NELLIE SEN GUPTA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about medical treatment in rural areas of Chittagong.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the working of the Asansol Mines Board of Health.

Mr. KANAI LAL DE: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government for starting maternity homes and child welfare centres in aid of rural public.

Mr. KANAI LAL DE: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100. The reason for my moving this motion is to raise a discussion about the apathy of Government to tackle the problems of public health in the Province.

Mrs. ASHALATA SEN : মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমি আজ এখানে বাদের কথা বলতে এসেছি,--বলতে এসেছি যে সব দুঃখ-গরিজা-পীড়িত বেরেদের কথা, যারা বাংলার পল্লীতে পল্লীতে রুগ্ন ও ক্ষীণজীবী শিশুদের বুকে নিতে অসহায় ভাবে দিন কাটায়--তারা চিরদিন তাদের নানা রকম দুঃখ-কষ্ট নীরবেই সহ্য করে এসেছে। আর নীরবে সহ্য করে এসেছে বলেই মুন্সি জাতির জীবন বয়ণ, জাতির অনাগত ভবিষ্যৎ তাদের দুর্গল বাহু বেঁটনে বেঁটতে যে শিশুদের উপর একান্তভাবে নির্ভর করে, সেই শিশুদের সম্পর্কে আর তাদের দুর্ভাগ্য পীড়িত জননীদেব সম্পর্কে একটা কথাও কারও মুখে শুনে পাই না। এখানে এসে কত দিকের কত কথাই শুনে শুনে পেলাম কিন্তু যে বাংলার শিশু মৃত্যুর নিত্যম ভয়াবহ, আর শিশু-জননীদেব দুর্দশাও নিত্যম শোচনীয়, তাদের সম্পর্কে কোন প্রচেষ্টার কথাই এ পর্যন্ত শুনে পেলাম না। বাজেট বরাদ্দ খুঁজে দেখলাম বিভিন্ন খাতে কোটি কোটি টাকা ব্যয় বরাদ্দের মধ্যে Public Health Department's maternity and child welfare বলে একটা নামও আছে, তার একটা ব্যয় বরাদ্দও আছে--নাম রক্ষার জন্যে। বাংলার লক্ষ লক্ষ শিশু ও আর বোধ হয় শ্রায় সেড় কোটিরও বেশী শিশু-জননীদেবের জন্য দুই লক্ষ টাকা। আর সে টাকাটাও নিশ্চয়ই ব্যয় হবে দু' চারটি বিশেষ বিশেষ সহরে--বাংলার পল্লী অঞ্চলের জন্য ছুটবে না একটা কানাকড়িও। শুধু নাম রক্ষার জন্য প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় নিত্যম নগণ্য এই ব্যয় বরাদ্দ দেখে মনে হয় এ যেন বহুদিনের উপবাসীকে একটি খাদ্য তণ্ডুলকণা দিয়ে পাঠার ভূমিকায় অভিনয় করা।

কিন্তু এমিক দিয়ে আমি বেশী কথা বাড়তে চাই না--কউকে শোষণরোপও করতে চাই না। যদিও একের অন্যকে অবিরত শোষণরোপ করাই আজকালকার প্রধান বৈশিষ্ট্য, তবুও আমি আজ জাতির এমন এক অংশের পক্ষ থেকে কথা বলতে চাই যেছি, যারা অসহনীয় দুঃখেও অন্যকে শোষণরোপ করতে জানে না, সকল দুঃখে, সকল কষ্টে তারা তাদের অদৃষ্টকেই শোষণরোপ করতে অভ্যস্ত। আর তাই আমিও বলছি তাদের সখ্যে বাংলা গভর্নমেন্টের এই উল্লাসিনী তাদেরই একান্ত অদৃষ্টের দোষ। কিন্তু আমি আজ এই সঙ্গে এই কথাটিও বলতে চাই তারা নিজেদের অদৃষ্টকে শোষণরোপ করে নীরবে ধাক্কাতে অভ্যস্ত বলেই জাতির যাবা প্রতিনিধি, তাদের কাছেও যদি তারা অদৃষ্ট অর্থাৎ দৃষ্টের বাইরেই থেকে যায়, তবে তাব পরিণাম ফল কি ভয়াবহ হয়ে পড়াবে। এ যেন হবে পায়ের নীচের থেকে নীরবে মাটি সরে যাওয়ার মত--যাব পরিণাম জাতিকে টেনে নিয়ে যাবে মৃত্যুর বিরাট অন্ধকার গলবে। আজ এ সখ্যে আমার প্রণেব উক্তের মাননীয় অর্থ-মন্ত্রীর কাছ থেকে যে তথ্য জেনেছি, তা এখানে উপস্থিত করছি। এ তথ্য হল বাংলার শিশু-মৃত্যু হারের তথ্য। এ তথ্য থেকে দেখা যায় দুজনের সময় শিশুবাঁই সব চেয়ে বেশী সংখ্যায় মরেছে। আমি এমন গ্রামও দেখেছি যেখানে যে সময় দুই-তিন বৎসর বয়স পর্যন্ত কোন শিশু ছিল না; আর নয়-শ বছর বয়সের মধ্যে কোন শিশুর জন্মাবার সম্ভাবনাও ছিল না। আর দুজনের বছর বাজ দিয়েও আমরা যা বেশি তাতে বেশি বাংলায় শিশু-মৃত্যুর হার সব সময়ই এক বৎসর বয়স পর্যন্ত প্রতি ৭টিতে ১টি। এর সঙ্গে এক হতে পাঁচ বছর বয়সের মৃত্যুসংখ্যা যোগ দিলে পাঁচের প্রতি ৭টিতে ২টি। ৪০ ও ৪৪ঃ অর্থাৎ দুজনের বছরে ও তার পরের বছরে এক বছর বয়স পর্যন্ত শিশু মৃত্যু সংখ্যা ৪টিতে ১টি। আর তার সঙ্গে এক হতে পাঁচ বছরের শিশুদের মৃত্যু সংখ্যা যোগ দিলে দেখা যায় ঐ দুই সনে প্রতি দুইটি শিশুর মধ্যে একটি মরেছে। এখ থেকে বাংলার জীবনী শক্তিশীল শিশুবা দুদিন আসলে কিভাবে দলে দলে প্রাণ ত্যাগ করে, তা বুঝতে পারা যায়। আমাদের এই দুর্ভাগ্য দেশের সঙ্গে অন্য কোন সৌভাগ্যশালী দেশের তুলনা করতে না বাওয়াই বোধ হয় সম্ভব। তবুও এ সখ্যে আমাদের শোচনীয় অবস্থা ভাল করে বুঝবার জন্যই তুলনা করলে দেখতে পাই আমাদের দেশে শিশু-মৃত্যু যেখানে এক বছরের মধ্যে ৭টিতে ১টি, সেখানে ইংলণ্ডে এক হাজারে ৫৮ ও আমেরিকায় এক হাজারে ৫৪টি মাত্র। অর্থাৎ প্রতি ২০টিতে ১টি।

গত দুজনের বর্ষান্তিক অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে জেনেছি সে সময় অসহায় শিশুর দলই সবচেয়ে বেশী। তাদের নিরুপায় জননীরা--যখন দুজনের সেই ভীষণ দুর্দিনে স্বামী ও তাদের সন্তানসহ পরিভ্রমণ করে মুরাত্তরে চলে গিয়েছে--তখন সুখ সন্তানদের শেষ নিঃশ্বাস ত্যাগ করা পর্যন্ত বুকে আঁকড়ে রয়েছে, দলে দলে পাগলের মত ছুটে বেড়িয়েছে কিন্তু তাদের রক্ষা করতে সক্ষম হয়নি। জানি না এই চলতি বছরে যখন চারিশিকে দুজনের করাল ছায়া বনিয়ে আসছে, শাদামুলা যখন সর্পুত্রই বেড়ে চলেছে, যদি তার প্রতিকার্য না হয়, তবে বাংলার ক্ষীণজীবী শিশুর দল আবার কত বিপুল সংখ্যায় মৃত্যুমুখে পতিত হবে।

শিশু-মৃত্যুসংখ্যার সঙ্গে শিশুদের প্রসুতিকের মৃত্যুসংখ্যা অথবা নানারূপ অব্যবহার কলে গুণাধার হয়ে থাকার সংখ্যা সঠিক জানা না থাকলেও নিজেদের সুভাস-দৃষ্ট অভিজ্ঞতা থেকেই আমরা জানি যে তাও নিত্যম শোচনীয়। কিন্তু এই দুর্ভাগ্য দেশে শিশুদের আর তাদের জননীদেব মৃত্যুর ভয়াবহতা দুই করবার জন্য কোনও উদ্যোগযোগ্য প্রচেষ্টাই শুধু আমরা দেখতে পাই না।

বাংলাতে Trained mid-wife এর সংখ্যা কত, এ সম্বন্ধে Assemblyতে আবার বা প্রশ্ন ছিল উত্তর এখন পর্যন্ত পাওয়া যায়নি। আর তা পাওয়া গেলেও যে তার সংখ্যা নিত্যই বৃদ্ধি হইবে সন্দেহ নাই। বাংলার trained nurseদের সংখ্যা অন্য জায়গা থেকে বা সংগ্রহ করছি, তার সঙ্গে অন্য প্রদেশের তুলনা করলে দেখা যায় এ বিষয়েও বাংলা কত পিছনে পড়ে আছে। অবশ্য সেসব প্রদেশেও প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় অনেক কমই রয়েছে। কিন্তু বাংলার চেয়ে বেশী দেখে বনে হর এদিকে ডাকের দৃষ্টি আছে এবং তারা সংখ্যা বাড়বার চেষ্টা করছে। রাজ্য, বোধে আর বাংলার সঙ্গে তুলনা করে এখানে তথ্য উপস্থিত করছি।

রাজ্য প্রদেশের লোক সংখ্যা ৪ কোটি ৯৩ লক্ষ, সেখানে ৩ হাজার nurse রয়েছে। বোধের লোক সংখ্যা ২ কোটি ৮ লক্ষ, সেখানে ২ হাজার রয়েছে। আর এখানে বাংলার ৬ কোটি লোক সংখ্যা, আর সেখানে nurse মাত্র ১ হাজার ৯ শত--২ হাজারেরও কম। এদিকে কিন্তু প্রয়োজনীয় সংখ্যানুপাতে বাংলার এক লক্ষ ২০ হাজার nurseএর প্রয়োজন।

Midwifeদের সংখ্যা পেলেও আবার এই একই নগণ্য অবস্থা দেখতে পাঁচ সন্দেহ নাই। আর এই অতি অল্প সংখ্যক midwife বা nurse যা আছে তা প্রায়ই সব সহজে। গ্রামাঞ্চলের জন্য কোন ব্যবস্থাই নাই। অথচ শিক্ষিতা ধাত্রীর অভাব যে কত শিশু ও কত শিশুটির মৃত্যুর কারণ তার অবশিষ্ট নেই।

এখন জিজ্ঞাসা এই যে বাংলার শিশুদের এই ভয়াবহ অকালমৃত্যু ও তাদের মায়াদের প্রতিকারহীনতা মৃত্যু ও মায়ারহীনতা করার জন্য কোনও পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা বর্তমান গভর্ণমেন্ট সম্মত মনে করেন কি না? জানতে পেরেছি বোধে গভর্ণমেন্ট নাকি সেখানে শিশুদের মৃত্যুর জন্য এক কোটি টাকা ব্যয় করবে। আর আমাদের বাংলায়? অর্থ-সচিব মহোদয়ের কাছ থেকেই জানতে পেরেছি বিবর্তি বাংলায় শিশুদের জন্য গভর্ণমেন্টের milk-centre আছে মাত্র ৪০টি। তারও বেশীর ভাগ সচর অঞ্চলে। যে দিক দিয়েই দেখি বাংলার পরী অল্পই সব দিক দিয়েই উপেক্ষিত। অথচ অধিকাংশ লোক পরীতেই বসবাস করে থাকে। আবার কথার কোনও মূল্যই হয়ত এখানে থাকবে না। তবুও বলতে চাই--বাংলার শিশুদের মৃত্যুর হার থেকে ঝাটাবার উদ্দেশ্যেই বলতে চাই--বাংলা গভর্ণমেন্টের বাংলার প্রত্যেক Unionএ অন্ততঃ একটি করে milk-centre স্থাপন করার পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা উচিত। আর সে centreগুলিকে শুধু দূর্ভিক্ষের ক্ষেত্র স্বরূপেই নয়, এমনভাবে পরিচালিত করা উচিত যাতে প্রত্যেক Unionএর শিশুদের সম্পর্কে সমস্ত তথ্য সংগ্রহ, তাদের স্বচিকিৎসার ও স্বাস্থ্যানুষ্ঠানের ব্যবস্থা করা এসব centre গুলির ভিতর দিয়েই হতে পারে। আর mid-wife সম্পর্কেও জেলার প্রত্যেক সম্বর ও মহকুমা স্তরে mid-wife training institution স্থাপন করা, আর যাতে এসব trained midwife পরীতে পরীতে স্থাপনা হয়, তাই ব্যবস্থা করা বর্তমান গভর্ণমেন্টের একান্ত কর্তব্য। প্রয়োজনীয় অর্থ এখন না থাকলেও অন্য অনেক ব্যয় যেমন ধান করে চালানোর ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে, এর জন্যও প্রকল্প হলে ধান কবেই চালানো উচিত।

আজ বাংলার শিশু ভগৎ--যে শিশু ভগৎসহ মাঝেই অবিকশিতভাবে পুচ্ছনু রয়েছে তবিশেষ বাংলার সকল সম্ভাবনা অথচ তার দিকে আরও মনোযোগ দেওয়ার অবকাশ নেই--বাংলায় সেই অকলঙ্কিত, উপেক্ষিত শিশু ভগৎদের কথাই আমি বলছি। আজকের দিনে যে সব শিশু বাংলায় জন্মগ্রহণ করেছে, আগের দিনের তুলনায় তাদের পুষ্টিগা নানা দিক দিয়েই অপরিণী। আর বাংলার মায়েরা যারা সম্ভাবনের কণ্ঠ দিয়ে লালন পালন করতে অভ্যস্ত তাদেরও মনোবেশনার পরিসীমা নেই। আজ এখানে যারা উপস্থিত আছেন তারা যখন মায়ের কোলে শিশু হয়ে জন্মেছিলেন, তখন এমন দুঃখিন ছিল না। সেই সুদিনে মায়েদের সমস্ত লালনে বেড়ে উঠেছেন বলতে বোধ হয় জেরা আজকের শিশুদের কঠোর কথা বুরতে পারছেন না। আজ বাংলার পরীতে পরীতে গোলাতন, ধান, আর গোহালতা। এক তা কোন দূর অতীতের স্বপ্নের কথা। আজ স্থাশা বুবে থাক, বুভাত জোনান বুবে থাক, কল্লু ছুটান ও পুসাধা।

গত কয়েক বছরে মৃত্যুর দরুন মৃত্তিক আর মহাবারীতে বাংলা দেশ নানাভাবেই বিধৃত হয়েছে। তার উপর আবার হুজ হয়েছে যে আত্মঘাতী, হাতুঘাতী সংগ্রাম, তা আমাদের কোথায় চেনে নিয়ে চলেছে জানি না। বাঙ্গালীর বড় মায়ের, বড় গৌরবের সোনার বাংলা নানাদিক দিয়েই আজ মৃত্যুর সমাধিতে পরিণত হতে চলেছে। জানি না বাঙ্গালী আজ জীবনের পথ ত্যাগ করে ছুটে চলেছে কোন মৃত্যুর গম্বরে। আজ ত্রুটি বাংলার কথা। যে দিক দিয়েই তাকি, সেই দিক দিয়েই দৃষ্ট হয়ে ওঠে পতীর বেদনার ভয়াবহতা। অজ্ঞা নবাই জনসাধারণের প্রতিনিধি হয়ে এখানে এসেছি কিন্তু তাদের কাছে কি আশা ও আশ্বাসের বাণী আমরা নিয়ে যেতে সক্ষম হব?

কিছুই হস্ত সক্ষম হব না। ভূণ্ড আবার প্রাণ বীদে, প্রাণ বীদে বাংলার দুঃখ-বুর্খণ্য ভরাক্রান্ত পরীতে পরীতে অধীনত্বী ও রুগ্ন শিশুদের মুখে নিয়ে দিন কাটায় যে দুর্ভাগিনী মায়েরা--তাদের কথা মনে করে।

মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়--আমার কথা শেষ করার সময় আমি যে জন্য বিশেষ করে দাঁড়িয়েছি সেদিকে সতী বচোদয়ের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই বাংলার দুঃখিত শিশু অগভীর দিকে, আর বাংলার নিরুপায় শিশু-জননীস্বদের দিকে--যাদের দিকে দৃষ্টি না দেওয়ার অর্থ জাতীয় জীবনের মূল উৎসকেই চোখের আড়ালে ক্রমে ক্রমে লুপ্ত হতে দেওয়া। আমি চাই আজ যে বিষয়টা move করেছি, সেটির গুরুত্ব ও প্রয়োজনীয়তা অনুভব করে, এই Assemblyতে আমার cut motionটি গৃহীত হওয়ার জন্য সকলকে অনুরোধ প্রাপন করছি।

Mrs. NELLIE SEN GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to make a few suggestions about medical treatment in the rural areas, and particularly in Chittagong. Malaria was the bugbear of Chittagong some years ago, and though it has not been stamped out, we have now kala-azar in full force. Almost every family has one or two or more patients; even very small children do not escape. I think the reason of this is the lack of nutrition. Unless there is a member of the family belonging to the Railway, sugar or *gur* is not available and the price of fish makes it outside the buying capacity of the poorer classes of people. We all know that kala-azar has a much longer period of existence and that the convalescence period is much longer. People feel weaker and do not always realise the danger of the disease. There are not dispensaries in every village. Sometimes the patients have to walk quite a long way and even if it is a short distance, any distance is a long one to a sick man and woman. The treatment is long and it means injections which mean that it is necessary for the patient to go to the doctor. Sometimes the patient after a few injections, after some treatment, feels stronger; he goes back to work and when he should go for treatment again, he feels, why bother; he may have to lose a day's work or he may feel disinclined to go. With regard to the women of the family, it means she has to leave her work—her cooking; or if she goes along, she may have to take a small baby along with her; and that is why sometime after a first treatment the patient does not feel inclined to go again to the dispensary with the result that after a little while they are attacked again, the result being that very often the patient says--I took all the trouble of going to the dispensary; the doctor gave me injections; I was treated; but here I am ill again, the doctor is no good, and quite often the patient does not go again for treatment with the result that we have many sick persons in the villages. I would suggest that we have travelling dispensaries; you may argue, the Government provide dispensaries for the public, why should they not go to dispensaries. I am sure if there were travelling dispensaries it would make a great difference to the health of the people and in the long run it would be cheaper, because there would be less attacks and less medical treatment would be necessary. You may also argue that the roads may not be fit for travel at all times of the year. If the roads are not fit, then improve them. If they are not fit to go for help then they are not fit for sick people to go to the dispensaries. So I would ask you to improve them. Some years ago either a Coalition Government or a Muslim Government started a travelling dispensary which had been a very great success. Therefore, I would ask the Government to ponder over this matter of travelling dispensaries and start them and I am sure we shall have a healthier and better village people.

Mr. BADIUZZAMAN MUHAMMAD ILIAS: Sir, I rise here to speak only a few words about item No. 39—Public Health. I submit that public health is much more important and urgent than medical treatment. I think public health is preventive and medical is curative, and we always know that prevention is better than cure. I would always welcome if the Hon'ble Minister would allot more money for public

health. When I compare the poor health of the people of this province with that of the people of New Zealand, Australia and other free countries, I cannot, but be disheartened and hopeless and criticise, rather condemn, the callousness and dilatory habit of the present Government. I know that they are within the four corners of the Government of India Act, 1935. Still, whatever power they have got, they should proceed on with the sincere object of ameliorating the poor health condition of the people of this province. In this connection, I will offer some suggestions. I shall first cite some examples which will prove how the condition of public health in our province has deteriorated. The callousness and the negligence of the Government was so palpable that they did not agree to give effect in full to the recommendations of the Health Survey and Development Committee presided over by Sir Joseph Bhore. If the recommendations of that Committee were given effect to in full swing, then this problem which is the most vital of all problems of this province would have to a greater extent been solved. Sir, the people of rural areas supply us with the most vital things in life and are the backbone of the province. These medical facilities and the arrangement for public sanitation in rural areas are not at all encouraging and helpful. So I invoke the attention of the Government and particularly the Hon'ble Minister concerned that immediate attention should be given to the rural areas.

Regarding water-supply, Sir, it is really a matter of great regret that in one of the unions in my constituency, viz., Chaluabari Union, there are only three or four tube-wells, majority of which are out of order and people of that union particularly are to take water from stagnant pools. As a result the epidemic attack of cholera is frequent and the condition of sanitation is very deplorable. The so-called Sanitary Inspectors and Health Assistants neglect their duty in an open way, but it is not taken notice of by the authorities concerned. Sir, I have seen in several bazars that these officers are more busy in taking bribes from fishermen and milkmen on the plea of checking and examining rotten fish and adulterated milk. In this way the work is going on. So, I invoke the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to give more attention to those areas.

Now, I will say regarding communal ratio which is not at all being maintained in the Public Health Department.

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bas, your time is up.

Mr. BADIUZZAMAN MUHAMMAD ILIAS: Two minutes more.

Mr. SPEAKER: I can allow you half a minute only.

Mr. BADIUZZAMAN MUHAMMAD ILIAS: Communal ratio is not maintained in the Public Health and Engineering Department. I found that the caste Hindu authorities there have got a double-barrel gun so far as promotion is concerned. One-barrel is efficiency and the other barrel is seniority. When a Muslim is senior and he is to be promoted, they bring in the question of efficiency; when a Muslim is efficient they bring in the question of seniority, and in this way the interests of the Muslims are hampered.

One word to the Congress Party in this respect. Most of them who have come over here are fattened lawyers. Here they have come with an air of complex and profession that they are to do service to the country and community. I tell them, Sir, not by cut motion, but by co-operation with the Government that these vital problems may be solved. In this respect that will be more convenient for those people to join hands with the Government and try to ameliorate the condition of the people in general of this country.

Mr. KANAILAL DE : সভাপতি মহাশয়, আজ দিনের শেষে, যখন আমরা ঘর পাচ্ছি যে সাম্প্রদায়িক দালালদারদের দ্বারা বহু লোক হতাহত হচ্ছে ও যুদ্ধের দেশে চলে যাচ্ছে সেই সময় আর আমাদের এক্ষুণে বাজেট আলোচনাতে যুব বৈশী সময় নষ্ট করার প্রবৃত্তি হচ্ছে না। কিন্তু তবু কয়েকটি কথা বলতে চাই যা না বললে আমরা এই বাংলার অধিবাসীদের প্রতি বাংলার যে সমস্ত প্রাণের লোক অহুস হয়ে ভুগছে তাদের প্রতি কর্তব্য করা হবে না। আমি বলি এই যে Public Health Department-এর গোড়াতেই একটা পলম হয়ে গিয়েছে। সাম্প্রদায়িক বিষ বা আমাদের দেশে ঢুকে গিয়েছে সেই বিষের ফলেই একজন অবাকানী কে এনে এই Public Health-এর Director করা হয়েছে। তাঁর বাংলার অবস্থার সঙ্গে কোন সাক্ষাৎ পরিচয় নেই। বাজারীর দুঃখের সঙ্গে লক্ষ লক্ষ বাজারীর রোগ ভোগের সঙ্গে তাঁর কোন পরিচয় নেই। এ সম্বন্ধে সর্বে তাঁর দুঃখের বা নাকীরা কোন যোগ নেই। এই Director মহোদয় তাঁর Department-এর সকল লোকের সঙ্গে একত্র ব্যবহার করেন যে সম্প্রতি একজন Maternity Superintendent Mrs. Subarna Mittra তাঁর অবাঞ্ছিত ব্যবহারে কার্য ব্যাগ করতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন। এই Public Health-এর Director মহাশয় তিনি না মুসলমান, না হিন্দু; তিনি কোন কর্মচারীকে নিয়েই কাজ করতে পারেন না। এই মাত্র আমার পূর্ববর্তী বক্তা বলেছেন Public Health Department-এ Communal ratio অনুযায়ী চাকরী বণ্টন করা হয় না; সেখানে সাধারণতঃ হিন্দুরাই বেশী চাকরী পায়। কিন্তু আমি তাঁকে বলবো যে পাঁচ জন Assistant Director-দের মধ্যে কিছয় জন মুসলমান নয়?

Mr. Speaker : You are speaking on the cut motion.

Mr. KANAILAL DE : Now I am speaking on the motion. এই Public Health Department-এ যে রকম ভাবে টাকা দেওয়া হয়েছে তা অত্যন্ত অপচর। যেখানে বাংলায় লোক উৎপন্ন হয়ে যাচ্ছে Quinine-এর অভাবে, সেখানে মাত্র ৫,৩৫,০০০ টাকা খরচ হয়েছে। বাংলাতে শিশু মৃত্যু অত্যন্ত ভয়াবহ রূপে বৃদ্ধি প্রাপ্ত হয়েছে। আমাদের প্রচেষ্টা আশালভ্য। সেন মহাশয় এ বিষয়ে বলেছেন, আমি বেশী কিছু বলবো না। আমি কেবল একটা কথা বলতে চাই যে এই কলকাতা সহরের একমাত্র বড়-বাজার ward এতেই হাজার করা ৫৫০ শিশু মৃত্যু হয়। সমস্ত বাংলা দেশে প্রতি দিবসই বহু সংখ্যক শিশু মারা যায়। এই যে হাজার শিশু মৃত্যু হচ্ছে তাতে বাংলার ভবিষ্যৎ বিপদসঙ্কুল হয়ে পড়েছে। যাতে শিশু মৃত্যু কমে যায়, যাতে post natal এবং anti-natal care নেওয়া হয় এবং যাতে maternity clinic প্রত্যেক Sub-division-এর প্রত্যেক থানায় থানায় খোলা হয় তার জন্য বাংলার স্বামীওলীর ব্যবস্থা কর^১ উচিত। এতদ্ব্যতীত বাংলা দেশের শিক্ত দায়ীদের সংখ্যা অত্যন্ত কমে গিয়েছে। পূর্বে পরীপ্রাণে যে সমস্ত শিক্ত দায়ী ছিল, এখন আর সে সমস্ত নেই। সেই জন্য স্বামী মহোদয়ের কর্তব্য প্রত্যেক পরীপ্রাণে যাতে একজন করে শিক্ত দায়ী থাকে সেই বিষয় মনোযোগ দিয়ে তাঁর ব্যবস্থা করা।

আমি আর একটি বিষয় বলতে চাই, বক্ষ্যু রোগ বৈরূপ ব্যাপকভাবে বাংলা দেশে বিস্তার লাভ করেছে অতি শীঘ্রই এ সম্বন্ধে ব্যবস্থা না করলে বাংলা দেশ তুমু Malaria নয়, বক্ষ্যুর আক্রমণে জনশূণ্য হয়ে যাবে। আমাদের আয়ুর্বেদ পাঠ্য বইতে চিকিৎসার জন্য কলকাতার উপকণ্ঠে একটি বক্ষ্যু চিকিৎসা অষ্টাল আয়ুর্বেদ বিদ্যালয়ের পরিচালনার খোলা হয়েছে, কিন্তু যদিও সে প্রতিষ্ঠানে ৮০টি bed আছে, সেখানে কোন্‌ই সাহায্য করা হয়নি। যাবতপূরের কথা সন্দেহই জানেন; সেখানে অতি মূঢ়াঙ্গরূপে বক্ষ্যু চিকিৎসা করা হয়, এবং আমি জানি বহু বক্ষ্যু রোগী সেখানে গিয়ে সম্পূর্ণ ভাবে আরোগ্য হয়ে ফিরে এসেছেন এবং স্বাভাবিকভাবে জীবন যাত্রা নির্বাহ্য করেছেন। এই যাবতপুর হাসপাতালের জন্য এ বৎসরে বাজেটে কিছুমাত্র টাকা বরূদ করা হয়নি।

Maternity এবং Child-welfare-এর বাজেটে মাত্র ৩৫,০০০ টাকা খরচ হয়েছে, ইহা অত্যন্ত অপচর। আর একটি কথা বলে আমি আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করতে চাই, সে কথা হচ্ছে বাংলার ভয়াবহ কুঠ রোগের বিষয়। আমি যে জেলা থেকে আসছি, সেই বাকুড়া জেলা, বাংলা দেশের মধ্যে সব চেয়ে সেই জেলার কুঠের সংখ্যা বেশী। এই বাকুড়া জেলার, আমাদের Non-official, ডাক্তাররা অনুদান করেছিলেন, তাঁরা বলেন যে এখানে লতঃ ৫০ থেকে ৫৫ হাজার কুঠ রোগী আছে। ১০ লক্ষ ৫০ হাজার লোকের বাস যে জেলার সেখানে যদি ৫০ হাজার কুঠ রোগী থাকে তবে এটা কিরূপ ভয়াবহ বিষয়টা স্বপ্ন। এতদিন পরে শিয়ারডোয়ার একটা Leper colony করার জন্য চেষ্টা হচ্ছে মাত্র।

Mr. Speaker : Mr. De, Your time is up.

Mr. KANAILAL DE : আমি এবার শেষ করছি। আমি যদি যে তথ্য এক জারখার করেক এত Loper কে আশুর দিলেই সবায়ার প্রতিকার হয় না; কুট রোগের নিশান কি, কেন হয় সেটাও জানা দরকার। কুট রোগ না থাকার জন্য, অর্থাৎ Malnutrition এর জন্য হয় কিনা এ সম্বন্ধে অনুসন্ধান করা দরকার, Statistics রাখা দরকার। সভাপতি মহাশয় এই সম্বন্ধ কথা বললেই আমি বাংলার স্বাধীনতাকে, বিশেষতঃ জন-স্বাস্থ্যের বিকাশ ঠাঁই হাতে তাঁকে বিশেষভাবে অনুরোধ করছি তিনি যেন সেশের এই ভীষণ অস্বাস্থ্যকর অবস্থার এ সকল কথা বিবেচনা করে এই সম্বন্ধে প্রতিকারের ব্যবস্থা করেন।

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, when I tabled this cut motion, I had not the slightest idea that I have to carry discussion on this subject, the subject being the working of the Asansol Mines Board of Health. I had not the slightest idea that I have to carry discussion on a subject at a peculiarly painful environment caused by the sudden outbreak of cholera in the epidemic form in one colliery area in Asansol. But this simple incident and the reaction of the Asansol Mines Board of Health to this epidemic will abundantly illustrate the charge which I am going to make against this body today—the charge of incompetency, inefficiency, slothfulness and indifference. Cholera broke out on the 15th September last. There is a regular telephone service between the office of the Colliery and the office of the Asansol Mines Board of Health. There is a pitched motorable road between Asansol and the said colliery area and the Chief Medical Officer of the Asansol Mines Board of Health has got a motor of his own, but he could not make time to go to that area before the 19th of September, that is four days after and by that time several people had already died. When I reached personally on the 22nd of September, I found that out of 30 cases about 20 had already died and the conditions of the remaining were not in any way better. These people were segregated but they were segregated to a place which is dreary and dark. The roof is leaky. There was no arrangement for nursing or any other attendants; there was no arrangement for removing the night-soil; flies were having a sumptuously brilliant feast and from the sanitary point of view, the conditions were horrible. It is not only this question which brings to the forefront the apathy and incompetence of the Asansol Mines Board of Health, but I have also got a report. That report is with me and I find from that report that in the year 1943-44, about 44,000 people were attacked with malaria. I also find from that report that in that very year 1943-44, there were 6,000 cases of dysentery and diarrhoea, 6,000 cases of respiratory diseases and out of 967 cases of cholera 441 had died.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not only to this aspect of public health that I want to draw the attention of this House, but there is a larger aspect of the problem to which I also would like to draw the attention of this House through you. That larger aspect is this that if on any occasion there is an epidemic in any colliery area, immediately that colliery is stopped with the consequent result that the supply of coal is also stopped and I say that the Board which is especially charged with the responsibility of looking after the sanitation of that area has got also to look into that side of national aspect. Within the short time at my disposal I think I will not be able to do full justice to this question. I would only like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister through you, Sir, to the composition of the Asansol Mines Board of Health. The Royal Commission recommends that such Boards of Health—

(At this stage the member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI : Sir, Mrs. Sen referred to the maternity and child welfare in the province. About inadequacy of the provision under this head, she will know that we have provided for a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs for the construction of maternity and child welfare clinics throughout the province. The difficulty in starting these clinics is that

we have not got trained health visitors. We have got health visitors school, but sufficient number of girls do not come forward to undertake this training. This is the difficulty and we are seriously considering the question of revising the curriculum, so that teaching may be imparted in the vernacular in order to facilitate the training of trainees in this school. That is a question which is engaging our attention, but unless we get a larger number of health visitors, it will not be possible for Government to start those maternity and child welfare clinics. Sir, we have got in this Budget, a provision of Rs. 50,000 for grants-in-aid to local bodies for starting these clinics. Several local bodies have taken advantage of Government's financial assistance in the establishment of maternity and child welfare clinics, but unfortunately for the very same reason mentioned earlier, viz., difficulty in getting qualified persons to run these clinics, we cannot establish as many clinics as we would like to start in this province.

So far as Mrs. Sen Gupta is concerned, she has referred to the dearth of medical facilities in her district. If she will notice in her district, she will find that within a space of 2,569 square miles, we have one bed per 1,929 of population, which works out at .5 per mille of population. This compares favourably with the facilities in other districts and very favourably with the medical facilities available in British India where the number of beds per mille of population is only .24. Sir, I agree that the facilities are not adequate and efforts should be made, so that we have at least five beds per thousand population, but unfortunately we cannot accelerate or step up these facilities. If our post-war reconstruction scheme materialises, then we shall have .75 per thousand population.

So far as Mr. Ilias is concerned, he has referred to a very important question, namely, combination of preventive and curative aspects of medicine. He has stated that prevention is better than cure. That is no doubt correct, but there are diseases and illnesses which cannot be prevented. Therefore due importance must be given to both sides of the question—prevention and cure. I should like to bring to his notice that so far as Public Health Department is concerned, Government of Bengal has been gradually increasing its allotment under this head. In the year 1942-43, there was an allotment of Rs. 35,95,000; in 1943-44 Rs. 60,25,000 was allotted. In 1944-45 the amount allotted was Rs. 1,09,30,000 and in the year 1945-46 Rs. 1,04,68,000 was provided. That was less than the provision in 1944-45. In 1946-47 Rs. 1,89,74,000 has been provided in the Budget. So it will appear that the allotment under this head has been systematically and gradually increasing.

So far as the Bhow Committee's recommendations are concerned, they are being examined by Government. As I have referred to earlier in the House, the Government of India have convened a conference of all Provincial Ministers, so that this question may be carefully examined and Government of India would like that all the Provincial Governments should agree to follow a uniform policy throughout the country. I had intended to attend this conference, but I find now that I am unable to attend that conference in view of the declaration made by the Hon'ble Chief Minister on the floor of this House yesterday. Nevertheless, I can assure the House that we shall implement as far as practicable the recommendation of the Health Survey Development Committee, and in order to ascertain its usefulness, we have put into operation at the present moment, two Pilot schemes in the province, one at Palba and the other at Kaliganj. These experiments are continuing and on the results thereof, we shall be able to launch our schemes throughout the province.

Mr. Ilias has referred to the question of water-supply in the province. Sir, in this regard I would give the House some idea of our policy in connection with improvement of water-supply in rural areas: As the

immediate short term objective the Bhow Committee has recommended one source of water-supply for every 500 of the population; while as the ultimate long term objective they have recommended one for every 200 of the population. We have adopted the former as our present objective; and it is hoped that this objective will be achieved within the next five years.

Formerly the Provincial Budget used to make a lump sum provision varying from 2½ lakhs to 10 lakhs of rupees for rural water-supply. In the current year, however, rural water-supply has been included as a scheme in Government's post-war programme. An amount of 50 lakhs of rupees has been allotted for the current year in the Development Budget and it is hoped that similar amounts will be allotted in subsequent years for the next four years. If this provision is made for a period of 5 years and if materials in sufficient quantities are available, it is hoped that at the end of five years, there would be a source of water-supply for every 500 of the population. In the current year, out of a total allotment of 50 lakhs as mentioned above, 20 lakhs have been allotted for new sources of water-supply. These take mainly the form of tube-wells, but in certain areas where tube-wells are not successful, tanks are excavated and masonry wells sunk out of this allotment. This work is done direct by the Directorate of Public Health Engineering. The sites are, however, selected by District Magistrates in consultation with the non-officials of the district and, particularly, the Chairmen of the District Boards. In addition to sinking new tube-wells Government has undertaken, for once only, the repair of all the existing tube-wells in the province. Government have taken the responsibility for the repair of the existing tube-wells in the districts in the event of their being unserviceable and in derelict condition. There are a large number of tube-wells sunk by local bodies in the districts, but Government do not take the responsibility of keeping them in working order for all time. Government, as I have said before, are responsible for the repair of the existing tube-wells only once. In the initial stages Government take the responsibility of keeping them in serviceable condition, but the ultimate responsibility for keeping them in working order vests with the local bodies. A sum of Rs. 10 lakhs has been allotted for this work out of the total allotment and the work of repair is now proceeding. Apart from this measure, which means repair of tube-wells once only, allotments are being made to District Magistrates for maintenance of tube-wells in their respective districts. District Magistrates have been instructed to spend this allotment in consultation with the Chairmen of the District Boards and with the help of their staff. A permanent scheme for maintenance of rural tube-wells is also under consideration of this department. It is proposed to utilise District Board staff as far as possible in the work of maintenance, while the ultimate control must remain with Government as the bulk of the money for this purpose will obviously have to come from Government.

My friend, Mr. Kunai Lal De, has objected to a non-Bengali being appointed as Director of Public Health, Bengal. I do not understand how such an objection can come from a member of the Congress Parliamentary Party. While on the one hand they say that India is one and all the Indians one nation, on the other, they bring in territorial distinction and the question of Bengali and non-Bengali. It does not lie in the mouth of a Congress member to blow hot and cold in the same breath.

He has also referred to the help that Government give to the Jadavpur T. B. Hospital, where T. B. patients from all over the country come for treatment. It is true that there are very few institutions of this kind and that Jadavpur is the only hospital where T. B. patients get proper

treatment. In addition to a sum of Rs. 80,000 which is given to this institution as a recurring grant, Government also gives it non-recurring grants very generously.

Mr. Sen has referred to the working and constitution of the Asansol Mining Board. It is a self-governing body and its administration lies with officials and non-officials who constitute the Board. Therefore so far as the question of its internal administration is concerned, the responsibility does not lie with the Government.

With these words, I oppose all the cut motions and commend my motion for voting of supplies to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Mr. Dharendra Nath Datta that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mrs. Ashalata Sen that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta: that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Debendra Nath Sen that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Kanai Lal De that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Kanai Lal De that the demand of Rs. 1,88,82,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali that a sum of Rs. 1,88,82,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health", was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: The business remaining may be carried over to tomorrow. There will be no question tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 5-30 p.m. till 2-30 p.m. on Friday, the 27th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 27th September, 1946, at 2-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 5 Hon'ble Ministers and 188 members.

Committee on Petitions and Library Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: In accordance with the provisions of rule 82 of the Bengal Legislative Assembly Procedure Rules, I nominate the following seven members of the Assembly to form the Committee on Petitions with the Deputy Speaker as Chairman:—

Mr. G. C. D. Wilks.

Mr. Paniruddin Ahmed.

Mr. A. T. Mazharul Haque.

Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, C.I.E.

Mr. Banku Behari Mandal.

Mr. Bimal Chandra Sinha, and

Mr. Charu Chandra Bhandari.

Under rule 2 of the rules regulating the Bengal Legislature, I nominate the following members to serve on the Joint Library Committee:—

Mr. Tafazzal Ali, Deputy Speaker.

Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy, and

Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, C.I.E.

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

5—Salt.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 79,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "5—Salt".

Mr. DHANANJOY ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 79,000 for expenditure under the head "5—Salt" be reduced by Rs. 100 and in this connection I wish to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to give facilities to the people to manufacture salt and about withdrawing all restrictions in this connection.

Mr. RAMHARI ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the budget estimates palpably show the failure of the Government to give facilities to the people to manufacture salt by withdrawing all restrictions in this connection. I shall first of all narrate the background and then the causes of failure of Government and then I shall discuss the budget estimate.

Sir, the history of the Muslim League administration is the history of misrule in Bengal. It is the history of communalism; it is the history of nepotism; it is the history of corruption and bribery and it is the history of inefficiency, incompetency and partiality. It is the history of systematic attempts to crush the minority—

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: On a point of order, Sir. We are now discussing the salt budget and not the minority question.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would ask you, Mr. Roy, to confine yourself to the salt budget.

Mr. RAMHARI ROY: I am coming to that, Sir. The history is repeating itself in the present regime with all its virulence with the exception that the present Ministry has carried communalism to a very indecent and nauseating plane. Absence of any planning for real development of the province marks the present administration, but certainly there is a general well-designed plan running through every department of the administration: it is the plan of serving communal interests; it is the plan of serving the selfish ends of the Ministers; it is the plan of serving the party advantages and it is the plan of providing the chosen people of the Ministry with posts and contracts with the ulterior motive of strengthening their party. Realisation of selfish ends and party advantages are the two polar stars that guide every action of the Ministry. Members on the Government side may feel complacent that this Ministry is serving the interests of the Muslims—

Mr. SPEAKER: The honourable member should remember that he is speaking on salt.

Mr. RAMHARI ROY: At the outset I am tracing the history and the background and then I propose to come to salt.

I can tell the House that so long as the Ministry will maintain and pursue their sectional and communal policy, it cannot serve the interest of the people, neither the Muslims nor the Hindus. And so long as this policy continues, the Ministry will never be able to give facilities to the people to manufacture salt for the good of the people of Bengal. It is for this reason that I think it is necessary to narrate the background of this communal Ministry so that my speech will fully explain the hopeless position we are now in. This Ministry is out to utilise their present position for the realisation of the aforesaid ends and not to do any real service to the people of Bengal, even to the Muslim population of Bengal. Undoubtedly this sectional and communal Ministry is trying to serve the middle class educated and graduate Muslims by providing them with Government services and trade facilities, etc. But may I ask the honourable members on the Government side what percentage do they comprise of the entire Muslim population of Bengal? Certainly they are not more than ten per cent. Interests of the 90 per cent. Muslims remain unfulfilled. The real interests of the Muslims are really the interests of the uneducated dumb millions of the Muslim masses. I know there are progressive minded people in the Muslim League also. Either they are miserably unorganised or they are too weak to voice their feelings and press their demands. The time has come that they must organise themselves and press the Ministry to action of general welfare for the Muslim masses. Then and then only they will be able to serve the people of Bengal because I feel that the political and economic interests of the Muslim and Hindu masses are more or less the same. I therefore appeal to the progressive section of the Muslim League party to rise to the occasion that the time demands and that they should no longer allow the Ministry to exploit the ignorant dumb Muslim masses. So the present mental outlook and the attitude of the Ministry and the principle they are following and the policy they are pursuing are amongst others, I think, the chief causes of the failure of the Government to achieve success in any direction—

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Roy, I would ask you to come to the point.

Mr. RAMHARI ROY: Now, Sir, I shall deal with the demand under the head "Salt". Here also we find the same story of wasteful expenditure of public money in the name of so-called development. There is nothing of development in it. The Government has miserably failed to encourage the salt industry of Bengal in spite of its nice possibilities in the sea coast

areas of Bengal. Everybody knows that salt is one of the prime necessities of life. The very first duty of the Government is to encourage salt industry which the Government has miserably failed and which the Bengal Government has not cared to do. Looking into the expenditure side what do we see? We see that in this demand Rs. 79,000 has been asked for grant. Out of this, Rs. 38,000 is for the pay of establishment for travelling and other allowances Rs. 2,400 and for dearness allowance Rs. 23,800, that is, Rs. 64,200 out of Rs. 79,000 is meant for payment of establishment, travelling and other allowances and dearness allowances. Only Rs. 14,800 remains for industrial purposes. In the year 1945-46, actual expenditure was Rs. 60,698. Increase in the present year's expenditure is due mainly to (1) the inclusion of full twelve months provision in respect of an additional staff of two Assistant Salt Officers and two Publicity Officers employed for a few months in the previous year; (2) increase in pay of low-paid Government servants; (3) arrear dearness allowance as has been stated in the explanatory memorandum in the budget. Thus we find it is not a really industrial plan at all; rather it is a plan for further providing at least two men of the choice of the Ministry with posts. Though it has been said that the provision under this head is in respect of an experimental scheme for the development of salt production as a cottage industry by the establishment of salt ware-houses in the districts of Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Chittagong, Noakhali and Bakarganj, what we really find is not an encouragement of industry but only the maintenance of an establishment. Time is ripe that the Ministers should think constructively and come forward with real plans of developments. So long they will play the communal role, the reactionary role, they will not be able to do it. So, I appeal to them to give up their reactionary role and take up the progressive role for the good of Muslims, for the good of Bengal and for the good of humanity.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, my friend, Mr. Ramhari Roy, hails from Malda and I thought he would give us some news about the Malda mangoes which are very sweet. He did not talk about salt in the beginning—possibly he thought it to be the opportune moment and instead he talked about the most irrelevant thing possible not only on the floor of this House but anywhere. However, I leave that aside.

Now, for the edification of my friend and for the edification of this House, I may say that it is very unfortunate that this question of salt has been kept in the background. Why? Not on account of this League Ministry which has begun to function only four months back. But my friend very well knows that in 1930 there was a civil disobedience movement and a salt campaign was conducted. Why? Because there are restrictions on the production of salt, on the manufacture of salt.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: Did you take part in that campaign?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Yes, I participated in the salt campaign and I was imprisoned also.

The whole thing comes to this. Whether it is in the sphere of the development of cotton industry or in the development of salt industry, the very same thing weighs on your shoulders and on our shoulders. We know that owing to the foreign rule we have been subjected to various restrictions and difficulties and salt is one of them. All my friends know and Mr. Chatterjee also knows—I do not know whether he was assaulted—that all participated in the salt campaign. Why? Because people wanted that this salt should be prepared everywhere in Bengal. Salt can be prepared at any and every place. In the sea-water we have got salt, in the water of many of the rivers of Bengal there is salt and in soil also there is salt—that was experimented in 1930. Very near Mahishbathan, not far off from this place, there was recourse to production of salt from soil. After I took charge of this department, the Bengal Government tried certain experiments. Finding it very difficult one Industrial Survey Committee was

appointed and that committee submitted its report in 1944. It recommended certain steps for the manufacture of salt and those steps were that a Salt Institute should be established in Bengal or a Central Laboratory or some sort of factory should be established in Bengal and that some staff should be appointed—at least a Special Development Officer should be appointed—and that there should be one Advisory Committee. It was then section 93 Government and files went from department to department. About the appointment of an officer—the Salt Development Officer—already two years have passed but even today it has not been possible to procure such an officer. Therefore, I have decided that, to start with, we will have an Advisory Committee very soon, one Salt Institute—Central Laboratory—where experiments will be going on and then there will be other staff. Advertisements were made for a Special Development Officer and we tried to have such an officer even from outside but we have not been successful. Therefore, it has been decided that the Advisory Committee will be appointed and one Central Laboratory will be established very soon. I have already ordered and I hope within two months' time the whole thing will begin to function.

Now, Sir, practically speaking, nothing has been done as yet excepting that some private individuals have started certain factories—the Bengal Salt Factory, the Pioneer Salt Factory, etc. They have produced salt and we have found that salt is eatable and very good and sometimes it compares favourably with the Liverpool salt also. But for want of encouragement and for want of adequate help these factories could not make any headway. In short, what I have stated is the position. Meanwhile certain warehouses about which my friend has mentioned have been established. About 17 warehouses have been established in Midnapore, 24 Parganas and certain other districts, but these warehouses did not give very good results and we are going to abolish about 9 warehouses very soon and the other warehouses will function.

As regards help to the cottage industries, we are thinking what sort of help could be given by Government. After we have established laboratories and after we have finished experiments, we hope that we will be able to help them and Government will be in a position to give directions even to cottage workers who produce salt. And Government will be able to take a jump into the production of salt in this Province. I hope, Sir, Bengal has got a very good prospect as regards production of salt and I have not the least doubt that if Government goes forward—and as we found the other day Pandit Nehru announced that the Central Government was trying to abolish salt duty which is about Rs. 9 crores—if that is resorted to, people will be relieved from paying salt tax. That will also relieve the burden from the shoulders of people.

Sir, I have nothing more to add. At the present moment, even if the League Ministry is functioning, I can assure my friends that steps are being taken and, irrespective of what my honourable friend feels, or others of his party feel, Government will function and will give due consideration to the claims of all those who are running the factories and of those cottage workers who want to prepare salt. And I hope that in no distant time we will see that Bengal produces salt in sufficient quantity for her own consumption.

With these words I oppose the cut motions and urge the House for the acceptance of my motion.

The motion of Mr. Dhananjoy Roy that the demand of Rs. 79,000 for expenditure under the head "5—Salt" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed that a sum of Rs. 79,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "5—Salt" was then put and agreed to.

4—Taxes on income other than Corporation tax.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 2,54,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Taxes on income other than Corporation tax".

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,54,000 for expenditure under the head "Taxes on income other than Corporation tax" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this in order to raise a discussion about the inconvenience and hardship of the tax-payers due to the wrong manner of administration of the Agricultural Income-Tax Act and Rules and also due to the appeals being heard by the Assistant Commissioner in Calcutta.

Sir, it is an admitted fact that taxation measures are essential for running the Government. But, Sir, this Government, the Government of this Province, have always ignored the important criterion justifying the taxation measures, namely, the ability of the people to pay taxes. Like sales tax and other taxes, the agricultural income-tax has been another burden on the people of this Province who are suffering under taxes and also as a result of mismanagement and bungling of the Civil Supplies Department. In my district of Dinajpur and in other districts in Bengal, the hardship has been similar. I enquired of all my friends here and they gave me the same story for every district. There has been a provision in the Act to exempt people from taxation if they do not possess lands exceeding one hundred bighas. While this Act is being administered, you will be surprised to learn that men possessing less than hundred bighas have been assessed, so that the intention of the Act has been frustrated altogether. Taxation has been so much that owner of a land measuring about 125 bighas has been assessed at a tax of Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 1,700 even. I do not find anything in the provision whereby milk produced by cultivators or eggs or jute sticks or straw can really be assessed, but the mischief has been done by the rules. In the Notes for Guidance in filling up return required under sub-section (1) or (2) of section 24 mention has been made to show incomes from certain items. I am reading from the relevant portion of the rule. "All such incomes as well as those derived from dairy and poultry farming, *bathans* (buffalo *khutis*), fruits and flower gardening, lac and cotton growing must be shown in the return." The intention probably was to assess the poultry farming and dairy farming, but if a cultivator will have one or two cows or one or two heads of ducks, his income, which is very poor from those sources, will not be taxed and assessed. The Income-Tax Officer will assess him with an imaginary income from eggs and milk. He will enquire from the assessee whether he has cows and if in reply to his queries the assessee says that he has one or two cows, the officer will take it that each cow gives two seers of milk for six months. The price of milk now-a-days is very high and imaginary income from these small sources when added together will give a large income though actually the cultivator has no income whatever from those sources. Incomes from jute stick and from *aus* straw which do not really fetch anything to the cultivator will also be taken into account. Income from one or two mango trees, jackfruit trees and vegetables grown in kitchen garden will not be exempted from taxation. This is how the cultivators are suffering from hardship by the administration of this Agricultural Income-Tax Act. Then again some statistical figures are kept in the Government office showing the average production of paddy in the district. The intention of Government is to assess the actual income, but in fact, the actual production is not ascertained but average shown in statistics is accepted which causes hardship to the poor people. For example, in Dinajpur there are areas where you do not get more than six to nine maunds of paddy per acre, but the Income-Tax Officer will calculate the produce at 19 maunds per acre. That is another thing which causes hardship. Then again these cultivators

and poor and illiterate *jotedars* cannot keep accounts in a manner to satisfy the Agricultural Income-Tax Officer. The small records of accounts that are kept are disbelieved by the Income-Tax Officer, and my experience is that the officers are always very over-zealous; probably they think that better posting and promotion depend on how they are able to show an increase in the amount of tax.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Please let me have one minute more.

I next refer to the income derived from the assessee's wife's separate lands. Sometimes in our country the wife of an assessee has separate land. For example, Mussalmans sometimes transfer lands to their wives in lieu of dower. Documents regarding such transactions when produced before the Income-Tax Officer are disbelieved, as they are taken to be *benami* documents. This is causing great hardship to the parties. Then again *salamis* derived from the settlement or transfer of lands are also taken into consideration for the purpose of assessing the tax. Sir, I have very carefully gone through this aspect of the matter, but I cannot find any reason why *salami* should also be taxable.

Then there are other items of income from fares, *melas* and *hats*. These are assessable under the Indian Income-Tax Act, and there is no reason why they should be doubly assessed under the Agricultural Income-Tax Act.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is over. You have to make a choice between the cut motions on which you have got to concentrate your debate.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Two seconds, Sir. Under section 21 Government have power to appoint only one Assistant Income-Tax Commissioner. One Assistant Income-Tax Commissioner cannot cope with the appellate works. He cannot go to different districts. Appellants have to come to Calcutta from the districts. This causes additional hardship and costs. So some kind of modification of the Act will be necessary for giving relief to the assessee. Then, Sir, you cannot get the different dates, without difficulty on which different steps or *tadbirs*, have to be taken or made by assessee. Agricultural Income-Tax Officers compel assessee's or his lawyers' presence for taking dates. Now it is not possible for the assessee to come to district headquarters or the lawyers to go only for taking those different dates. Direction should be issued that pleaders' clerks should be eligible to get those dates. I have mentioned these points, and I submit that the Hon'ble Minister will note them and try to modify the Act. It is also suggested to raise the minimum assessable income to Rs. 5,000.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Kundu, please resume your seat. Your time is up, please resume your seat.

(The member having reached his time-limit resumed his seat.)

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: On a point of order, Sir. When asking my friend to resume his seat you showed an exhibition of temper. You should not do that.

Mr. SPEAKER: This is no exhibition of temper. I had to be louder because he was speaking. I had to make the honourable member hear my voice. He wanted to speak for two seconds but he spoke for about two minutes.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: I think I was given seven minutes.

Mr. SPEAKER: And you have spoken for about nine minutes.

Mr. ANNADA PRASAD MANDAL: বাদীর Speaker মহোদয়, আমি জানতে এই cut motion সম্বন্ধে করতে উঠে এই বলতে চাচ্ছি যে, এই যে Agricultural Income-tax এটা আসার করার সময় Agricultural Income-tax Officer যে সবকাজে উপস্থিত করলে প্রাসবাবীকে

উপর এবং যে রকমভাবে tax আদায় করছে সেটা মাফা বলে আদায় বদে হয় না। আমি জানি, আমি ব্যক্তিগতভাবে এ বিষয় জানি যে কোন কোন Agricultural Officer ডাকা বলে সেন, হাউ ব্যক্তিগত বলে সেন, যে কত টাকা দিতে হবে। এই রকমভাবে agricultural income-tax যদি আদায় হয় তাহলে বাস্তবিক খুব খুশির বিষয়। ২৫।১০ বিধা দানের জরি আছে, কৃতি বিধাও দানের জরি আছে তাদের উপর notice বার্ষিক করা হয়েছে। Notice বার্ষিক করা হয়েছে এমন সব লোকের উপর যাঁরা বাস্তবিক রীতিমত জমা খরচ রাখেন না এবং জমা খরচ রাখা তাঁদের সরকারও হয় না বলেই তাঁরা রাখেন না; তাঁদেরকে জমা খরচ তৈরী করে দিতে হবে, বিধা জমা খরচ বা যে কোন জমা খরচ। তারপর এই Agricultural Income-tax কিভাবে বার্ষিক করা হয় দেখুন—যদি Agricultural Officer বা ডায় সেক্সের কর্তৃত্বীয়। সেই রকমভাবে খুব না পায়, বা উপকৃত না হয়, তাহলে যেভাবে Agricultural Income-tax বার্ষিক করা হয় তা প্রকৃতপক্ষে খুব বেশী রকম কসল হয়েছে বলে এবং যে সব জায়গার কসল হয় না সেগুলিতেও কসল হয় বলে। এইভাবে Agricultural Income-tax বার্ষিক করা হয়েছে। আমি জানি আমার এক বন্ধু, এক আদায়ের ২৫ বিধা জমিতে তার income দেখান হয়েছিল তার পণ্ডণ ময়, income বধা হলো ৪০০, কত টাকা, সেটা নাকোচ হয়ে গিয়েছে, কিন্তু তার পরেও বা বার্ষিক করা হয়েছিল খুবই অন্যায়ভাবে। এই রকমভাবে কত লোকের উপর যে বার্ষিক করে তার ইয়ত্তা নাই। কোর্টে গেলেও যেমন অপর সমস্ত বিষয়ের মামলার কাগজপত্র যে রকম নথীপত্র পাওয়া যায় সে রকম পাওয়া যায় না। তা ছাড়া income-tax যে বার্ষিক হয় তারি উৎপন্ন কসল বার্ষিক করে, ভরিতে কতটা ধান হয়েছে সেটা বিবেচনা করে কথা উচিত; কিন্তু Income-tax Officer সে সম্বন্ধে ঠিক নামমতভাবে কাজ করেন না। আমি জানি অনেক এ রকম ভাবেই ধান্যপা মাফা আছে যে সমস্ত জায়গার ভালের কোন বাবদ্য নাই। সেই সব জায়গার ভিন্ন মণ, তার মণ বিধায় গড়পড়তা হয়, সেই সব জায়গায় ৮ মণ, ৯ মণ করে গড়পড়তা ধান বধা হয়েছে এবং ১৯৪৩ সালে যে সালের notice দেওয়া হয়েছে, সেই সালের খুব বেশী উচ্চতর মূল্য ধরে notice দেওয়া হয়েছে। এইভাবে সমাবিত গেরবন্দে পথ্যস্ত নির্ধারিত করা হয়েছে। আমার পূর্ণ বর্তী বন্ধা বলেছেন যে, পাই খুয়ে যে দুখ আছে তার উপায় নাই। শ্রুত্যক গৃহস্থই, তার গরু যদি মাংস সেবন ময়, তা হলে tax দিতে অন্যায় করবে না, কিন্তু আমাদের দেশে যে পাই গরু আড়াই সেব, দুই সেব দুখ ময় সেখানেও মাংস সেব দুখ দিতেই বলে বধা হয়েছে। আমি আবেদন করেছি আমাদের বর্ধমান জেলায়, লামোহরের flood হয়েছিল, তাতে যে সমস্ত জরি খুয়ে গিয়েছে এবং যার উপর বালীর পুর পড়ে গিয়েছে সেই সমস্ত জরি উপরও কসল হয়েছে বলে Agricultural Income-tax বার্ষিক করা হয়েছে। এটা গোলের উপর বিবেচনা হয়েছে।

MR. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

MR. HASSAN ALI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hardship and the grievances caused by the Bengal Agricultural Income-Tax Act in my district have been very real. I will therefore speak only a few words on this subject with a view to bringing to the notice of the Government the immediate necessity of amending the provisions of the Act as well as of the Rules in order to give relief to the real agricultural people of the Province.

Sir, it is perhaps known to us all that the Bengal Agricultural Income-Tax Act was passed in hot haste and certain defects in important aspects remained to the detriment of the interests of the really agricultural people.

First, as to the very Preamble of the Act it is well known that the Land Revenue Commission recommended that as a transitional measure towards nationalisation of land there should be imposition of a tax upon agricultural income. It was understood then, Sir, that the resources thus available by imposition of this tax should be utilised for the purpose of adding nutrition to the land to make it more productive. It was never suspected even then that these hard-earned resources of the nation should be spent away on day-to-day administration of the country.

This great object of the law should have been incorporated in the Preamble of the Act. The Preamble says, "Whereas it is necessary to make an addition to the revenues of Bengal and for the purpose of imposing a tax on agricultural income derived from land situated in Bengal....."

Now, Sir, in the interest of agriculture itself the money thus available should be earmarked for the improvement of land and the quantity and quality of crops, and the Preamble should be amended accordingly.

The next point, Sir, is the definition of agricultural income. The definition has been borrowed from the Indian Income-Tax Act which runs thus: "Any rent of revenue derived from land which is used for agricultural purposes and is either assessed to land revenue in British India or subject to a local rate assessed and collected by officers of the Crown as such; any income derived from such land; or the performance by a cultivator or receiver of rent in kind of any process ordinarily employed by a cultivator or receiver of rent in kind to render the produce raised or received by him fit to be taken to market, etc.".

Now, Sir, the expression "agricultural purposes" has not been defined in the Act and taking advantage of this defect, the taxing officer assesses upon anything and everything that may be connected with an agriculturist because he finds that in the Oxford Dictionary agriculture means cultivation of the soil for food products or any other useful or valuable growth of the field or garden and husbandry; also by extensive farming including any industry practised by the cultivator of the soil in connection with such cultivation as forestry, fruit-raising, breeding or rearing of stock, dairying, market-gardening, etc., and husbandry means the business or occupation of a husbandman or farmer including also the raising of livestock and poultry.

Thus you will be rather surprised to hear, Sir, that the Agricultural Income-Tax Officer at Dinajpur has been found to assess upon hens and their eggs, fuel wood, *c.g.*, *patkhari*, mango and jack fruits, and milk of goats, cows and buffaloes because he thinks that fuel wood means forestry, mango and jack fruit means fruit raising, and to rear a few goats or cows or buffaloes means dairy farming, and rearing a few hens or ducks means poultry farming.

Sir, it hits one's common sense to say that the cultivators really derive no income from these things by selling them to market. Everybody knows that with the agriculturists rearing of hens and ducks, goats and cows and buffaloes never mean any poultry or dairy farming either; fruits from a few trees scattered here and there in the premises never means any horticulture.

(At this stage the member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I can understand the reason for Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu and Mr. Hassan Ali's objections regarding the Agricultural Income-tax because both of them come from a very large agricultural district where there are many big *jotedars* and *zamindars* who derive a large income from paddy. They had so long been escaping payment of any kind of tax to the State, and after the provisions of this Act have come into force these big *jotedars* and *zamindars* have been called upon to contribute their share to the State for the benefit of the people of this Province.

Sir, Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu has referred to certain defects or grievances in the matter of assessment. I agree with him, so far as the procedure hitherto adopted was concerned, there was a legitimate grievance in the matter of assessment on the basis of the statistical record prepared on the calculation of average yield which the District Agricultural Income-Tax Officer used to follow in the matter of computing the assessment. But I have issued a circular to all the Agricultural Income-Tax Officers that they are not to go on the basis of average of any district, but they should go on the basis of the actual yield of the land of the assessee. After the passing of this circular this grievance has been removed.

Sir, Mr. Hassan Ali has referred to the assessment of mangoes and jack fruits. In this matter also hardship was caused to the people. We have now ruled that unless mangoes, jack fruits or any other kind of fruits are sold for commercial purposes, there will be no assessment for domestic consumption. If the poultry or fruit is not sold for making profit, it will be exempted from assessment. Whether it is egg or poultry, mango or jack fruit, or any other kind of fruit, if it is produced for the consumption of the family members of the assessee, it will be exempted from assessment, but if it is sold for profit it will be assessed.

Sir, Mr. Kundu has referred to the difficulty experienced in the matter of appeal because there is only one Assistant Commissioner. It is agreed that in the initial stage, after the Act has come into operation, there had been a large number of appeals pending before the Assistant Commissioner, which could not be disposed of expeditiously. But a large number of those appeals have since been disposed of and the assessment is being realised from year to year. No further delay is anticipated. If there is again accumulation of appeal cases and Government feel the necessity of an additional Commissioner, another Assistant Commissioner will be appointed. It is also realised that there is some hardship caused to the assesseees if they have to go to Calcutta for the purpose of placing their appeals before the appellate authorities. It is the policy of the Government that the appellate authority and the Commissioner will go out on tour and visit the mofussil offices so that the appeal can be heard locally, and this will remove one of the grievances which was keenly felt by the assessee when there was a lot of appeals pending in one of the ranges of the Province.

Mr. Mandal from Burdwan has referred to the fact that hardship is caused to the assesseees because they have not got any correct statement of account. Sir, that is not an excuse for being exempted from paying the tax if they do not keep a statement of account. It is better in their own interest that such a statement should be maintained because the Agricultural Income-Tax Officer in the absence of any assessment can make a summary assessment on the basis of information or compilation he can form. Therefore, Sir, the excuse that a statement is not kept by an average assessee will not help the assessee in getting an exemption. So it is in the interest of the assessee that all proper records of income and expenditure should be maintained.

With these words I oppose all the cut motions and commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu that the demand of Rs. 2,54,000 for expenditure under the head "Taxes on income other than Corporation tax" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali that a sum of Rs. 2,54,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Taxes on income other than Corporation tax" was then put and agreed to.

22—Interest on debt and other obligations.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 1,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "22—Interest on debt and other obligations".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

30—Ports and Pilotage.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 5,42,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "30—Ports and Pilotage".

Mr. SATINDRA NATH SEN: I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 5,42,000 for expenditure under the head "30—Ports and Pilotage" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of the steamer companies in Bakarganj district to allow third class passengers adequate space and comforts on board and allowing horrible congestion and the Government's indifference to arrange adequate redress.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 5,42,000 for expenditure under the head "30—Ports and Pilotage" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this in order to raise a discussion about the grievances of the passengers travelling by the steamers which run between Narayanganj-Goalundo and Chandpur.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, দরিদ্র জনসাধারণ যারা অতিকষ্টে পরিশ্রম করেও নিজের জীবিকা উপার্জন করতে পারে না তারাষ্ট পোর্টের দ্বারে বাইরে চলে যায়; এবং সেই দরিদ্র জনসাধারণ যারা দুর্ভাগ্য বশত: ঠাঁদপুর এবং নারায়ণগঞ্জ হতে গোদালেশ্বর পথে যায়, তাদের দুঃখের লীলা নেই। এই রাস্তায় যারা যাত্রায়াত্র করেছেন এবং বিশেষ করে এই দুঃখী যাত্রীদের উপর যাদের দৃষ্টি পড়েছে তারা জানেন তাদের দুঃখ কত বেশী। প্রথমত: ঠাঁদপুরে আসতেই তাদের উপরে চলে কুলীর অত্যাচার। কুলীরা এই যাত্রীদের পরমা নিয়ে তাদের মাল বহন করে, কিন্তু এরা যে মানুষ সে কথা স্বীকার করে না। যদিও first class, second class passengers-র কাছে যাত্রাবিধা rate বড় আদায় করে নেয়, হয়ত দুই আনা পরমা ছাড়া পেতে ভিকা চেয়ে নেয়; কিন্তু এই তৃতীয় শ্রেণী ও ইণ্টার ক্লাস যাত্রীদের উপর এক টাকা দু' টাকা আদায় করে নেয়; কখনও কখনও অত্যন্ত ব্যবহারও করে। তারপরে যখন steamer চলে, বলা যায় না কি দুঃখ তাদের। তাদের জন্য সেখানে বসবারও জায়গা নেই। ঠাঁদপুরের ষ্ট্রামের এবং নারায়ণগঞ্জ থেকে ঢাকা রেল অনেক সময় দেখা যায় যে যাত্রীরা পরমা খরচ করে টিকিট কিনে যাত্রায়াত্র করে বটে, কিন্তু সেখানে তাদের বসবার জায়গা থাকে না; তাদের গাড়িয়ে থাকতে হয়। এমন দুরবস্থায় তারা আসে। অনেক সময় যেন হয় যে পদ্মার নামে ভীষণ নদীতে ঝড় বাতাসে বোধ হয় তারা ডুবে যাবে। আর শুধু যাত্রী দিয়েই একুপ বোঝাই হয় না। সে ষ্ট্রামের এমন বোঝাই হয় মাল দিয়ে, কারণ কোম্পানী লাভ করবে মাল বোঝাই করে; এমন অবস্থা হয় যে যাত্রীদের জায়গা হয় না। হয়ত কোন যাত্রী কোন জায়গায় বসে আছে অমনি ষ্ট্রামের লোকেরা বললে 'গঠো, গঠো, এখানে মাল রাখতে হবে'। অমনি তাদের সরে যেতে হয় যেন তারা ভিকা করে আসছে, ভিক্কুকেব দল। এমনভাবে তাদের উপর অত্যাচার করা হয়। তারপর সেই মাল সাধারণ মাল নয়। মাছ যার দুর্গন্ধ বেবোয়; মুগী, ধাঁস, ডিম নানা রকমের মাল বোঝাই করা হয়। তৃতীয় শ্রেণীর যাত্রীরা তারা সেই দুর্গন্ধে বসতে পারে না। তারপর আবার অত্যাচার হয়। এই সেদিন--বেশী দিনের কথা নয়--গত June মাসে ২১শে তারিখের ঘটনা আমার স্মরণ আছে। যাত্রীরা সেদিন টিকিট এনেছে, তারপাশে টিকিট বিক্রী হয়েছিল, কিন্তু জাহাজে সেখানে মাল বোঝাই বেশী হয়ে গেছে বলে তাদের ষ্ট্রামের উঠতে দেওয়া হয়নি। তাদের ধাক্কা দিয়ে কেলে দেওয়া হয়েছে, তাদের উঠতে দেওয়া হয়নি। তাদের দ্বয়ত বিশেষ প্রয়োজন, দূরে যাবার জন্য প্রস্তুত ছিল --তারা টিকিট কিনে তারপাশে ঠাঁদপুরে অপেক্ষা করছিল, কিন্তু সেখানে তাদের ঢাকা রেল উঠতে দেয়নি। এই যে অত্যাচার করেছে কার প্রয়োজনে? Government যদি এশিক্কে দৃষ্টি না দেয় তাহলে এদের দিকে দৃষ্টি দেবে কে? এ হয় শুধু কেবল কোম্পানীর স্বার্থে। যারা এসব বিষয়ের খবর রাখেন তারা জানেন যে ঢাকার যাত্রীদের সুবিধার জন্য একবার কথা হয়েছিল আরিচা-ঢাকা একটা বেল লাইন ব্যবহার করা। সেটা India Government-এ sanction পর্যন্ত হয়ে গিয়েছিল। কিন্তু আমাদের দুর্ভাগ্য বশত: তখন একজন বিলাতী সাহেব, যতদূর পর্যন্ত আমার মনে হয় Mr. Incheape তিনি এক commission-এ এসেছিলেন। দেখা গেল ষ্ট্রাম কোম্পানীর স্বার্থ এ সব সঙ্কে ভড়িত। তার প্রচেষ্টায় সে plan Government drop করে দেন। যদি আজ ঢাকা-আরিচা লাইন হতো তাহলে জনসাধারণের অনেক সুবিধা হতো; তারা অনেক অল্প খরচে এবং অল্প সময়ে ঢাকা হতে কলিকাতা যাত্রায়াত্র করতে পারতো। কিন্তু তা হয়নি।

তারপরে সেই ষ্ট্রাম কোম্পানী আর করেছে, কিন্তু যাত্রীদের সুখ-স্বাস্থ্যের প্রতি জর্য বিলম্বিত দৃষ্টিপাত করেছে না। নদী বয়ানরতের কাছে আমার বিশ্বাস এই যে, তারা এমন ব্যবস্থা করুন যে ষ্ট্রাম কোম্পানী যারা হয় ভাল ব্যবস্থা করতে। মাছ, মুগী, ধাঁস প্রভৃতি যে সব মাল যার তার জন্য তারা প্রচুর লাভ করে থাকে; তার জন্য তারা ভিন্ন ষ্ট্রাম চালাতে পারে নারায়ণগঞ্জ থেকে গোদালেশ্বর পর্যন্ত। যাত্রীবাহী ষ্ট্রামের এ রকম দুর্ভাবার ফল কখনও চাখান কথা উঠিত নর, এবং যে সব যাত্রী যাত্রায়াত্র করে তাদের সুখ-স্বাস্থ্যের প্রতি যত্নে দৃষ্টি দেওয়া

উচিত। কেবল তাই নয়। আর একটি অসুবিধা হচ্ছে যে যাত্রীরা পানীর জন্য পর্যাপ্ত সেই সব steamer-এ পানী না। এটা সম্বন্ধে আমার নিজের অভিজ্ঞতা আছে। আমি দেখেছি—কোম্পানীর যাত্রা কর্তৃত্বী তাদের কাছে জল চাইলে বলবে কি করবে জল কুঠিরে গিয়েছে। হয়ত যাত্রী একটু জল বাবে, কিন্তু তারও বন্দোবস্ত নেই। তারপরে পান্যখানার বন্দোবস্ত অতি জঘন্য। সেখানে পান্যখানা এটুকু নোংরা জাহাজে বসে যায় না। তার উপর জনের বন্দোবস্ত নেই। কোন কোন ষ্টীমারে পান্যখানার জল নেই; আর যেখানে আছে এমনি ব্যবস্থা যে হুড়হুড় করে জল পড়ে, কেউ সেখানে বসতে পারে না। যেখানে 1st class, সেখানে কত বন্ধক বিলাসিতার ব্যবস্থা আছে; আরবা দেখেছি যে তাদের জন্য রাজার হাটের ব্যবস্থা, আর যেখানে থার্ড ক্লাস, ইন্টার ক্লাস যাদের দ্বারা বেশী টাকা আয় হয় তাদের পুষ্টি মানুষের মত ব্যবহার করা হয় না। এর পুষ্টিকারের বন্দোবস্ত যদি বহিঃশ্রমী না করেন তাহলে তাঁরা যে বলেন যে তাঁরা পল্লীর মজলের জন্য আড়েন, দরিদ্রের দরদী, তা আমরা কি করে বিশ্বাস করবো। সত্যিই যদি তাঁরা দরিদ্রের দরদী হন, পল্লীর মজল চান, তাহলে এই কোম্পানীর দিকে না তাকিয়ে, যাতে জনসাধারণের মজল হয়, তাহা যাতে সুখে যাত্রাযাত্রা করতে পারে তার ব্যবস্থা করুন।

Mr. SATINDRA NATH SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, বরিশাল জেলাতে থার্ড ক্লাস ষ্টীমার যাত্রীদের এত কষ্ট হয় যে তা বলা যায় না। ষ্টীমারগুলি খুলনা থেকে বরিশাল এবং বরিশাল থেকে পটুয়াখালি, ঢাকা, চাটগাঁ, ভোলা, মাগুরীপুর, খুলনা এবং অন্যান্য লাইনে যাত্রাযাত্রা করে। সব জাহাজের বেতে এত ভীড় হয় যে সে জাহাজ তাকে ষ্টীমার না বলে একটি মানুষের গুলার মতলগ্ন হয়। শ্রুতোক ষ্টীমারের একটি capacity আছে যে তাতে কয়জন passenger travel করবে। First class কি Inter class কি Third class, শ্রুতোকটিরই যাত্রীসংখ্যা fixed থাকে। কিন্তু এই যে statutory limitation রয়েছে শ্রুতোক ক্লাস, কাছাকাছি আসবে দেখতে পাই সে কথা তারা যেন না; তার অনেক বেশী passenger সেখানে চোকাবো হয়; অথচ, যেটা আমরা পূর্ণ বর্তী বন্ধ বললেন, যে passenger-দের জাহাজে অনেকটা মালতে ভর্তি থাকে। এবং যখন এমন দুর্গতপূর্ণ যে ডেকেতে সেগুলি থাকে সেখানে কোন মানুষ থাকতে পারে না। এছাড়া তাদের অন্য ব্যবস্থা করা দরকার, কিন্তু তা করা হয় না। এত ভীড় হয় যে সে জাহাজে চলাচলের ব্যবস্থা থাকে না, পান্যখানা যাত্রার ব্যবস্থা থাকে না, বেতে যাত্রার ব্যবস্থা থাকে না; লোকের বিছানার উপর পা দিয়ে যেতে হয়, কেউ যদি যেতে না পারে তাহলে যাত্রা যায় না। বেজাক যদি ভাল থাকে সে হয়ত দেখে, কিন্তু বেশীর ভাগ লোকই ওঠে থার্ড ক্লাসে এই পোচখীর অবস্থায়।

যেহেতবে যে ব্যবস্থা তাও অতি সঙ্কীর্ণ। যেহেতবে অনেক সময় বাধা হয় male passengers-দের জায়গায় আসতে। সেখানে আসলেও ভীড়ের মধ্যে গ্রাসের যে দুর্গতি, যে লাঞ্ছনা, যে মলমল হয় তা বীরা ভুক্তভোগী তাঁরাই বুঝবেন। আমরা মাননীয় বহী মন্ত্রণারের কাছে অনুৰোধ যে, যেহেতু তাঁরা এ বিষয়ে বহুটি অভিজ্ঞতা আছে, তিনি এ বিষয়ে যেন দৃষ্টি দেন যে, বাস্তবিক এই যে overcrowding চলছে, এ যেন না হয়; শ্রুতোক ষ্টীমারের যে fixed statutory capacity আছে তার বাইরে কোন accommodation যেন না হয়; এবং শ্রুতাকে টিকিট কেনার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে যে capacity সেই class-এর তাতে যে entitled, সেটা যাতে পায় তার যেন ব্যবস্থা করেন। এবং তার বাইরের কোন মানের জন্য যেন অন্য ব্যবস্থা করা হয়।

তারপর পান্যখানার ব্যবস্থা যা তা বীরা ভুক্তভোগী তাঁরাই জানেন। পান্যখানার বহন শ্রুতোকন হয়, একে তা জাহাজ পাওয়া যায় না, চলবার জায়গা পাওয়া যায় না, পান্যখানার জাহাজ পাওয়া যায় না। বহন পাওয়া যায় দেখা যায় যে ৫০০ লোক লাভটা পান্যখানার যাবে, সেটা সম্পূর্ণ অসম্ভব। মানের ব্যবস্থাও সেই রকম। থার্ড ক্লাসের passengers-দের জন্য বিশ্রাবের ব্যবস্থা অল্পই থাকে। যেখানে থাকে সেখানে ৫০০/১০০ passengers আছে; কাজেই সেখানে কি ভীড় আপনাতা অনুমান করতে পারেন, অথচ থার্ড ক্লাস passengers থেকে লাভ হয় সব চেয়ে বেশী। তার তুলনায় First class, Second class passengers-দের ব্যবস্থা কি রকম তা আপনাতা সহ্যই জানেন। এটা অত্যন্ত unjustifiable. আপা করি বহী মন্ত্রণার এ বিষয় বিশেষ করে দেখবেন। পান্যখানার যাবার আসবার জন্য যে ব্যবস্থা এবং যেহেতবে যে বিশেষ করে দুর্গতি হয় আপা করি সেদিকে তিনি দৃষ্টি দেবেন। এই যে ভীড়, এত ভীড়। তাতে এর ভিত্তর বহন বাড় বন্দন আসে, cyclone খালে ডব্বক যে risk থাকে বিশেষ করে থার্ড ক্লাস পাসেঞ্জারদের তা বীরা ভুক্তভোগী তাঁরাই জানেন। সে ক্ষেত্রে দুই দিকের পক্ষ উঠবে দেখা যায়; তবন তাদের higher class-এর বেতে সেওয়া হয় না। এই পক্ষে steamer চালানো একটি সাফল্য কোম্পানীর একচেটরা আছে। এটাও দেখেছি, বহন করা হয়েছিল যে বরিশাল জেলাতে রেল লাইন খোলা হবে তবন এই সাফল্য বাবা owners, তারা গিল্লিতে, এখানে সেখানে দিয়ে বহু রকমের চেষ্টা করে, সাময়িকভাবে কিছু সুবিধা দিয়ে, কাশ্মির দিয়ে সেটা যাতে না

বুলতে পারে তার চেষ্টা করেছে। এবং আজ পর্যন্ত বছার প্রস্তাব হয়েছে, কিন্তু রেলপথ খোলা হয়নি। সময় বুঝ অতপ; আমার আবেদন নবী মহোদয়ের কাছে যে, উনি আমাদের পুরাতন বন্ধু, এবং তাঁর সঙ্গে বছার একযোগে কাজ করার সুযোগ হয়েছে, আমি আশা করি যে এই steamer service গুলি nationalised হবে। যে পর্যন্ত তা না হয় সে পর্যন্ত যে সব grievances আছে সে সব redressed হবে নবী মহোদয়ের আমলে, এইটাই আমার প্রার্থনা। এই বলে আমার cut motion আমি প্রস্তাব করছি।

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I may tell my friends Mr. Satindra Nath Sen and Mr. Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharjee that I have got personal experience of the inconveniences felt by passengers because I had the good fortune to travel third class both by rail and by steamer from 1924 when I was a non-co-operator. (Dr. PROTAP CHANDRA GUHA ROY: until recently!) No, not recently—long before. I know all their difficulties. On assumption of office, I found that correspondence was going on between the India and the Bengal Governments and nobody could come to a decision. The India Government was trying to control steamer companies. But nothing happened. Recently, to cut the Gordian knot, I have asked for preparation of a Bill to control the activities of steamer companies and very soon that Bill will come up before the Cabinet and after it passes through the Cabinet it will come to the House. As I have already said I know the inconveniences felt by passengers in steamers about which my friends have spoken. I quite realise that this is a very good field for exploitation by the I.-G. & R.S.N. Companies. Beyond that I need not say anything more. I propose to convene a conference of the representatives of steamer companies and of the public and of labour. Already there has been representation to me on behalf of labour and steamer companies.

Dr. PROTAP CHANDRA GUHA ROY: Will you call also the representatives of passengers?

The Hon'ble Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: I have called the representatives of the public. Sir, Ports and Pilotage is rather a misnomer. Henceforward this Ports and Pilotage affair will come under the head "Transport", Home Department. To make the matter short, at the present moment, the cost incurred is for the maintenance of the Ports of Calcutta and Chittagong and for repairing work at Narainganj, etc. The whole thing is, as I have said already, a misnomer and Government thought of putting it under some other head because the Port of Calcutta was declared a major Port in 1924 and the Chittagong Port was declared a major Port in 1928 and both the Ports are under the control of the Central Government. The Provincial Government has nothing to do with them at the present moment. It only looks after the administration of these Ports. Now, Sir, the demand of Rs. 5,42,000 under the major head "Ports and Pilotage" represents only the following items. I shall mention them in passing:—

			Rs.
Charges for pooled launches	...	...	5,14,860
Ports Establishment	...	...	15,400
Subsidies to Steam Boat companies	...	...	4,800
Miscellaneous	...	...	1,800
Charges in England	...	...	4,800
For rounding	...	...	340

Besides the above there are also charges for pooled launches Rs. 15,100 and a charged provision of Rs. 97,000.

Sir, I have nothing further to add. I hope this Government—whether you malign it or not—will take up the subject very quickly and I am trying to do some justice. After the Bill comes before the House, you will have enough scope for amendment. I take note of the grievances mentioned

by my friends and I can assure the House that Government will try to remedy them. I hope that my friends of the Opposition will pass the demand.

The motion of Mr. Satindra Nath Sen that the demand of Rs. 5,42,000 for expenditure under the head "Ports and Pilotage" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharjee that the demand of Rs. 5,42,000 for expenditure under the head "Ports and Pilotage" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed that a sum of Rs. 5,42,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Ports and Pilotage" was then put and agreed to.

36—Scientific Departments.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 48,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "36—Scientific Departments".

Mr. SURESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 48,000 for expenditure under the head "36—Scientific Departments" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move his order to raise a discussion about the failure to allot any money for the Calcutta Science Association, i.e., the Association for Cultivation of Science in India of Bowbazar.

I also beg to move that the demand of Rs. 48,000 for expenditure under the head "36—Scientific Departments" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this in order to raise a discussion about its failure to allot any money for the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta with its Library and Museum, the Ramesh Bhavan.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষদ ও Indian Association of Science এই দুইটি প্রতিষ্ঠানের জন্য এবার কোন টাকা বাজেটে বরাদ্দ না হওয়ায় আমি প্রস্তাব করি যে বঙ্গী মহোদয় এই যে দাবী উপস্থিত করেছেন, তা হতে একশ টাকা ছাটাই করা হোক।

আমি যে কথা বলতে দাঁড়িয়েছি সে সম্বন্ধে কারও কোন আপত্তি হতে পারে বলে আমি মনে করি না।

২. আমার প্রথম প্রস্তাব হচ্ছে যে বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষদ যেটা বাংলার সাহিত্য সম্বন্ধে আজ প্রায় ৪৬ বৎসর ধরে কাজ করে এসেছে এবং বঙ্গীয় চিত্রশালা স্থাপন করেছে "রমেশ ভবন" নামে, সেখানে এবার কিছুই বরাদ্দ করা হয়নি সুতরাং কিছু দেওয়া হোক। আমি ব্রহ্মবল্লীকে কোন দোষ দিচ্ছি না। আমি শুধু বলছি তাদের বোঝ দর একটা ভুল হয়ে গেছে। ইতিপূর্বে প্রতি বৎসর এই বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষদ ১২ নং টাকা করে পেতেন কিন্তু এ বছরের বাজেটে তার সম্বন্ধে কোন টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হয়নি। ১৩ বারের কালে বাজেটের বামা কর্তৃপক্ষ ছিলেন, তাদের Indian Culture-এর প্রতি কোন লক্ষ্য ছিল না এবং বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্যের প্রতি তাদের কোন দরদ না থাকারই কথা কিন্তু তারা নতুন ব্রহ্মবল্লী গঠন করেছেন, তাদের বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্যের উপর নিশ্চয়ই দরদ ও শ্রদ্ধা আছে। সেইজন্য আমি মনে করি শুধু আগামী বাজেটে নয়, এইবার একটা উপ-বাজেট উপস্থিত করে বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষদকে পূর্ণ বা দেওয়া হত সেই ১২ নং টাকা—সেটা মেন তাকে এবারও দেওয়া হয়।

তারপর হচ্ছে, বোম্বাইয়ে যেটা আছে, Indian Cultivation of Science তারা আজ পর্যন্ত বঙ্গীয় গভর্নমেন্টের কাছ থেকে একটা পয়সাও পাননি। কিন্তু তারা কিছুদিন পূর্বে—July মাসে তিন লক্ষ টাকার একটা capital grant পাবার জন্য ব্রহ্মবল্লীর কাছে দরখাস্ত করেছিলেন কিন্তু আজ পর্যন্ত তারা কোন উত্তর পাননি। অনেক এই Science Association-এর কথা জ্ঞানেন না—এটা হচ্ছে বাংলার একটা পৌরবের বস্তু। সেটা আমাদের ভেবে দেখতে হবে। এই Science Association-এ কাজ করেছেন Sir C. V. Raman, যিনি Nobel Prize পেয়েছেন এবং F. R. S. হয়েছেন। এই Science Association-এ কাজ করে Mr. Krishnan F. R. S. হয়েছেন। এই Science Association-এ কাজ করে আমাদের বাংলার অন্যতম বৈজ্ঞানিক আবার সহপাঠি

ডাক্তার পঞ্চানন নিরোগী বৈজ্ঞানিক জগতে অনেক কিছু কাজ করেছেন। আর এই Science Association-এ কাজ করছেন কেদারেশ্বর বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় বিনি X' Ray সম্বন্ধে গবেষণা করছেন এবং বাদালীর একটা গর্তের কথা—তিনি এয়ার Science Congress-এ Physics Section-এর President হবার পৌর লাভ করেছেন। বাংলা দেশে এই Science Association থেকে অনেক বড় বড় বৈজ্ঞানিক বেরিয়েছেন যারা বাংলাকে নানাভাবে পৌরবান্ধিত করেছেন। এবং এই Science Association প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছেন ডাক্তার মহেন্দ্রলাল সরকার—সে আজ প্রায় ৫০ বৎসর পূর্বের কথা। তখনকার ইতিহাস অনেকেই হয়ত জানেন না। আমি যখন Entrance পাশ করে ক'লকাতায় পড়তে আসি অনেক কলেজে দেখেছি গবেষণার কোন ব্যবস্থাই ছিল না। আমি কোন কোন কলেজে দেখেছি রসায়নশাস্ত্রের অধ্যাপক রসায়ন পড়াচ্ছেন—এমনি করে অঙ্গুলি তুলে ব'লছেন “Suppose it is a test tube and I pour Hydrochloric acid into it” এই ভাবে রসায়ন, পদার্থবিদ্যা পিধান হত। এই Science Association স্থাপিত হবার পর, যারা অধিকতর জ্ঞানলাভে ইচ্ছুক ছিলেন, তারা সেখানে গিয়ে কাজ করতে পারতেন। এই Science Association ইচ্ছা করেন সেখানে বাড়ে রসায়ন বিদ্যা প্রভৃতি সমস্ত বিজ্ঞান, এবং সমস্ত বিভাগের আলোচনা ভালভাবে করা চলে। তার জন্য নতুন বাড়ী দরকার। তারা যে তিন লক্ষ টাকা চেয়েছেন—আমি আশা করি, সেই তিন লক্ষ টাকা দিলে তারা ভাল করে কাজ করতে পারবেন। আমার অনুরোধ তার ব্যবস্থা আমাদের মন্ত্রিবলী করুন।

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 48,000 under the head “36—Scientific Departments” be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this in order to raise a discussion about the insufficient amount of grants to the Royal Asiatic Society, Art Gallery and Art Section of the Indian Museum and other societies and the want of a planned policy to encourage establishment and growth of more scientific societies and institutes.

সভাপতি মহাশয়, মাননীয় মন্ত্রী সৈয়দ মোহাম্মদজুন্নেদিন হোসেন আজ ১৬—বিজ্ঞান সঞ্চয়ী বিভাগগুলির খরচের জন্য যে ৪৮ হাজার টাকার মন্তব্য চেয়েছেন তাতে রাজকীয় এশিয়া সঞ্চয়ী সমিতিতে এবং ভারতীয় যাদুঘরের অন্তর্গত কলা বিভাগ ও কলাভবনকে এবং অন্যান্য সভাকে সাহায্যদানের জন্য হৃত টাকা কম হওয়ার জন্য এবং আরও বহু বৈজ্ঞানিক সমিতি ও প্রতিষ্ঠান স্থাপনে ও উন্নতিতে উৎসাহ দেওয়ার জন্য সুসংবদ্ধ পরিকল্পনার নীতির অভাবের আলোচনার জন্য ১০০ টাকার এই নামমাত্র ছাঁটাই প্রস্তাব উত্থাপন করছি।

এশিয়া সঞ্চয়ী সমিতির (Royal Asiatic Society) জন্য ২৯,২৮০ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে, ভারতীয় যাদুঘরের কলা বিভাগ ও কলাভবনের জন্য ৮,০০০ টাকা এবং অপরাপর সমিতির জন্য ১০,৫৫১ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে। এই শ্রেণীভেদে বাকী বরেন্দ্র অনুসন্ধান সমিতির জন্য ২,৪০০ টাকা, ঢাকা যাদুঘরের জন্য ৪,১৯১ টাকা, দার্জিলিং যাদুঘরের জন্য ৩,৬০০ টাকা এবং মাদ্রাস যাদুঘরের জন্য ১৬০ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে। এই সকল যাদুঘর বা তাদের কলা বিভাগ ও কলাভবন এবং রাজকীয় এশিয়া সঞ্চয়ী সমিতি গবেষণামূলক কার্য করে তার জন্য যে টাকা ধরা হয়েছে সে টাকা অতি কম। এই সকল সমিতির কার্যের ফলে আমাদের জ্ঞানের পরিধি বাড়ে। সুতরাং এদের বেশী করে সাহায্য দেওয়া জাতীয় জীবন গঠনের পক্ষে একান্ত আবশ্যিক।

এই বরেন্দ্র অনুসন্ধান সমিতির দ্বারা কি কাজ হয়েছে আমরা তা জানি। বরেন্দ্র অনুসন্ধান সমিতির প্রতিষ্ঠাতা অক্ষর কুমার মৈত্র মহাশয় অত্যন্ত হত্যা বে সন্দেহ নিখা সেটা জানিয়ে দিয়েছিলেন। এই বরেন্দ্র অনুসন্ধান সমিতির জন্য ধরা হয়েছে মাত্র ২,৪০০ টাকা অর্থাৎ মাসে দুশো টাকা, দার্জিলিং যাদুঘরের জন্য ১৬০ টাকা; অর্থাৎ মাসে ১০ টাকা—এ টাকা অত্যন্ত কম বলে আমি বসে কবি। এই সমস্ত টাকা আরও বাড়ান উচিত।

এর সঙ্গে আর একটি প্রস্তাব করছি। আজ ভারতবর্ষ স্বাধীনতার দ্বাদশবর্ষ উপস্থিত। ভারতীয় পুত্রকন্যা পৃথিবীর নব্বুদেশে স্বাধীন ভারতের প্রতীক দিয়ে উপস্থিত হবে। ভারতীয় পুত্রকন্যাদিগকে নানা বিভাগেতে কার্য করতে হবে, Armyতে, Navyতে, Air Forceএ প্রবেশ করতে হবে। আর চীনদেশে, আমেরিকায়, ইটালিতে, ভারতের Ambassador পদাধিষ্ঠিত হবে এবং সেই সমস্ত দেশ সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ জ্ঞান অর্জন করতে হবে। বাংলা দেশের পদার্থবিদ্যার পক্ষে কিভাবে এই সমস্ত বিষয় সম্বন্ধে কিছু যাতে জানা যায় তার সম্বন্ধে গবেষণা করার প্রতিষ্ঠানে সাহায্য দান দরকার। এ সম্বন্ধে পূর্বে থেকে পরিকল্পনা অনুসারে যদি আমরা কোন গবেষণাগার না করি এবং সেই অনুসারে শিকা না সেই ডায়ালে আমরা পিছিয়ে থাকবো। আমার বিশুল বাক্য পদার্থবিদ্যার এ রকম কোন নীতি নাই। যদি না থাকে তাহলে পদার্থবিদ্যে এই রকম একটা নীতি দিয়ে Export Committee করে যাতে উচ্চ কার্যে পরিণত হয় তার চেষ্টা করবেন।

সত্যপতি মহাপ্ত, আর একটা কথা বলে আমি শেষ করবো। সেটা হচ্ছে এই—বঙ্গ, হিন্দুধর্ম এবং মুলবান ধর্মের পার্থক্য কোথায়, কোথায় বা তার সমস্যা? এ বিষয় গবেষণা State থেকে হওয়া উচিত। আকবর চৌধুরী করেছিলেন এই বিষয় সম্পর্কে, তারপর বোধ হয় আর কোন Government ডেরন চৌধুরী করেন নাই। আজকের এই অগড়ার দিনে সংসর্ধের দিনে আবশ্যিক হয়েছো বিলম্বার কোন সূত্র পাওয়া যায় কিনা এবং সে সম্বন্ধে গবেষণা করাও সরকার।

তারপর আর একটা কথা বলবো। সেটা হচ্ছে বাতুড়ায় আদা আদারের ডাব প্রকাশ করতে পারি না, প্রকাশ করতে সম্বোধ বোধ করি। কলে আদারের ডাব দৈন্য থেকে যায়। সে বিষয়েও আদারের গবেষণা করা উচিত।

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Sir, I quite realise the inadequacy of the allotments made under this head. I do not know whether the claims preferred on behalf of certain institutions are quite reasonable or not, but I must say at the very outset that the allotment under this head has been very small. I must at the same time point out to the House that in previous years the allotment used to be as follows:—

In 1943-44 only Rs. 30,000; in 1944-45 only Rs. 30,000; last year it was Rs. 42,000, and this year a provision of Rs. 48,000 has been made under this head. So the allotment has been increased to the extent of Rs. 6,000 and it has been allotted, as already mentioned in the various figures, to very deserving associations like the Royal Asiatic Society—Rs. 29,280, the Barendra Research Society—Rs. 2,400, the Dacca Museum—Rs. 4,191, the Darjeeling Museum—Rs. 3,600 and the Malda Museum—Rs. 360. I only wish that the Government could find more money for this very important department. With the advancement of science I think gradually we must increase very much our allotment under this particular head. If the country is to industrialise itself, we must help the scientific departments to grow gradually and to render assistance to the country towards industrialisation. I have full sympathy with the mover of the motion, and I would point out that we have done what we could with the money that has been placed at our disposal. We have allotted Rs. 6,000 more this year and that is all we could. But, as I have already said, in framing this budget also we had very little hand: it is practically a section 93 budget. I have taken a note of the criticisms of the Opposition and in future years I hope I shall be able to allot sufficient money under this particular head which is a very important subject.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Mr. Suresh Chandra Das Gupta that the demand of Rs. 48,000 for expenditure under the head "36—Scientific Departments" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Suresh Chandra Das Gupta that the demand of Rs. 48,000 for expenditure under the head "36—Scientific Departments" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Mr. Nikunja Behari Maiti that the demand of Rs. 48,000 for expenditure under the head "36—Scientific Departments" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain that a sum of Rs. 48,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "36—Scientific Departments", was then put and agreed to.

55—SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS, 55A—COMMUTATIONS OF PENSIONS FINANCED FROM ORDINARY REVENUES, AND 83—PAYMENT OF COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS NOT CHARGED TO REVENUE.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 96,82,800 be granted for expenditure under the heads "55—Superannuation allowances and pensions", "55A—Commutations of pensions financed from ordinary revenues" and "83—Payment of commuted value of pensions".

Mr. BEPIN BEHARI GANGLI: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 96,82,800 for expenditure under the heads "55—Superannuation allowances and pensions", "55A—Commutations of pensions financed from ordinary revenues" and "83—Payment of commuted value of pensions" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this in order to raise a discussion about the nature of the persons to whom pensions for distinguished and meritorious services are given.

Mr. Speaker Sir, আজকের এই বক্তৃতা দিনে দেশের যে রকম অবস্থা এবং যে রকম ব্যবস্থা চলেছে, তার কথা থেকে আজকের দিনে এই motion নিয়ে এসে আমি বহী মহোদয়ের দৃষ্টি এদিকে আকর্ষণ করতে চাইছি। "কর্মের মহান হবে।" মানুষ যদি কাজে বড় হয়, মহান হয়, তবেই সে প্রকৃত মনুষ্যের দাবী করতে পারে এবং জনগণের কল্যাণের জন্য যারা কাজ করে থাকে, তারাই বরোদা, তারাই শ্রেষ্ঠ—একথা অতি সত্য। অনেকে বলেন যে, ধর্ম ceremony; এই সবের ভিতর দিয়ে বিশেষ বিশেষ ধর্মকে বেড়ে হয়। কিন্তু মানুষের যে মনের ধর্ম—তার যে সংস্কৃতি, তার যে কৃষ্টি, তার উপর যে ধর্ম, যেটা সর্বজনমানা—সেই জিনিষ-টাই আমার সব সময় মনে হয় এবং সেই দিক দিয়ে প্রত্যেক মানবের চলা উচিত। আমরা জানি যে হিন্দুরা ধর্ম থেকে রাজনীতিকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করতে সক্ষম হয়েছে। সেইজন্য আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি যে ভারতবর্ষের মধ্যে তথা বাংলা দেশের মধ্যে আজ যে কর্তৃপুরুষজা, যে সমাজসেবা যে রাজনীতিক আন্দোলনের কথা দিয়ে দেশ আজকে এই অবস্থায় এসে পৌঁছেছে—সেটা আমরা মনে ভাল করে বুঝতে পারি। জনসেবার কল্যাণ—এটা জনসাধারণের কল্যাণের জন্য একান্ত প্রয়োজন। যারা জনসেবা করে থাকেন, যারা জনগণের কল্যাণ কামনা করে থাকেন—সেটা হিন্দু হোক, মুসলমান হোক, জৈন বা খৃষ্টান হোক—সকলের জন্য যদি সেই কাজ তারা করেন, তাহলে আমাদের প্রজ্ঞার ভাব তাদের উপর আকৃষ্ট হয়ে থাকে। আমরা Howard Philanthropist-এর কথা শুনেছি—তার philanthropy ছিল সমাজসেবা। তিনি জেলের ভিতর গিয়ে রুগ্নস্বাস্থ্য কয়েদীদের সেবা করেছেন সে যে কোন ধর্মাবলম্বীই হোক না কেন, সেইজন্য তিনি দুনিয়ার সকলের কাছে শ্রদ্ধার পাত্র বলে পরিগণিত হয়েছেন। আজকের দিনে আমরা সেই সমস্ত মানুষকে যেন শ্রদ্ধা দিতে পারি—তাদের জন্য pension ব্যবস্থা করে। যারা জনসেবা করতে বেরিয়েছে—যারা এমন সমস্ত অত্যাচার জনগণের উপর অত্যাচার, সে জনগণ হিন্দু হোক, মুসলমান হোক, জৈন বা খৃষ্টান হোক—যে অত্যাচার তাদের উপর হচ্ছে, সেই অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে উঠানের পক্ষে যারা ধাঁড়িয়েছে, তাদের জন্য pension-এর ব্যবস্থা করা গভর্নমেন্টের কর্তব্য। সেখানে কোন ব্যক্তিগত কারণ, ধর্মগত কারণ থাকবে না। সর্ববাদিসম্মত উপায়ে আভির্ভাব নিশ্চিন্দে বাবা জনগণের সেবা করছেন, তাদের দিক দিয়েই সেটা চিন্তা করা দরকার। যারা স্বদেশের সেবা করছেন, যারা জনসেবা করছেন যারা social reform করছেন, সেই সব ব্যক্তিগণের জন্য আমাদের যেন শ্রদ্ধা থাকা দরকার; ডেবনি গভর্নমেন্টের পক্ষেও থাকা দরকার—এবং তাদের জন্য অর্থবৃত্তির ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত, যাতে তারা বেশী, দিন বেঁচে থাকতে পারেন এবং কেহ দরিদ্র হয়ে পড়লে তারা যাতে ভালভাবে জীবনযাত্রা করতে পারে এবং যাতে তাদের miserable existence drag করতে না হয়, ভালভাবে জীবনযাত্রা নির্বাহ করতে পারে, সেই কাজ গভর্নমেন্টের পক্ষে করা দরকার। সেই দিক থেকে আমি আমার এই out motion জ্ঞাচ্ছি। এ দিক দিয়ে গভর্নমেন্ট যে টাকা grant করেছেন, আমি মনে করি, সেটা অতি সামান্য।

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is the policy of the Government to grant *ex-gratia* pensions to distinguished scholars and literateurs if they happen to live in straitened and poor circumstances. I know it, because after our assumption of office one such case came up to us and we had to grant a small pension to a very distinguished but poor author and I am in agreement with what the honourable member has said with regard to the policy of granting pensions or some other kind of allowances to distinguished men of this province who have rendered public and distinguished service in the direction of literary or scientific advancement of the country. We have every sympathy with that proposal and we do grant pensions to such men. But one thing should be borne in mind that for the grant of such a pension the recipient must be in poor circumstances.

With these words, Sir, I oppose the cut motion and press my motion for acceptance.

The motion of Mr. Bepin Behari Ganguli that the demand of Rs. 96,82,800 for expenditure under the heads "55—Superannuation allowances and pensions", "55A—Commutations of pensions financed from ordinary revenues" and "83—Payment of commuted value of pensions" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali that a sum of Rs. 96,82,800 be granted for expenditure under the heads "55—Superannuation allowances and pensions", "55A—Commutations of Pensions financed from ordinary revenues", and "83—Payment of commuted value of pensions not charged to revenue", was then put and agreed to.

9—Stamps.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 7,13,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "9—Stamps".

Mr. RADHANATH DAS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 7,13,000 for expenditure under the head "9—Stamps" be reduced by Rs. 100. I move this in order to raise a discussion about the corrupt practices of the stamp-vendors of the courts of Bengal and in particular those of the courts of Calcutta and the Alipore courts.

The object of my cut motion is clearly understood from the cut motion itself. The same sort of cut motion had been raised by me in the last budget discussion when the demand for grant was put forward by the ex-Minister Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjee, now Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjee, a member of the Upper House.

The corruption and illegal gratifications were admitted by another—the then honourable member of the House, Khan Bahadur Haji Badi Ahmed Choudhury. His argument in favour of the corrupt practices were to some extent true. He said that the vendors could not but take to corrupt practices only because the rates of commission given to them were lower in comparison to the all-round rise in prices of foodstuffs and other necessary articles. They have got to live and maintain their families and how can they do so if they cannot earn something more than what they formerly used to do by selling stamps.

It is quite well known to the litigant public that they have got to purchase stamps at a premium to the rate of one or two annas per rupee. I want to draw the attention of Government once more to eradicate this grievance of the public who go to file legal proceedings before the court and who require their deeds and documents to be registered.

The Hon'ble Minister last year stated that these corrupt practices could be tackled and put an end to if the public whole-heartedly co-operated with and helped the Government. I cannot understand how and in what way the public can help the Government. The public can only bring these sorts of allegations to the notice of the authorities concerned. The pleaders and other lawyers can do so. But there is a danger on the part of the pleaders and lawyers and other litigants who have got to go very often to courts for redressing their grievances. If they do so and complain, their cases will very much suffer and as such, they will prefer purchasing stamps at a premium to complaining about that. Moreover, if any such complaint be made, it would be difficult on their part to prove it to some extent.

So, Mr. Speaker, Sir, what I suggest is this that Government of their own accord must, to some extent, take to putting a stop to this sort of corrupt practices. And I suggest also that by raising the rates of commission available to the stamp-vendors, the Government will be able to remove this illegal and corrupt practice to a considerable extent.

Sir, Government are making an income from this item to the extent of Rs. 3 crores and 40 lakhs this year and the governmental expenditure on this item is about Rs. 7 lakhs and 13 thousand only. So, Government should give some more profit to the stamp-vendors. Government are giving dearness allowance to their staff and are also increasing the pay of the people who are having poorer salaries. So, it should be the duty on the part of the Government to look into the grievances of the stamp-vendors and thereby remove the blackmarketing in the selling of stamps.

Sir, to one more thing I want to draw the attention of the Government and that is this. I cannot but mention here in passing that some amount of money has been exacted by the Government from us, the members of this House and the Upper House during the time when we had had to file returns of election expenses after the last election. It was stated that adhesive non-judicial stamps to the amount of Rs. 4 had got to be made use of, but later on a dispute arose over the matter and as a result we had, practically all of us, to use non-adhesive non-judicial stamps again to the amount of Rs. 4. I request, Sir, that this sort of anomaly and irregularity must be eradicated and put right.

Mr. ABDUL KARIM (Parliamentary Secretary on behalf of Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Ali): Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission I beg to reply to the debate. It is the object of Government to provide every facility for the supply of stamps to the public. According to the standing rules, the treasurer at the headquarters of a district and at subdivisions the subordinate officer entrusted with the custody and sale of stamps on behalf of Government work as *ex-officio* vendors and sell stamps to the public on application. Besides, the District Officer is authorised to issue licenses to private persons for the sale of stamps to meet local demand. Every licensed vendor is required to keep a proper stock of stamps which he is authorised to sell. If he fails to do so, his license is liable to be cancelled. When persons cannot be found willing to undertake the sale of stamps in any locality in which the establishment of a vendor seems desirable, the rules provide for the appointment of some person in the public service as stamp-vendor on a small salary in addition to the usual rate of discount allowed to licensed vendors. The rules further provide that in outlying localities where otherwise stamps might not always be easily available, licenses for the sale of stamps of every description should be granted to any respectable and reasonably substantial person of the locality recommended by the local officer. It will thus appear that sufficient provision has been made in the rules, and discretion left with the District Officer, so that stamps may be readily available to the public even in small towns and villages. Government have also received no complaint about non-availability of stamps in any locality.

Government have already had under consideration the question of increasing the rates of commission fees to stamp-vendors in the light of present day conditions. Reports from District Officers about extra cost involved were called for, some of which are being awaited at present.

Regarding the point that my friend has suggested about adhesive stamps, I might say that due to war conditions during last election time stamps could not be sent to mofussal areas. In future Government will consider that no such difficulties arise.

With these words I commend the motion to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Mr. Radhanath Das that the demand of Rs. 7,13,000 for expenditure under the head "9—Stamps" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammed Ali that a sum of Rs. 7,13,000 for expenditure under the head "9—Stamps" was then put and

56—Stationery and Printing and Depreciation Reserve Fund—Government Presses.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 41,76,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "56—Stationery and Printing and Depreciation Reserve Fund—Government Presses".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Deposits and advances.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 30,28,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Interest Free Advances".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Loans and advances.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 1,56,89,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Loans and advances bearing interest".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Message.

Secretary then read the following message received from the Bengal Legislative Council:—

"That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Murshidabad Bill, 1946, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, at its meeting held on the 23rd September, 1946."

Short Notice Government Bills.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: With your permission, Sir, I beg to give short notice of the above Bill which will be taken up in the House tomorrow, for consideration.

(Cries of "Where is the Bill?" from Congress Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand that the Opposition agreed to this procedure.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Without receiving the Bill, how can it be considered, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: You can have it just now. It is here. (Copies of the Bill were distributed to members.)

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I want to give short notice of the Calcutta Disturbances Commission of Enquiry Bill, 1946. The Bill will be taken up for consideration and passing tomorrow. It has been passed by the Upper House and the concurrence of this House is sought.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is no other business today.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 4-15 p.m. till 10 a.m. on Saturday, the 28th September, 1946, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under
the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.**

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Saturday, the 28th September, 1946, at 10 a.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. NURUL AMIN) in the Chair, 7 Hon'ble Ministers and 188 members.

Obituary.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Ladies and gentlemen. It is my painful duty, before we begin the proceedings of the House, to convey a sad news to you—the news of the death of Justice Sir Nasim Ali, lately the acting Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court. We meet this morning under the shadow of a great calamity I might call it. It is my proud privilege to announce before the House that I had been associated with Sir Nasim Ali as his article clerk for full two years when he was at the Bar, as I had the opportunities of knowing Sir Nasim Ali as a man, as a lawyer, and also as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. It is not necessary for me to reiterate on the floor of this House that Sir Nasim Ali lived up to the greatest tradition of an honest lawyer, an honest man, and an honest Judge. His ability was unquestionable, and he possessed some great virtues in such abundant measure that such virtues will certainly be an ideal before those who have been left behind. It is really not possible for me to express my thoughts on this occasion. I can do no better than ask you to rise in your seats to signify your assent in sending a message of condolence to the bereaved family.

(Members rose in their seats.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. The Secretary will do the needful.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

' Flood in Feni subdivision.

***83. Mr. MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOWDHURY:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Irrigation be pleased to state—

- (a) whether Feni subdivision has been flooded this year;
- (b) how many villages and how many people have been affected and what is the amount of damage;
- (c) whether major portion of Feni (especially police-stations Parshuram and Chhagalnaiya) is flooded every year by rivers Muhuri and Chhilaniya;
- (d) whether steps have been taken for relief of the flood-stricken people of Feni this year;
- (e) the causes of flood which visits Feni every year; and
- (f) whether Government have any scheme for the removal of these causes?

MINISTER in charge of the DEPARTMENT of IRRIGATION (the Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. Abdur Rahman): (a) Yes, the area covered by police-station Parshuram, police-station Chhagalnaiya and about half of police-station Feni has been flooded this year.

(b) Two hundred and five villages and about 50,000 people have been affected.

Crops of about 20,000 acres of land have been damaged.

(c) No.

(d) Yes; in the form of (i) gratuitous relief, (ii) cheap grains, (iii) agricultural loan, (iv) house-building grants, (v) free distribution of cloths, blankets, garments, medicines, milk, vitamins, water-purifying tablets, etc., (vi) distribution of paddy seeds at concessional rates and (vii) cash allotments for test works.

(e) The cause of flood when it occurs is generally heavy rainfall in the upper catchment of the Muhuri and the Chhilaniya which are hill streams.

(f) Investigations are being made with a view to drawing up a scheme for relieving flooding in the Muhuri basin.

Mr. MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: With reference to answer (c), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the source of his information?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: My source of information is the officers of the Irrigation Department.

Mr. MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that this year the amount of loss suffered by the people has been something about one crore of rupees?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: I have given the estimates of the loss in answer (b).

Mr. MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the investigation will be completed and the actual work will begin?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Actual observation has been made and a contour survey of the floor areas will be required to be made. After this has been completed and I have called for estimates, the actual work will begin.

Mr. MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that the floods this year carried sand with the result that lands in the two police-stations have lost fertility?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: It may be.

Mr. MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what remedy Government contemplate to give in connection with sand and the loss of fertility?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: After observation and contour survey are complete we will take up the work.

Mr. MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that there is a lake in Tippera State, named Pillak, and water comes from that lake, and the public feel that this Government should take up this matter with Tippera State for remedy?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: I shall give due consideration to the suggestion of the honourable member.

Mr. CANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that contour survey is being made from 1940?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: So far as my information goes, contour survey has not yet been taken up.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government have any scheme devised for prevention of flood in different parts of Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Yes, Government have in contemplation certain schemes for the prevention of flood in different districts.

Mr. AMULYA CHANDRA ADHIKARI: Is there any definite scheme in their contemplation?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: I have given my answer in (f).

Discrimination of pay in respect of temporary and permanent Government servants.

***64. Mr. SERAJUDDIN AHMED:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Chief Minister's (Establishments) Department be pleased to state—

- (a) the reason in the matter of discrimination of pay between the temporary and permanent Government servants; and
- (b) whether Government contemplates to increase the pay of low paid permanent servants of Government in consideration of the 400 per cent. increase of the cost of living?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (a) In accordance with the Bengal Services (Pay of Temporary Posts) Rules, 1935, temporary posts were formerly created on fixed pays equal to the minima of the scales prescribed for the corresponding permanent posts. It has been recently decided that with effect from the 1st January, 1946, temporary posts also will be on time-scales of pay. At present, therefore, no discrimination exists between temporary and permanent Government servants in respect of their salaries.

(b) A comprehensive enquiry into all pay scales has been undertaken with a view to standardizing, rationalizing and revising them. Pending the completion of this enquiry Government have sanctioned an *ad interim* increase in the basic pay of their low paid employees, the details of which may be seen from the Chief Minister's Department Memorandum No. 1474-Estbts., dated the 6th May, 1946, a copy of which is laid on the Library Table.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether temporary staff will be absorbed in the permanent posts?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: It is very difficult for me to say, but I can say this much that the matter is under the consideration of the Government.

Mr. ABU TAIYAB MAZHARUL HAQUE: Has the Government formulated any policy regarding temporary service?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: It is being examined.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to where the basic salary of the lowest-paid Government servants stands after the addition of this interim increment?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: I would like the honourable member to look into the memorandum put on the Library Table.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Sir, my question is, what was the basic pay of this staff before the addition of this increment?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: I want notice.

Mr. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that only an increment of Rs. 3 has been sanctioned for the employees drawing up to Rs. 20 per month?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: I want notice. I cannot give an answer offhand.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what in his opinion has been the increase either in the cost of living index or in the price index since the pre-war time?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: It is very difficult for me to give an answer offhand.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the rate of increase since 1939 on the basic salaries?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: I think the scale varies for different services.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the rise in prices has been 150 per cent.?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: That may be so.

Representation by Assistants of Registration Directorate.

*65. **Mr. FAKIR ABDUL MANNAN:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state whether any representation has been made to the Government by the Assistants of the Registration Directorate for appointing the Personal Assistant to the Inspector-General of Registration by promotion from the office staff as is done in most other Directorates?

(b) If so, what decision has been taken in the matter by the Government?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal): (a) Yes.

(b) Government have decided not to throw the post open to the office assistants of the Directorate.

Mr. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHOWDHURY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the reasons for this decision?

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot give the reasons for the decision.

Increment of pay of the low-paid Government employees.

*66. **Mr. ABDUS SABUR KHAN:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Chief Minister's (Establishment) Department be pleased to state—

(a) whether he is aware of the increase in emoluments recently granted by the Government of India to their employees drawing pay up to Rs.250 per month; and

(b) what action, if any, has been or is proposed to be taken by the Government of Bengal to relieve the distress of their lower-paid employees?

Mr. S. A. SALIM (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (a) Yes.

(b) With effect from the 1st of April, 1946, Government have allowed their lower-paid employees certain *ad interim* increases in basic pay, the details of which may be seen from Establishment Branch Memorandum

No. 1474-Estbts., dated the 6th May, 1946, a copy of which is placed on the Library Table. The increases sanctioned by this Government compare favourably with those allowed by the Government of India.

A comprehensive examination of the scales of pay of all Government servants has been undertaken, with a view to standardizing, rationalizing and revising them. Owing to the intricacy and complexity of the subject, the inquiry is not likely to be completed before February, 1947. Government have, however, decided that, whatever may be the period required to complete the inquiry, the revised rates of pay resulting therefrom will take effect from the 1st January, 1947.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government servants include menials, dufftries, guards, etc.?

Mr. S. A. SALIM: Yes, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Questions over.

Ruling on a point of order.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, have you decided about that question which was held over for your ruling?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes.

On 21st September, 1946, Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar raised a point of order with regard to the answer given to starred question No. 48(1) by the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Agriculture. Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar's point is that the Hon'ble Minister avoided to answer the question (a)(i). His contention further is that since it is the right or privilege of the members to put questions to a Minister, it is as well their right to elicit answers. In this case the question has not been answered.

It is indeed the privilege of the members to interrogate the Ministers. This institution has been described by Dr. Jennings in his book "On Parliament" as a game of chess in which all the moves are well known and each player thinks several moves ahead and like chess the game often ends in a draw.

I have looked into the Assembly Procedure Rules and some precedents of this House and the Central Assembly. Rule 31 *prima facie* appears to confer wide powers on the Chair in the matter of deciding the manner in which questions are to be answered; but reading it in the light of the precedents, I am of opinion that this power relates more to the form. Sir Frederick Whyte as the President of the Central Assembly on 2nd February, 1925, ruled on a similar point. "Questions are admitted when they satisfy the rules and standing orders. Whether honourable members are able to extract replies from Government is a totally different matter in regard to which I have no responsibility." Another President Sir Abdur Rahim, on 20th February, 1939, held that if an honourable member finds an answer unsatisfactory it is up to him to find out any remedy he can. The Chair has no authority in the matter.

One ruling given on 10th August, 1937, by the then Speaker of the Bengal Assembly also throws some light on the point at issue, and it was given by Sir Azizul Haque. He said, "I cannot find any rule which justifies me in holding that the Speaker can compel an answer from the Minister".

I have looked in May's Parliamentary Practice also—I referred to the 4th Edition—and there also I could not find any answer. In this case there is an answer to the question which in the opinion of the honourable members is not to the point. It may be so but on a careful consideration of the rules and the precedents I find that it is not possible for the Chair

compel an answer of another type and I am not concerned with what things ought to be, but I am required to consider matters as they are. According to the rules of procedure and precedents with which I do not find any adequate reasons to differ, I cannot help the honourable member. Besides, this is not a case in which the honourable member is left without any remedy whatsoever. He can look for other remedies also, if he so desires.

In these circumstances, the question of holding over does not arise.

Short-notice question.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, may I draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister through you to the notice of the short-notice question I gave the other day and which was, I understand, agreed to by the Hon'ble Chief Minister. What has happened to my question?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am not aware of that short-notice question. It has not come to me from the department.

Statement by Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy regarding communal disturbances.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Mr. Speaker, I seek your permission and indulgence of the House for making a brief statement before this House is prorogued. Members would be leaving for their homes but they would be going with an anxious mind and serious misgiving. A month has elapsed and yet the reign of terror is continuing in Calcutta. The bitterness generated in Calcutta has affected most of the districts in East Bengal. The situation in Dacca and in the area round about is extremely serious. The situation in Tippera, in Mymensingh, in Noakhali is no better. It seems to me that the situation has passed beyond political difference and out of the hands of political leaders. It is goondaism pure and simple. Maximum force should be used to put down goondaism irrespective of the community to which they may belong. Goondas, even if they act in the name of religion and community, belong to no community. They are enemies of all communities.

Sir, I have no intention to repeat the arguments which were advanced during the debate on the motion of no-confidence, nor do I desire to raise controversies on the last day of the session, but I still maintain that for some reason or other even now effective force is not being used against the goondas in spite of repeated assurance by the Hon'ble Chief Minister. The custodians of law and order are still on the defensive. They do not move until there is an incident. Luckily, the disturbance is now almost localised, for instance, Burrabazar-Colootola-Zakaria Street area, Rajabazar, Park Circus, Kalabagan. (MR. MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH CHAUDHURY: Bowbazar.) Yes, I do not mind; I do not want to make a distinction. If there is disturbance in other areas, mention them.

I should have thought the police would vigorously comb out the goondas of these and other notorious places. We have heard that the bustees are full of new faces. Suspicious looking people are moving from bustee to bustee, after curfew signals are given by invisible persons by whistling. Various pamphlets, printed and typed, are being distributed. One feels there is some organisation going on underground for concerted hooliganism. I hope the Hon'ble Chief Minister would direct the Criminal Intelligence Department to enquire into this matter.

I have carefully read the statement which the Hon'ble Chief Minister issued on the 26th September. I appreciate the spirit in which it has been made. I also join in that appeal. But the only way to restore immediate confidence is for the police to act promptly and impartially. What very often happens is this. Information is sent to Lalbazar. It takes at least half an hour for the police patrol to reach the spot where the incident

takes place and by that time the culprits disappear through the lanes. The patrol goes back to Lalbazar and reports that there is no mob there. Or the patrol arrests those who gather there to protect the victim of the attack or any unwary passersby that may happen to be there. We read in the papers that the police made a *lathi* charge or used tear gas. It is amazing—this faith in tear gas and *lathi* charge in dealing with a mob of this character. By this time it should have been clear to the meanest intelligence that we have passed beyond the use of tear gas and *lathi* charge. The unusual tenderness of the police—a body not famous for softness—for the goondas is a wonderful phenomenon of the riot. From the beginning we have been pressing the Government for drastic action, but to no effect. In the locality in which I live every night I find *thikka ghuries* moving about after the curfew hours and there is no police anywhere to stop them. In spite of section 144 one can see crowds loitering in the streets or watching from *kafkhana* or *biri* shops. If these crowds are suddenly rounded up and searched I have no doubt in my mind many will be found to be carrying daggers.

The punishments given by Magistrates have been ridiculous. Twenty rupees fine for carrying a dagger in the streets of Calcutta is, in my opinion, quite inadequate punishment in the present circumstances. I am not requesting the Hon'ble Chief Minister to interfere with the course of justice, but I do say that the punishment in all such cases should be deterrent.

Whenever we have pressed for sufficient police force or the use of drastic force the reply has been—if the Hindus and Muslims choose to fight, the Government has not sufficient force to put down the riot which is in the nature of a civil war. This shows utter lack of appreciation of the situation. It assumes wrongly that each and every member of the two communities is taking part in the fight or desires this fight. I deny this calumny. Ninety per cent. of the Hindus and Muslims of this province want to live in peace. It is only the hooligans who kill, loot, create panic, bring the life of Calcutta into standstill and spread anarchy in Bengal. It is sheer and abject defeatism to say that the Government has not strength to deal with this element. The responsibility for suppressing hooliganism lies with the State. The common man looks to the State to protect him. If the Government fail to protect him while going about his peaceful avocation, then the Government has failed for all practical purposes in spite of the easy passage of the Budget and defeat of the no-confidence motion.

I would like to say one or two words about posting of officials. I make no charge and make no insinuation, but it has to be admitted that if all the Government officers of a district from the District Magistrate to the Thana Officer belong to one community the other community do not feel secure. I would request the Hon'ble Chief Minister to give an assurance that the posting of officers should be so arranged and balanced that all communities can feel confident that they would get fair and impartial treatment from Government officers.

I would also like to say a word about the Press. The Press has a serious responsibility. Immoderate language, exaggeration, publication of false news—bad enough at any time—are criminal in the present atmosphere. But gagging the press or blacking out of all news is no remedy. In the absence of all news due to censorship the people will give credence to the wildest rumours. In our opinion the ordinary laws of the land are sufficient. My complaint is that the Government has taken no step in this matter, but I would seriously warn them against blacking out of all news.

One other serious danger to which I would like to refer is the possibility of stoppage of all public conveyance including the railways. The poor bus driver, tramway conductor, taxi driver, railway officers going to and from the stations have no protection. There are definite areas where

attacks are taking place. The Chief Minister has mentioned this in his last appeal. There should be proper arrangement for their protection or I am afraid there will be a general stoppage of public conveyance in the nearest future.

The worst feature of these riots—more than looting—more than murder even more than killing of children has been the forcible abduction of a large number of women. This is a matter on which I do not wish to dwell. It is even painful and humiliating to mention. But, Sir, I regret to say that not a single of those unfortunate women has yet been traced. One can forget much and forgive much but this is a wrong which cannot be forgotten. This will rankle.

We, too, who are now going to our districts have a duty to perform. It is a pity that because of the communal electorate, we who represent the general constituencies have no responsibility at least constitutional responsibility, to the Muslims, and my Muslim friends in this House are also in the same position—so far as the Hindus are concerned. Whatever may that be, I suggest that the Hindu and Muslim members of each district should jointly tour the district to stop this fratricidal war. I would request the Government to give all facilities to these members. I would also like the Hon'ble Chief Minister to state what precautionary measures the Government proposes to take to prevent untoward events during the Pujas.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I can assure the Chief Minister that we on this side of the House are prepared to give full co-operation for bringing communal harmony and for crushing hooliganism. But the initiative and invitation must come from the Government and they must be real and sincere. We who are in the Opposition can only offer suggestion and advice. It is they who can implement them. Theirs is the ultimate duty and ultimate responsibility.

MR. D. CLADDING: May I have a few minutes, Sir? The Leader of the Opposition has taken the opportunity of reviewing the situation and making a most valuable appeal for concentration on restoring peace. I wish to associate myself with his request for strong action by the police. There should be ruthless and indiscriminate rounding up of the goondas that still seem to be at large. I also associate myself with what he has said about the Press. I think that, among the other things, a personal appeal should be made to the editors of newspapers to pull their weight in the common endeavour to restore peace, and to avoid provocative language. I am glad that Mr. Roy has made, on this last day of our session, these points and this appeal.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I am labouring under this disadvantage that I have not had the privilege of seeing the statement of the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition before it was delivered in this House. It is therefore quite possible, Sir, that I may not be able to refer to all the points that he has raised with that clarity or detail with which I should have liked to have commented upon these points and given the views of Government upon them. I had been taking notes while he was speaking. I will refer to such of them as I have been able to note in my note-book.

The Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition has referred to the situation in East Bengal and in various parts of the country. Sir, Government are fully aware of the situation and all the District Officers and Subdivisional Officers are alive to the situation. Not one of them has been granted leave during the Pujas and everyone of them is required to stay at his post. The Police equally are all up and doing and I hope that untoward incident will not happen. But undoubtedly there is no use denying this fact that the responsibility for keeping the situation quiet and peaceful does not rest solely on Government, but also rests on the representatives of the people.

Government will do its best and strain its utmost energies to keep the peace and to put down disorder, but the main thing is that disorder should not rear its head at all. It is very little use after disorder has shown its head to try and put it down. That certainly Government will do, but it will be a far, far better thing if we were to take steps which would prevent any disorder from arising. I should refer to this, Sir, again towards the end of what I shall have to say. I do not agree with the statement of the Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition that this situation has passed out of the hands of the political leaders and now has been taken up by the goondas of both the communities. I do not think so, Sir. I think that if we continue to show real endeavour to try and bring about peace and not utter provocative language, everybody will realise that we are sincere in our efforts to keep the peace and that we must give up all talks of revenge and want of forgiveness and so on. I shall refer to this again in another connection.

I am glad, Sir, that the Leader of the Opposition has appreciated the spirit of the statement which I made calling for peace on the 26th September. I assure the House that that was issued by me in an agony of spirit. I cannot understand this insensate stabbing of innocent people. It is no advantage to anybody. It is not going to bring either Pakistan or Hindusthan nearer. This is not a political fight that is being waged. Some people think that by killing a Muslim they have achieved or come nearer Hindusthan or that a Muslim thinks that if he kills a Hindu, he has done something to further Pakistan. I do not believe that that is so. It is not possible that murder of these unfortunate people who are going about in order to earn a precarious livelihood in this dangerous city—their murder will have such enormous political repercussions. It is, therefore, Sir, I appeal to all to cease this brutality.

I do hope that the Hon'ble Leader of the Opposition as well as other Hindu leaders will also bring about similar appeals to their Hindu compatriots and we shall undertake, Sir, to have them translated and circulated throughout Calcutta and throughout Bengal along with my appeal so that everybody should know that all of us stand together and all of us want this warfare to cease.

Sir, reference has been made to the manner in which the Police are taking steps to keep down the disturbances. The old system of Control Room has been changed for the establishment of a certain number of "bases" which are called "firm bases" consisting of armed police and unarmed police and also a large number of pickets scattered in dangerous places and also a number of mobile parties on motor cars as well as on foot. This is being done, but it is obviously impossible to cope with the stabbing inside the lane or somewhere in the midst of the crowd where no one can see who has done the mischief. I shall be only too happy if the statement made by the Leader of the Opposition leads to even more drastic action on the part of the police. I assure you, Sir, that from our side instructions have gone forth over and above that there shall be no tenderness as against miscreants but every one should realise that it is not often that miscreants can be arrested on the spot and steps are taken by the police in almost every case which is reported to them. It is made after the incident, but this much is certain that no incident is allowed to pass unnoticed and the police immediately proceed to that spot and take whatever steps they can to round up those persons who are likely to have done the mischief. I also agree with the Hon'ble Leader of the Opposition regarding postings of officers of both the communities as much as possible. That is a policy which I adopted as soon as we assumed office, namely, that there should be a proper level of officers in every area. That has been done; I cannot say that that has been done, but that is being done and postings are made keeping this in view. It is difficult to make general postings or general transfers of all officers but as occasion arises this policy is kept in view and postings are made accordingly.

The Leader of the Opposition has referred to a number of new faces having been seen. Well, Sir, I have heard this report as well from both sides and there are very serious reports to the effect that a number of persons have been imported from outside. I shall not say by which party. I fear that it is largely due to panic on either side that old faces begin to appear like new faces but certainly the Intelligence Officers of the Government are out and they will no doubt report any influx of new faces. As the Leader of the Opposition has brought this before us I shall certainly pass on this suggestion once more to the Commissioner of Police and to the Intelligence Department so that steps may be taken in that regard.

Sir, the Leader of the Opposition has referred in very strong terms to stories of abduction of a large number of women. The terms are very strong, too strong, in my opinion, for the occasion, because they tend to keep alive the spirit of revenge which I hope he would consider his duty to smother. We have been receiving reports from East Bengal regarding various incidents which have taken place, and if the Leader of the Opposition will read the comments upon those reports, read subsequent notices regarding those reports, subsequent Press reports issued by Government after proper enquiry, he will find that most of those reports are either false or exaggerated. They are largely due to panic; they are largely due to the kind of panic that overtook Calcutta even during those days when the police continued to receive reports regarding assaults or alleged assaults or intended assaults, sent police parties and found not that there had been any assaults but that there was not the likelihood even of any assault and that report had been sent out in the hope that the police would come to a particular area. I am, therefore, unable to agree with the Leader of the Opposition that there had been a large number of cases of abduction of women. Nobody, Sir, in this House or outside who has the slightest sense of responsibility will ever encourage or do anything but strongly condemn the abduction of women of any community. That is a matter which brings down human beings to the level of beasts and I have no doubt that all of us here on both sides of the House will take whatever steps we possibly can to see that if this evil exists it is smothered and stopped and the evil-doers are brought to exemplary and deterrent justice. I hope that when the representatives of this House will go back to their various areas, they will appeal to the members of their respective communities to see that this at least does not take place.

Along with this I would like to refer also to the Puja celebrations. I think it will be a calamity of the first order if there is an interference with the celebration of this religious observance of the Hindus. I do earnestly request the Muslim community to curb its enthusiasm— if it has any intention of creating disturbance—I am sure it has not—but I would like to go further. Let us be quite frank across the table since the honourable the Leader of the Opposition has been frank with us. Unfortunately during these pujas incidents do take place which provoke either one community or the other. Incidents do take place when Hindu music-bearers insist on banding their instruments a little too loud when they approach the mosque. Incidents have also taken place—I hope there is no truth in it—that some urchins have demolished some *musjids*—fortunately not so atrocious in form—which have not yet been revived. Sir, let us stop these. To the Muslims I would say that even if the Hindus do go out to provoke in, what may be termed, a childish manner, please be not provoked and do not provoke them; keep yourselves in patience; your honour and your safety is not endangered by these little things. The Muslim nation will still be a great nation even though it is defied in some places by a mischievous spirit. I think we shall still be greater if we only know how to control ourselves and if we can make our mind to see that we shall not be provoked and nothing can provoke us. We are at the present moment sitting over a gunpowder, and as a matter of fact we were in Calcutta in the midst of a conflagration, but we cannot afford to take now the slightest risks. To the

Hindus I do beg and pray that they too will conduct their puja celebrations in such a manner that they should realise that side by side with them also live another people that cannot join them in the puja celebrations, and that they might also carry on their own celebrations in their own way without tempting the Muslims. I entirely endorse the appeal of the Leader of the Opposition that when the leaders from here go back, they should get together and everywhere go about in peace parties and in peace processions, and I am certain that in most places, if not in all, we shall succeed in bringing about an atmosphere of harmony. Take the case of Calcutta where the peace work is still going; in spite of the incidents which are taking place here and there, Calcutta as a whole is quiet and refuses to be incited by these incidents of violence. I am sure that if we were to continue in this manner, if we were to adopt the same process elsewhere outside, in Bengal, east and west, we shall be able to relieve the tension and make the people realise that it is necessary that we should live together in peace and in harmony.

Now, Sir, before I finish, I would like to say something regarding newspapers. Who wishes to gag newspapers or to black out authentic news? But if the news is presented in a form which provokes one section of the people against another, I think it is the duty of Government to take steps to stop it (Cries of "Certainly" from the Government benches.)—I do not call it gagging of the press: I do not call it blacking out: I say if the facts are to be presented, they should be presented in an authentic form: I will take stock of the manner in which reports have been presented, and what do I find? I find that the Hindu newspapers now go to the extent of stressing the fact that more Hindus have been killed than Muslims. Those papers are read by the Hindus and what effect has it on the Hindu community?—retaliation. In order to give a colouring to the statement they give the names of the persons who have been assaulted. I checked them against the police reports and I found that the Muslim names had been left out. There has been some consolation somewhere if the public can see that the assault of one place has been squared up. It stresses that one community is being assaulted and not the other, and the next day the reverse takes place. And the same with the Muslim newspapers. The Muslim newspapers are stressing over and over again that only Muslims are being assaulted and their papers are read by the Muslims and the same retaliation follows. All this has got to be stopped. I gave a chance to the newspapers to heal themselves. I called a Press conference day before yesterday, and I hope that they will revise their policy, that they would not mention whether it was a Hindu or a Muslim that was assaulted or the areas or the localities. Some say that it was the intention of Government to black-out news from East Bengal,—perfectly ridiculous! We have no intention of blacking out news but we refuse to allow the newspapers to represent cases in such a way that there is that spirit of retaliation which eventually arises. The news will be printed and the locality will be there—only the name of the subdivision in East Bengal or elsewhere but there will be no indication who is attacking whom. We have got to stop this. I firmly believe that if we bring about peace in Calcutta, the tension in East Bengal will cease; but so long as the tension continues in Calcutta and the stabbings go on, the tension will continue in East Bengal and therefore, for Calcutta itself I am going to be very particular. This has got to stop. I am afraid that my request to the newspapers which was coupled with a warning has gone unheeded and I fear that Government have got to take steps. I consider it my very important duty to do so and I do hope that the members of the public will support me in it and I do hope also that the press will realise that I am doing this in the best interest of the people of the province. It is no advantage to Government to take steps like this. We are up against a very important section, viz., the press, that may take a different view, but I consider this my sacred duty and this kind of presentation has got to stop. We shall watch the situation after

the orders are issued. If the situation is relieved, is eased, Government will withdraw those orders at the earliest possible opportunity, but I cannot take any further risks.

Mr. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Only news, what about editorials?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Government is going to take steps. I agree, the editorials that incite one section against the other will be seriously taken notice of and I hope that these remarks which have come from the Opposition are in support of Government. I warn you that we are going to take steps, we are going to prosecute, we will ask for securities, we shall suspend newspapers. This incitement has got to stop and I ask and I demand your support in this behalf.

I am sorry that the situation is not such that you and I can sit together in the same Cabinet room, but we can both of us perform our duties separately, even though we are not in the Cabinet, for the preservation of peace. I say that if Government has a responsibility, so have the representatives of the people in their individual capacity and as parties—those who support the Government and those who are against the Government—and all public institutions have this responsibility.

I make an appeal to the Leader of the Opposition, an appeal which I am certain he will respond to. Let us, both of us, all of us, bend our energies from now, henceforth, to the task of bringing about peace. Let your people and our people, all go out within Calcutta and throughout Bengal preaching this one message that we have got to live together and there must be peace in Bengal.

I hope that tomorrow the Leader of the Opposition and myself and certain members from both sides of the House will go to Dacca to see the situation there and to see if we cannot start from there and bring peace amongst the warring sections. Let us pray that our efforts there will be crowned with success and when we come back from there, I hope that the Leader of the Opposition and myself shall get together and devise some means and some procedure by which this process of ours can be continued until peace is restored in Bengal.

Mr. PROVAS CHANDRA LAHIRI: Sir, may I point out one word in this connection?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I cannot allow discussion.

Mr. PROVAS CHANDRA LAHIRI: About the breaking of Durga images in some parts of Bengal I wish to speak something.

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

Authentication of Schedule.

The Hon'ble Mr. MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, in pursuance of sub-section (2) of section 80 of the Government of India Act of 1935, I beg to lay before the Assembly the schedule of authorised expenditure for 1946-47 authenticated by the signature of His Excellency the Governor under sub-section (1) thereof.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The Calcutta Disturbances Commission of Enquiry Bill, 1946.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta Disturbances Commission of Enquiry Bill, 1946, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council be taken into consideration.

Sir, I am inclined to believe that all sides of the House welcome the fact that a Commission of Enquiry has been appointed. We have examined the law very carefully. The matter has been discussed in another House and I wish to tell this House that none other than the Government of

Bengal had the competence to appoint this Commission of Enquiry. We have done our best and I am glad to find that it has been agreed that the personnel of the Commission is so far above criticism that everybody must have confidence in its findings. So far as the Government of Bengal itself is concerned, I have assured in another place and I wish to assure you here that we think that the procedure of taking evidence and what is done or what is not done are entirely in the hands of the Hon'ble Chief Justice of India. We are not at all interested in it and none of the papers and documents presented before that Commission will ever find its way to the Government of Bengal. That is a matter which is entirely confidential and will be secret so far as they are concerned.

I hope that this House will take this Bill into consideration and pass it as soon as possible so that we can start on it.

I wish to state here that in response to all sections of the House we have enlarged the territorial jurisdiction of the Commission by changing suburbs which is a technical term to "neighbourhood". If the Commission so wishes, it can allow persons living near about Calcutta to be able to place their grievances before the Commission. Also the resolution itself has been amended by specifically including therein the police-stations of Matiabruz, Tollygunge and the municipality of Howrah. It was not necessary to do so because it would have covered them, but we have done that specifically in the resolution so that there may be no doubt about it at all. I hope that this meets the wishes of all sections of the House.

MR. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: May I, Sir, through you, ask the Chief Minister whether it will include any portion of the Howrah district other than the municipality of Howrah?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: My view, Sir, is this that as we have put in "neighbourhood", other portions of Howrah district will also come into the picture, but I think that should remain with the Chief Justice in so far as he considers that it is relevant to his enquiry. For instance, we would not like to go 25 miles out or 30 miles out of Calcutta where an incident might have taken place because it will have very little reference or relevancy to enquire regarding affairs in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. I have no doubt, Sir, that incidents taking place round about Calcutta or Howrah will be taken into consideration—incidents such as taking place in Bally, Belur, etc.

MR. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Will it include Bally also? Bally is not within Howrah municipality.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I think it would be, but I would leave it to the Chief Justice of India rather than try to give a definition on the floor of the House.

MR. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Bally is on the other side of the river Ganges. I am afraid that the expression "neighbourhood of Calcutta" may not include any portion of Bally and Uttarpara. It will be better if there is a resolution covering Bally, Uttarpara and other places in the expression "neighbourhood of Calcutta".

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Since it is in the neighbourhood of Calcutta I think it will be included. I would rather not go to the extent of making an amendment, because the Bill has to go through this House and it has got to be published as soon as possible. I hope the House will rely on the sense of justice and proportion and fairness of the Commission itself in accepting what is the relevant subject-matter of enquiry.

MR. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: I appeal to the Chief Minister so to amend the Bill by a resolution as to cover Bally, Uttarpara, Baranagar and other places. It would be better if this is done, so that

these areas can be distinctly covered. Sir, I am a lawyer and I am afraid that unless this is done the Chief Justice of India may interpret the expression "neighbourhood of Calcutta" in a different way altogether. So, I think, Sir, it would be much better to have a resolution so as to make clear Government's intention that these areas will be covered by the expression "neighbourhood of Calcutta".

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I shall take that into consideration. I hope the Leader of the Opposition will make suggestions to me, and I am certain that if he will meet me I will do what is possible.

Mr. GANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: মানবীর শ্রীকার মহোদয়, এই সম্পর্কে আমার বক্তব্য হচ্ছে যে, Dacca disturbance এর ভিতর আসে না। মানবীর Chief Minister মহোদয় যদি Dacca disturbance সম্বন্ধে একটা enquiry করেন তাহলে ভাল হয়। কারণ Dacca disturbance-টার একটা বিশেষত্ব আছে এই হিসাবে যে, পুলিশে পুলিশে পধ্যত্ব বণগড়া করেছে। এবং complaint হচ্ছে যে a section of goondas and a section of Police একত্রিত হয়ে লুটতরাজ করেছে।

Mr. SPEAKER: This Bill refers to the disturbances in the town of Calcutta and the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

Mr. GANENDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE: I know that, but I would appeal to the Chief Minister to appoint another Enquiry Commission for Dacca or, if possible, to extend the jurisdiction of the present Commission so as to include Dacca also.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: There is already a Dacca Riots Enquiry Committee. Besides, Sir, the Leader of the Opposition stated the other day that it was no use having any Riots Enquiry Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Israil, it is neither here nor there.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, this is a matter regarding Dacca. I do not think that it is relevant to the subject-matter of discussion by this Commission. But since the matter has been mooted I shall certainly consider whether it will be necessary to do so or not. I am not prepared at the present moment to give any opinion on the subject.

Mr. NIMARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, coming nearer home the area of the Baranagor Municipality adjoining Calcutta has also been the scene of certain incidents as an integral part of the Calcutta disturbances, and also Dum Dum. These are within the Barrackpore subdivision of the 24-Parganas district. I do not see, Sir, why Dum Dum municipal area and Baranagor municipal area adjoining Calcutta which are as good as integral parts of the larger area of Calcutta should not be included. Will the Chief Minister be pleased to assure that steps will be taken to bring those areas within the purview of the Commission, because those areas being important labour areas are likely to be inflammable if the communal virus spreads there? It is with very great difficulty and a stroke of good luck that those labour areas have been kept free very largely from any large scale incidents.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I have already stated that if the Leader of the Opposition makes suggestions to me I shall certainly try to meet them. There is one thing I would like to say. Baranagor is just on the border of Calcutta. If that is not neighbourhood I should like to know what neighbourhood is.

Mr. NIMARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Since you have mentioned Howrah which is a separate district, there is a danger of Bally, Baranagor, etc., adjoining to Calcutta not being included by the Commission unless specifically mentioned.

Then, Sir, I have got a few observations to make with regard to the announcement of the Commission. I have nothing to say against the personnel of the Commission or its staff.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question of personnel is not open to discussion before this House. The Bill does not mention the name of the President or the other members of the Commission.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: As the enabling Bill gives the Commission a status, this arises, Sir, incidentally—

Mr. SPEAKER: I don't think so. You can speak on the clauses of the Bill but not on the personnel.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Can I not speak about the appointment of the personnel?

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, while empowering Government by this Bill to appoint a Commission and give it the status of a High Court in order to make the investigation it is essential to see that in exercising these powers Government should take every possible step to ensure that no one on the staff of the Commission should be a person subordinate to the Bengal Government in any way. In order to ensure the status of the Commission as a High Court and in order to ensure complete independence of the working of the Commission from Government it is essential that all people including such persons appointed as Secretaries who are not actually members of the Commission should be people altogether independent of the Bengal Government.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: That does not arise out of consideration of the clauses. That may arise when I move that the Bill as settled in the Assembly be passed.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, you are making a suggestion to Government. I think the proper time for that will be when the third reading is moved.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Very well, Sir.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy that the Calcutta Disturbances Commission of Enquiry Bill, 1946, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta Disturbances Commission of Enquiry Bill, 1946, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I would now invite the attention of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to the suggestion which I made when the Bill was at the consideration stage, namely, that I should like the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to assure the House that he will take every possible step in connection with the setting up of the Commission of Enquiry—its personnel and its staff, and that those persons alone, who will be unquestionably independent of the Government of Bengal, should be appointed and competent to serve in connection with this Commission on its staff.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I had given that assurance time and again. The Secretary of the Commission is a member of the Indian Civil Service of the Bengal cadre. He was chosen by the Chief Justice himself in consultation with the Governor of Bengal when I was away at Bombay. Since then he has completely passed out of our control, and the Ministry has nothing to do with the papers and documents that are in his custody. I have given the assurance time and again that we are not interested in those papers, we are not asking for those papers, and those papers will not be shown to us, except those which the Commission in the course of the discharge of its duties may choose to do so. The Secretary is an officer of unimpeachable integrity, honesty and capacity and I have not the least doubt that the work of the Commission will be done satisfactorily under his guidance with all the honesty and sincerity as required for the discharge of such an important duty.

Mr. BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: The Hon'ble Chief Minister has given sympathetic consideration to our suggestions. There is a certain amount of misunderstanding, I may say misgivings, in the mind of a certain section of the public, namely, that certain papers in connection with the Enquiry Commission are now deposited in the Alipore Collectorate. Will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be pleased to clear these misgivings by removing these papers and documents from the Alipore Collectorate to Belvedere?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: If that is the case I have not heard any such thing. I am not taking the slightest interest in what the Commission is doing. I will certainly get my Chief Secretary to pass on the suggestion of the honourable member to the Secretary of the Enquiry Commission.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I am glad that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has given us the assurance. I have to remind him of one fact. This Commission is going to be saddled—

Mr. SPEAKER: You had your chance before. If you dilate in this way it will not be possible to proceed with the business of the House.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I have an observation to make, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, you have made all your observations.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I do not wish to make a speech. I want to say something about the functions of the Commission. It is a very important point, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot allow such a dialogue between members.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I wish to speak on the functions of the Commission. It is a very important point, Sir. In a very critical situation the Commission is being set up.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, please finish it in one sentence. I cannot allow this. When the Bill was under discussion you had your chance to speak all your points. I cannot allow members to speak three times, four times on a subject.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: It is the privilege of every member of the House—

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a question of privilege, but the question of procedure. Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, you are an experienced parliamentarian and you ought to know that a member cannot speak more than once on a particular question.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I will make a very short speech.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a question of short speech or long speech. It is a question of procedure whether a member is entitled to speak more than once.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I have not spoken. You will find, Sir, that under the rule a member is entitled to put questions relevant to the subject.

Mr. SPEAKER: And you had your chance. You have spoken at least twice.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I did not speak. I want to speak. In the course of an Hon'ble Minister's speech, a member is entitled to put questions relevant on the subject. That is provided in the rule.

Mr. SPEAKER: You are making a speech.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I am sorry, Sir, I am having had to argue with you on this point, and that is taking more time than my say would have taken. I wish to impress upon the Government that it is not enough that this Commission should do justice in relation to the points that are going to be placed before it, but it is also necessary that the people should be made to feel that justice is being done, and for that purpose that the public may be made to feel that justice has been done the Hon'ble the Chief Minister will be pleased to remove any misgivings or grievances that may arise in their mind, and will take every possible step not to give the slightest cause of complaint, on the part of the public because as a result of this Enquiry Commission it is essential that old sores must be healed.

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: On a point of order, Sir. The Hon'ble Chief Minister has already given his reply to the discussions on the Bill. Is it pertinent for a member to make a speech when the Chief Minister is not in a position to reply?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar, please resume your seat.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy that the Calcutta Disturbances Commission of Enquiry Bill, 1946, as settled in the Assembly be passed, was then put and agreed to.

The Murshidabad Bill, 1946.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the Murshidabad Bill, 1946, as passed by the Council be taken into consideration.

Sir, this is a very small Bill. Hitherto the practice in Murshidabad family has been that the Nawab Bahadur's eldest son inherits all his

property after his demise. Now, it has been found necessary that some provision should be made for his younger children and with that object in view this Bill is introduced. It is necessary that the prestige of all the children of the Nawab Bahadur should be maintained. This Bill passed through both the Houses of the Legislature during the last session, but owing to the fact that a slight change was made by the Council it was returned to the Assembly for its consent. In the meantime, Sir, section 93 intervened and that is why the Bill could not pass through this House. The only change made in the Bill was that in place of "sons and daughters" it should be "legitimate sons and daughters". I think it is a very welcome change which the House will certainly accept, and pass the Bill. There is no amendment, which indicates that the House has every sympathy with the provisions of the Bill.

With these words I commend the Bill to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain that the Murshidabad Bill, 1946, as passed by the Council be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the Murshidabad Bill, 1946, as settled in the Assembly be passed.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Sir, in rising to speak on the third reading of this Bill I have nothing more to say than "শ্রীমতী মহোদয়ঃ" (laughter).

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain that the Murshidabad Bill, 1946, as settled in the Assembly be passed, was then put and agreed to.

Prorogation.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have it in command from His Excellency the Governor that the Bengal Legislative Assembly do now stand prorogued.

